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NOTES

1945

The Old Year is dragging out its miserable course to an end as we pen these columns. But what are the portents for the New Year, do they bear any augury of the dawn of peace and, what is still more important, of the return of sanity to this unhappy planet of ours? We are no prophets nor do we possess the ability to see into the dim and murky future any further than the average man, but judging by the history of the Post-World-War I period, we are constrained to say that in 1945—and probably for a full decade thereafter—this world will remain the same sinful, passion-torn, power-lust-riven, inferno as it has been ever since the beginning of this century.

When the Democracies were hard-pressed, here came forth from the lips of those who were leading the nations of the world to fight the war-to-end-aggression, promises of a rosy, prosperous and peaceful Post-War-World. There would be no more war, no more exploitation. No more subjugation of man by man they said, and the Ether veritably throbbled with the broadcasts about Atlantic Charter, the Four-Freedoms and so on and so forth. Came the turning of the tide against the Axis and with it started the slow dispersal into the thin air of the Most Glorious Vision of the Post-War World. Into 1945 will continue the disillusionment of this weary world, we make bold to say, that started in 1944. In India we had even an earlier start with Mr. Churchill's unequivocal statement about India being outside the pale, so far as the Atlantic Charter was concerned. That helped us to assess the full value of Western ethics. The rest of the world started to learn the lesson in 1944. Stalin being the first preceptor with his strong-arm exposition on Poland, Mr. Churchill following up with his tutorial disser-

tations in Parliament and Mr. Roosevelt ably summing up with his "de-bunking" of the "Atlantic Charter."

Who are we to malign the Great thus, and whom do we represent, it may well be asked. Well, we represent all of that great tribe, the tribe of Nobodies composed of those vast masses of suffering, voiceless and submerged humanity who possess little of the birthrights of man beyond the classification of Homo Sapiens, and who are amongst the worst suzerers from the wars waged by the power-lust maddened "followers" of the Apostle of Peace. And how dare we pronounce judgment? We do not judge but like bits of straws we merely point the way the wind is blowing, and what with the partition of Poland, the propaganda campaign against China to deny her the just fruits of her heroic stand, the intervention in Greece which has raised a storm even in democratic Britain, there is no want of indications. We would rather not say much about the campaign of slander against India in general and Hindus in particular that has been continuously in action for over a century and a half. Abbe Dubois the French Jesuit, subsidized by that most Christian body, the British East India Company, was the first outstanding figure of the last century in this matter, in this century we have had the Western Sapphira, Miss Mayo—who wrote so ably about the Philippines as well—and the latest is that remarkable English author Beverley Nichols, who never grew out of his conceited puppyhood. This last scribe has rolled all the great heads of Hindu India into the dust. Mahatma Gandhi he has made into a charlatan and Tagore he has lowered to the state of a "minor poet." Perhaps he later felt that Tagore was a brother scribe—however unworthy—and therefore some amends were due and so in a moment

of unctuous charity, he raised the geographical site of Tagore's University, Santiniketan, some thousands of feet up into the Himalayas! Not content with this remarkable feat of levitation, nor yet with his culinary efforts with truth, this worthy descendant of super-fatted haberdashers delivered a lecture on art and artists in India, and, what is more, had it printed. But since he himself says that he is a follower of Winston Churchill, staunch and true, we shall accept all his statements as being on par, and leave it at that.

We confess that we are not well-versed in International Politics and therefore we have hopes that we are wrong, but the signs of the times do indicate that the seeds of the Third World War are being sown. Neither the Four Freedoms nor the Atlantic Charter seem to be in the offing. The only certainty that seems to be in store for the Post-War World is that fine product of Western culture and civilisation, namely, Power-Politics. And as Western culture—especially the European variety—rests mainly on a cash basis, the troubles of man will be on the increase. The only hope of mankind lies in the hands of Him Who is greater than all the dictators and pro-consuls of the world. In 1945 we can only hope and try to work for our own salvation under His eye. No one will help us unless we strive for it ourselves that much is certain. While there is a war, they are all too pre-occupied with the prosecution of war. After the war they would be too busy scrambling for the spoils.

Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee's Address

In his presidential address to the 26th session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Bilaspur (C.P.), Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee struck upon a new note which would no doubt be welcome. At the outset he described in short the systematic destruction of Indian trade and industry and declared: "It is a calumny to say that India has been mainly an agricultural country. Not only was she industrially rich but she sent out materials and finished goods to other parts of the world." He narrated how under the Company as well as under the Crown the 'bleeding' has continued regularised, systematised and camouflaged by "services rendered" in return. Dr. Mookerjee rightly pointed out, a point which is often missed, that India's economic slavery is due to her political subjugation and Swaraj is the first and essential remedy for Indian poverty.

Discussing the political situation in the country, Dr. Mookerjee dilated on several important subjects. Acceptance of office under the present constitution, in his opinion, could never be the be-all and end-all of any political

organisation. He said: "I know from my own experience how helpless a provincial Ministry sometimes is to carry into effect any important plan of reform and reorganisation concerning the economic or political rights of the people if the Governor and the permanent officials take it into their heads to obstruct such proposals." In spite of this shortcoming, however, he believed that "a boycott of the constitutional machinery was sometimes more harmful to the interests of the people than its utilisation as a weapon for fighting reactionary forces and for preparing the field for wresting large powers." This is exactly the position the Congress had taken up in 1937. Dr. Mookerjee echoed the voice of the Congress when he said: "Every seat of power has to be captured and the whole machinery worked in a team spirit backed by popular support, so as to prevent avoidable mischief and to advance the good of the people whenever possible. . . . But let there be no misgiving that our real work must remain outside the Legislature."

Dr. Mookerjee boldly declared the Mahasabha's views on the communal question and pointed out their differences with the Congress. He disagreed with the C. R. formula and called Gandhiji's attempt to conciliate Mr. Jinnah a fresh Himalayan blunder. He said: "Once we allow religious considerations to determine the sovereignty of particular areas in India which will by no means be confined to one single community following one religion, there will be no peace and progress for us." He brought out the points of unity underlying the Indian civilisation and said that irrespective of provincial barriers or the diversity in faiths and languages there existed a remarkable economic and cultural unity and inter-dependence which could not be destroyed at the dictate of interested parties. He expressed his eager support for ample safeguards to protect the religious and cultural rights of minorities wherever necessary. He explained the Mahasabha's attitude towards Muslims and said that it was not one of hostility or domination. The Muslim League policy was attacked because it was actuated by considerations which would retard progress in India. Here also Dr. Mookerjee stands on the same platform as the Congress.

We welcome the new orientation that Dr. Mookerjee has given towards a uniform nationalistic outlook with the Congress. The foremost leaders of public opinion in this country are slowly coming to the conclusion that the main function of the Congress is that of a Tribunal or rather a forum where all particular differences in the political outlook of the different parties and communities in India would be discussed freely and settled with amity.

Lord Wavell's Speech

Lord Wavell and Mr. Amery spoke almost simultaneously and in the same vein. Both tried to shift the responsibility for the continuance of the deadlock on Indian shoulders. The Viceroy said :

• "It is now once more fashionable to demand a move by HMG 'to solve the deadlock.' But remember that HMG has made two attempts in the last decade. The first was the Constitution Act of 1935—a complete constitution based on years of discussion and research. I agree with Mr. Mealing that had that Act been worked in the right spirit, it would have carried us far, in fact, I think we should now be near the goal. The second attempt was the draft declaration propounded by Sir Stafford Cripps. Both attempts failed.

"After the second failure, HMG said, they could do no more and that India herself must make a constructive suggestion. No such suggestion has yet emerged; and the recent discussion between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah shows how intractable the communal problem still is. I am glad to see that prominent Indians are undertaking further discussion of the problem.

"The previous rejections of their offers must naturally make HMG chary of a further advance until they feel that the spirit of compromise and co-operation is real. But their desire for a solution remains perfectly genuine; and I have tried to indicate lines on which progress might be attempted, if the Indian leaders desire it."

The Act of 1935 has been condemned by the people and stands fully exposed. This Act has taken away India's right to defend her own borders and to conduct her own foreign affairs, to run her railways and to determine her currency and exchange policies in her own interests. By this reactionary Act the Governor-General and the Governors, who previously enjoyed powers of emergency legislation by means of Ordinances for limited periods only, have been granted powers to enact permanent laws in defiance of the Legislatures. India's right to grant protection to her own industries against British competition has been circumvented by the provision for the establishment of (India) Ltds. and by equipping the Governor-General with powers "to prevent commercial discrimination." The martial races of the country have been placed out of the control of popular Legislature by a demarcation of Excluded and partially Excluded Areas to be under the direct administration of the Whitehall through the Governor-General and the provincial Governors. These in a nutshell, are the "Reforms" that India had "gained," which in the Britisher's opinion, marked a "long step forward." The Cripps proposal was even more reactionary in its immediate implications while for the dim future it held out vague promises draped around the sinister project for the vivisection of India. Even the Muslim League, composed mainly of the Government's own men, did not see any virtue in the Cripps proposals and rejected it. In spite of the British Government's

pretensions to the contrary, Indian opinion will continue to urge that the initiative for resolving the Indian deadlock lies with Britain and Britain alone.

Lord Wavell on National Government

Lord Wavell told the Associated Chambers of Commerce that it was commonly said that current and post-war problems could only be solved by a National Government, but the precise meaning of the term was seldom or never defined. "I am afraid that to some a National Government may mean a government in which their own particular party is in power. I think of a National Government as one formed to meet a national crisis, in which 'none are for a party but all are for the State,' to quote Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*."

The Viceroy was very far from being accurate in saying that the meaning of the true National Government was seldom or never defined. The Congress has defined and explained it in a way which would have convinced anybody except such as are pledged to obduracy. A Government composed of the leaders of the people and responsible to the Legislature with the Governor-General as the constitutional head was the Congress definition of National Government. Congress had made the very important concession in this definition that they did not want complete control over the Defence services during the continuance of the War.

Lord Wavell seems to have a fancy for Macaulay. We quote below a few of his words which, although written a century ago, may be applicable in a fair degree to modern conditions in this country :

"The servants of the company obtained—not for their employers, but for themselves—a monopoly of almost the whole internal trade. They forced the natives to buy dear and sell cheap. They insulted with impunity the tribunals, the police and the fiscal authorities of the country. They covered with their protection a set of native dependents, who ranged thru the provinces, spreading desolation and terror wherever they appeared. Every servant of a British factor was armed with all the power of his master and his master was armed with all the power of the Company. Enormous fortunes were thus rapidly accumulated at Calcutta, while 30 millions of human beings were reduced to the extremity of wretchedness. They had been accustomed to live under tyranny, but never tyranny like this. They found the little finger of the Company thicker than the loins of Suraj ud Dowlah. (Italics ours—Ed. M. R.)

The Mining Policy of the Govt. of India

The Government of India's mining policy forms a dark and characteristic chapter of British Indian history. The Geological Survey of India was established in 1845. Dr. Cyril Fox, Director of the Geological Survey in 1942, in the course of a statement made in a conference held on July 6, 1942 and presided over by Sir Firoze

Khan Noon, called attention to the neglectful policy of the Government of India in regard to the development of India's mineral resources during the past century. The formation of the utilisation branch of the Geological Survey was announced in that conference and Dr. Fox made the astounding revelation there that the importance of geological work on the part of the Government was realised only in the interests of getting bunker coal for the purpose of supplying ships which came from Europe with merchandise to this country. This is what he said: "The work of geologists in India was mainly to promote the export of raw materials rather than to encourage industrial development in this country." The Government evidently took the view that the Department was concerned in getting minerals for export to other countries and was not interested in the question of manufacturing anything out of those minerals. Dr. Fox made a reference to the year 1902 when the Department possessed six specialised mineral experts and was prepared for a big utilisation drive. It was prevented by the Government and the experts were turned into simple mining inspectors!

The Government of India suddenly became active in its Geological Department after Japan entered the war, and particularly after the loss of Malay and Burma. British evacuee mining experts from Burma found ready employment here. The parent bodies under which they had worked in the Burma mines have not gone into liquidation and it is not known whether such evacuees drew salary both from their firms as also from the Government. Mr. K. C. Neogy, speaking in the Central Legislative Assembly on September 14, 1942, expressed a shrewd suspicion that "ultimately the activities of this branch (utilisation) of the department will be utilised for the purpose of rehabilitating in India, the powerful British financial interests which were dislodged from enemy occupied countries, interests which were engaged in the mineral industry in Malay and Burma." Subsequent events have tended only to confirm his suspicions.

Mr. Neogy investigated the activities of the utilisation Branch further. In reply to his question on Sept. 15, 1942, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar stated that the Utilisation Branch would, with the help of experts, prove deposits and undertake small-scale mining operations which might include the operation of experimental and pilot plants for smelting, etc., up to the stage when it became clear that production could be undertaken by commercial firms. In the course of the same reply Dr. Ambedkar gave materials for a contradiction of his own statement and the real fact came out. He stated that the Government of India, acting through Mr. Cowen, late

General Manager of the Mawchi mines of the Burma Corporation, negotiated with the Mewar Government for working the most promising lead-zinc mines at Zawar in the Udaipur State. *They secured the cancellation of payment of compensation of the lease of the mines held by a private Indian firm* and obtained a prospecting license from the Mewar Government. Had Dr. Ambedkar's earlier professions been sincere, what prevented the Government to work the Zawar mines jointly with the existing Indian leaseholder and why was it necessary to have the lease cancelled? Dr. Ambedkar evaded the question when Mr. Neogy pointedly asked: "Before getting the Udaipur durbar obligingly to cancel this lease, was any attempt made by the Government to find out whether any agreement could not be arrived at with that private party for the purpose of enabling whatever activities the department wanted to be carried on?"

In the course of a debate on the same subject on September 21, 1942, Pandit L. K. Maitra asked: "Is Dr. Ambedkar in a position to tell us that after the field-work is done and after the exploratory work is finished, when the Utilisation Branch recommends that certain metals or mineral substances may be commercially mined, Indians will get the benefit out of it? Is he prepared to give an assurance that the money that will be spent on this Utilisation Branch will eventually lead to the fostering of the Indian enterprise in the development of mineral industry, and not to the investment of British capital as has been our unfortunate experience in the past?" No assurance however came forward, from the Treasury Branches, to the effect that if the Utilization Branch decides that certain types of minerals could be developed in this country profitably, preference should, in the first instance, be given to Indian companies to work and develop them. When Mr. Jammadas Mehta raised discussion about the exploitation of the mica mines by joint Anglo-American interests to the exclusion of Indian commercial firms, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Leader of the House, frantically tried to have the discussion stopped and ultimately succeeded in his attempt on a ruling of the President, Sir Abdur Rahim.

After incurring a lot of expenditure on the mines, the Government of India have decided that the Zawar operations could not be considered as a war project in view of the fact that no pilot plant could get into production till very late in 1945, and that India and the Allied Nations were already receiving a substantial portion of their requirements from other sources. The Geological Survey has finally recommended discontinuance of further prospecting and disposal of the operatives to the best advantage

of the Government of India. The essential desirability of developing a mine of two of the most strategic metals, lead and zinc, in India and in the interest of India has been completely neglected. With increasing prospects of the recapture of Burma, it may well be that the Imperialists desire to have the Zawar mine closed in the interest of the Burma Corporation unless the mines could be secured by the Corporation itself. It is understood that the Government of India are now trying to surrender their lease of the mines to the Mewar Government thus leaving the Mewar Durbar free to dispose of the concession in any way they like. The fear is entertained in informed quarters that this may be a device for helping the Burma Corporation to secure the lease through diplomatic pressure of the Political Department.

Petroleum Concessions and the Need for a New Mining Legislation

The grant of petroleum prospecting licenses by the provinces deserves attention. Mr. K. C. Neogy had asked the Government of India whether petroleum was included among the minerals with which the Utilisation Branch of the Geological Survey of India was concerned. In reply, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar stated that according to the present programme, that is in 1942, petroleum was not so included,—although sulphur, mica, tungsten or wolfram, and non-ferrous metals like lead, zinc, copper and tin were included among minerals required for war purposes. The exclusion of petroleum from this list was mysterious and no explanation for it was put forward.

It is widely believed—as it was plainly stated in a scientific journal—that the right to carry on certain preliminary scientific investigations as regards the occurrence of oil in the foothills of the Himalayas and other areas in India has already been granted by the provincial governments in favour of certain well-known foreign concessionaires. Mr. Neogy, on other occasions also, enquired of the Government of India the reason for the grant of prospecting licenses for oil, a defence material, by the provinces instead of keeping it under their own responsibility. The Government of India have denied even any knowledge of such a grant on the plea that regulation of mines and oilfields form a provincial subject. In the provinces under Sec. 93, and in the others with subservient Ministries, it is not at all difficult to have licenses issued to most favoured parties. It is desirable to clarify once for all the constitutional position in respect of mineral rights between the Centre and the Provinces. Under the Government of India Act 1935, "Regula-

tion of mines and oilfields and mineral developments to the extent to which such regulation and development under Federal control is declared by Federal law to be expedient in the public interest" is a Central subject, while there is an entry in the Provincial Legislative List which states that "Regulation of mines and mineral development is subject to the provisions of List 1 (the Federal list) with respect to regulation and development under Federal control." No Federal law has so far been enacted and therefore the provinces continue to possess full freedom to frame their own mining laws and rules to regulate the grant of mineral concessions in their territories. This has been the position since the introduction of the new reforms in April 1937, but it requires revision. The regulation and development of oil and strategic minerals as would be necessary for national defence should be in the hands of the Central Government. Experience during the present war has definitely proved Central control to be expedient in the public interest and the power to legislate for minerals of strategic and key industrial importance should rest with the Centre alone. The provinces have so far enjoyed this privilege by virtue of sufferance from the Centre and the position should now be made clear by means of appropriate legislation for giving effect to this policy.

"Churchill Must Go"—Wells

Under the heading "Churchill Must Go," Mr. H. G. Wells, in the Socialist London Weekly *Tribune*, describes the British Prime Minister as "would-be British Fuehrer." Mr. Wells writes :

'Churchill's ideology picked up in the garrison life of India, on the reefs of South Africa, the maternal home and conversation of wealthy Conservative households is a pitiful jumble of incoherent nonsense. A boy scout is better equipped. He has never given evidence of thinking extensively or of any scientific or literary capacity. His ignorance of contemporary social and physical science is conspicuous. He has served his purpose, and it is high time he retired before we forget the debt we owe him. We want him to go—now—before he discredits us further, for his own sake as well as ours, and if he takes all the Royalties in the world with him—so much the better for human hope. The matter is urgent.'

Princes' Resignation

The Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes have tendered resignation in a body, but the causes which led to the adoption of a drastic step of this nature have not yet been made fully public. In his statement to the press, Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber, has declined to elucidate the issue at

the present moment. The *Hindustan Times*, however, throws some light on this hitch between the princes and the paramount power. The differences seem to have been seven-fold, the problems being (1) joint services, (2) protection against attacks from British India, (3) the attachment scheme, (4) industrial policy, (5) courts of arbitration, (6) post-war reconstruction and (7) Treaty rights. A deputation of the princes had waited on the Crown Representative, Lord Wavell, some time before the resignation, with the object of obtaining clarifications of these problems. The Viceroy's reply conveyed to them by the Political Department of the Government of India has been reported in the *Hindustan Times*.

The joint services scheme, in which the princes agree generally that the smaller Indian States which cannot by themselves maintain an efficient standard of administration should co-operate with some other State or States to secure this essential end, has been supported by the Crown Representative.

In demanding protection against attacks from British India, the States have expressed the fear of Jatha invasions and campaigns against them in the British Indian press. Lord Wavell has assured them that the States will continue to receive protections whether from baseless agitations against individual States directed from British India or from scurrilous attacks in the British Indian press. Such provisions have been made in the Government of India Act itself and protection of the princes form an important item in the lists of special responsibilities for the Governor-General as well as the Governors.

The States have claimed an equal participation with British India so far as the industrial policy is concerned. They demand production goods like machinery and fuel, etc., on the same basis as the provinces. The transference of capital from British India to the States to avoid the E. P. T. has engaged the attention both of the States and the Central Government and this transference has been brought under the supervision of the latter. The control of capital issue under Sec. 94-A of the D. I. Rules has also been a point of controversy. The industrial life of the States has already been chained up under this Rule in spite of their much vaunted Treaty Rights. An order has been issued to the States for receiving payments in British India for goods delivered to the Supply Department and the States have very much resented it. The reply of the Crown Representative on industrial policy has been rather vague and has been confined mainly to the expression of a pious wish. The problem of post-war reconstruction for the States are simi-

lar and the intention of the Government in this respect also is not quite clear. In the several post-war reconstruction committees, the states have not been adequately represented and the princes have made a grievance of it.

The remaining three crucial points have been left completely unsolved. The princes proposed that recourse to Courts of Arbitration should be had as a matter of right for resolving the issues which are justiciable or relate to fiscal/economic or financial matters including the interpretation of Treaties and Agreements. The Crown Representative has expressed his inability to accept this proposal. The princes have been greatly alarmed by the attachment scheme, and the manner in which the India (Attachment of States) Act was rushed through the Parliament, without any consultation with the princes, has, not unnaturally, confirmed their apprehension. The groups of States formed under the joint services or co-operative grouping scheme will be some sort of a coalition of the autocrat princes while the real power will be exercised by the super-autocrat, the Political Agent. The States have been very much apprehensive of the merger scheme. The merger of small States into larger ones without consent of the merging states has involved the transference of the paramount power's rights to the attaching states. The Princes had earlier obtained an assurance that the functions of the Paramount Power would not be transferred to the British Indian Government. The Princes have failed in their attempt to secure a revision of the Instrument of Attachment so as to include in it the consent of the merging state, and the refusal of the Government to revise the Instrument has confirmed the Princes' fear that the principle may be extended in future also to States not immediately concerned with the merger scheme.

Too much fuss has been—and is still being—made about what the princes call Treaty Rights. These treaties are all in reality subsidiary alliances and the princes enjoy their "rights" under sufferance of the Paramount Power. Encroachments on these "rights" have systematically been made to meet Imperial needs. Dynastic rights and questions of misrule have always been determined in pursuance of an Imperial policy and the Princes' rights have been completely disregarded whenever they were in conflict with Imperial interests. The recent order of the Textile Directorate to pay for their goods in British India against the protest of the States and the application of the Control of Capital Issues order to the States are the most recent instances of the helplessness of the Princes against the Government of India in spite of what they call their sacred Treaty Rights.

It is not only that the Princes have little freedom of action, but their freedom of speech is also greatly restricted. Just as they are unable to take any action even for their own welfare when such action tends to conflict with Imperial interests, they cannot deliberate on any question which is not favoured by the Viceroy. The Chamber of Princes only suggest the agenda for their meeting, discussion takes place only on such items of it as have been approved by the Crown Representative; the text of draft resolution which was framed for discussion by the Chamber of Princes, and which could not be discussed, shows that unilateral action has systematically been taken to trample down their treaty rights. The substance of the resolution which has been published by the *Hindustan Times* is given below :

The Chamber requests His Excellency the Crown Representative to be pleased to convey to His Majesty's Government the grave misgivings and apprehensions aroused in the states, by the recent tendency to alter the states' relationship with the Crown and to qualify the observance of the Crown's obligations, by unilateral action without the consent of the states notwithstanding the solemn royal pronouncements that these treaty rights shall be maintained unimpaired, and the recent assurance conveyed to the Indian princes by His Majesty's Government that the fulfilment of the fundamental obligations arising out of the treaties and sanads remains an integral part of His Majesty's Government's policy.

The Chamber further requests H. E. the Crown Representative to convey this expression of their devotion to his Imperial Majesty the King Emperor, with the respectful submission that in this matter of fundamental importance to the continuance of their relationship with the Crown, the Indian princes solicit His Majesty's personal good offices to ensure an early and satisfactory announcement.

Invoking the personal good offices of His Majesty is irrelevant as the doctrine of Ministerial responsibility in the British constitution restricts the rights of the British King to act otherwise than on the advice of the Cabinet.

U. P. Education Plan

The United Provinces, like Madras, is forging ahead with schemes of post-war development of education. A committee of officials, non-officials, and eminent educationists of the province has been appointed by the Governor to discuss the post-war development schemes of the Education Department of the U.P. Government. The committee recently met and the following decisions were made :

The meeting was of the opinion that compulsory education should be introduced in selected areas till the whole province was covered. The Government proposals envisaged that this should be done in 20 years, but the meeting thought that that period was too long and that it should be possible to achieve the desired results in about 10 years if the scheme worked successfully throughout the province. Compulsion was to be applied to children between the ages of five and 12 years.

As regards girls it was strongly urged by the lady members that if necessary, owing to there being no girls school available, girls up to the age of 10 should be admitted into boys schools, provided that there was a substantial number of women teachers in that school. It was revealed that while the number of girls in girls primary schools at present was 76,000, no less than 1,30,000 girls were voluntarily reading in boys schools.

The meeting then discussed the arrangements for training a large number of teachers required and was of the opinion that it would be necessary to open two new training colleges. The meeting noted with approval Government's proposal to add a large number of girls high schools throughout the province.

As regards the education of depressed classes, the meeting unanimously decided that there should be no separate schools, and that full facilities should be given to the members of the depressed classes to read in ordinary state schools, and liberal assistance by way of stipends and freeships should be afforded to them.

On the question of technical education, the meeting was of the opinion that technical education should be run parallel to general education and should have the same stages—primary, secondary, intermediate and degree—and that the degree courses should be managed by the university, and the others by a special board of technical education.

The meeting concluded with a general discussion on university and high school education. It was unanimously accepted that the intermediate examination should be abolished and one year of its course should be added to the degree course and the other year to the high school course, the total number of years required to take the degree not being exceeded.

It has been estimated that the 20 years educational scheme of the United Provinces in the post-war period involves an expenditure of Rs. 21,12,87,650 on junior basic schools and Rs. 16,22,47,290 on senior basic schools.

Mass Education to be Made Compulsory in Madras

The report on Educational Post-War Reconstruction prepared by the D. P. I. has recently been considered by the sub-committee of the Post-War Reconstruction Department of the Government of Madras. The Committee agreed that

Compulsory education for both boys and girls of all communities should be introduced in all areas, in the first place from standards I to V, providing additional accommodation and staff to the extent necessary in areas already served by existing schools, and opening new schools in schoolless areas with sufficient population, and building them up to V Standard schools.

It was agreed that, after the scheme for compulsory education up to V Standard had been completed, the further step should be taken of extending compulsion to the VI, VII and VIII Standards by stages.

It was agreed that special provision should be made for elementary schools for girls in all areas in which co-education was not fully possible.

It was agreed that there should be a considerable increase in the number of Arts Colleges for women that more L. T. Colleges for women should be opened; and that these institutions should be spread over areas hitherto unprovided with such institutions.

In Bengal, the Government is busy in devising ways and means for the denial of education. No effect has been given to the

Primary Education Act passed by the Bengal Legislature years ago, although the Primary Education cess has been collected in some areas.

The Education Sub-Committee of the Post-War Reconstruction in Bengal recently considered the problem of secondary education and decided that a selective process should be adopted for deciding which boys and girls shall be provided with special facilities for higher academic learning. Way is also being cleared for the passage of the Secondary Education Bill for the curtailment of education by handing over important powers of the Legislature to the Governor. The measure has found eager and active support with the European members of the Bengal Legislature, the prop of the present Ministry and the upholders of the Imperialist policy of denial of education.

Corruption and Bribery Rampant in Food Administration

Hindustan Standard's New Delhi correspondent reports :

New Delhi, Dec. 16.—Sensational findings that corruption, bribery and petty harassment by minor officials, are rampant in the food administration of the country, are contained in a voluminous report submitted by Mr. S. Butler, officer on special duty, who toured many of the provinces in order to report on the Government Grain Purchases Schemes.

Mr. Butler says, "In no food administration is here complete absence of any bribery and corruption" and that "another aspect, more serious perhaps than bribery and corruption, is that of petty harassment by minor officials: That it goes on to a fairly extensive degree there is no doubt. That it should and must be eliminated is equally undisputed." That Provincial and State Governments do not generally speaking, "take sufficient specific steps in this direction, is, I am afraid, a fact."

It is understood that Government are now seriously considering as to what is the best way of eliminating corruption and bribery. In this connection, I understand, a special branch within each Food Control Administration, dealing with the elimination of bribery and corruption, may be set up. The Central Government seems to have brought the matter to the notice of the Provincial Governments, who are being urged to take effective steps to counteract such practices.

Allegations about serious cases of corruption have been made in the press and within the Legislature before now, all to no or little effect. It is hardly likely that this report will produce any better results. Bribery, corruption and inefficiency are the inevitable consequences of *Divide et Impera*, which means keeping time-servers and reactionaries in positions of trust.

Nature of Corruption in Railway Administration Revealed

The staff correspondent of the *National Call* reports :

A number of sensational and startling disclosures far beyond one's imagination, were made in the course

of a lengthy statement by Om Prakash, an Out Agency Clerk at Baghpat, relating to the case against 64 persons including Mr. H. M. Nolan, Superintendent, S. S. Light Railway; Mr. D'Costa, Traffic Inspector, seven Station Masters, a railway contractor and a number of prominent sugar Merchants of the United Provinces, proceeding in the court of R. B. Vinod Chand, Special Magistrate at Meerut, under the various sections of the Indian Penal Code and the Defence of India Rules. This case is described as the most sensational case of profiteering, bribery and corruption of the present war in Northern India: Om Prakash who was also one of the accused in the case has been given King's Pardon: According to a rough estimate about Rs. 800,000 were paid as a bribe and approximately double of this amount was made by the accused merchants as profit by selling sugar and Gur, etc., in the black market and contravening the various regulations of the Sugar Control Order:

There was a surprise to-day in the court when Lalita Prashad, Station Master, Kandhla, who had been declared absconder by the court, surrendered himself remaining under ground for over an year. He was immediately taken in police custody.

Among some of the facts which the approver Om-Prakash had disclosed so far in the court during the course of his statement were that thousands of rupees were taken as bribe in the name of police, a number of documents were either torn or destroyed, thousands of railway receipts were antedated and written by the merchants themselves, and the signatures of the goods clerk were forged, railway receipts were prepared even without the forwarding notes, without the actual delivery of goods at the railway station, unauthorised railway receipt forms were printed, thousands of fictitious entries were made and several orders of the District Magistrate were deliberately defied.

The hearing of the case is proceeding.

Strictures on Ispahanis Expected in Woodhead Reports

The *National Call's* Delhi correspondent reports that the first part of the Woodhead Report is likely to be issued some time in January while the second part is expected to be issued in March. The first part will deal with the famine in Bengal and the second part will make recommendations regarding procurement and food supply. The correspondent says:

It is understood that the Woodhead Commission is taking due notice of the findings of the Braund Committee which purports to throw responsibility for Bengal on the Government of India rather than on the Government of Bengal. The Woodhead Commission, it is understood, is likely to white-wash the conduct of the various governments involved by showing that the Bengal famine was consequential on so many factors that blame cannot be made to rest on any single authority. I further understand that very serious strictures are likely to be passed on the conduct of the Bengal Food Procurement Agency which is in the hands of a famous Muslim League firm of Ispahanis.

The report, I believe, will be unanimous, the Indian members concurring to the findings of Sir John Woodhead and his colleagues, and the feeling is that this unanimity may be achieved at the expense of frankness.

Imperialism in Asia Doomed

A sharp contrast to the bulletin of the American Foreign Policy Association is pro-

vided in the bulletin of the Pacific Relations Institute. The *United Press of America* reports that this bulletin calls on the U.S. Government to attempt to obtain at the Pacific Relations Institute Conference, to be held in New York in January 1945, from the European colonial powers an agreement to the unequivocal and deficits programmes under which the peoples of Burma, Malay, Indo-China and East Indies would be assured of self-government in "fore-seable future." The author Lawrence Salisbury says :

An effort must be made now because America's "bargaining power" among the Allies would be greatly lessened with the defeat of Germany and "we may miss a great opportunity of ridding the world of the ever latent threat to the global and inter-racial war." He adds, "Imperialism in Asia is doomed" and "whatever may be the attitude of the colonial Powers the people of Asia will eventually achieve self-government." Therefore in their best interest America and her European Allies should realise that "it is wiser to yield strength to the growing aspirations of the colonial Asiatics than to delay until they are forced to yield from weakness." He said America's "prolonged silence" on the issue of colonial independence meant "tacit commitment to support the imperial system which will inevitably come to an end." He warned that the Jap propaganda for pan-Asia will continue in the post-war, "seizing every opportunity of creating among the other Asiatics hatred of the whites." Hence unless America and the European Powers co-operated the "enlightened policy which treats the Asiatics as potential equals in the world affairs" Japan's purpose "to fight next time with Asia solidly behind her" would more probably be achieved. He said in such a war China might be on the side of Japan, "for if our policy in South-East Asia proves to be a failure, our policy everywhere in East Asia will have failed."

No solution of the Asiatic problem is conceivable until and unless India attain her freedom. Programmes for Burma, Malay, Indo-China and the East Indies, in spite of their unequivocal and definiteness, will be useless and futile with India remaining "a vast prison house with the key at the White Hall."

103 Detenus Die in Bengal Jails

During question hour in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, on December 12, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Chief Minister informed the House that the number of persons detained without trial who died during detention was 59 in 1943 and 44 in 1942. The increase in death was, in the Government's opinion, due to admission of a large number of prisoners in a bad state of health. The number of prisoners who were released due to ill health was 67 in 1943 and 44 in 1944.

We are unable to appreciate the added amount of security obtained by the British Empire by imprisoning large numbers of prisoners in a bad state of health. A perusal of the official records of the proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Assembly reveals a good many

cases of neglect of the health of the detenus in some instances resulting in the death of the sufferers. The parliamentary secretary's reply reveals a state of affairs which deserves the severest condemnation of the present jail administration of the province. The proportion of deaths appears all the more alarming when we remember Sir Nazimuddin's statement that there were 1577 such prisoners in detention.

Control of Colonies

A bulletin issued by the Foreign Policy Association, New York, says that the desire for national independence among Asiatic peoples can no longer be checked, even by force. The Association has suggested a three-fold policy. Firstly, the United Nations, instead of returning the Japanese occupied areas to their previous colonial rulers, should establish an international trusteeship over them. Secondly, specific dates should be set when this trust could reasonably be expected to be terminated. Thirdly, that during the period of trusteeship, every effort should be made to provide the dependent peoples with education in political and economic matters. Peoples of Asia have knowledge of how these theories of trusteeship and white man's burden have worked out in Africa and Asia. Given any option they would want to manage their own affairs, even if it be attended with a temporary chaos, rather than remain under foreign rule. The Association further says, "The difficulty of liquidating the heritage of empire in subject countries must be accomplished in as orderly a manner as possible if chaos is to be prevented." Asiatics have found to their cost that such pleas are put forward not for the liquidation of an Empire but for the continuance of it in a modified form.

War Effort Load Heaviest on Indian Peasant

The Commander-in-Chief, General Sir Claude Auchinleck at a press conference today gave some impressions of his recent tour of India. He acknowledged that even the humblest in India were bearing the burden of war effort, and that the sacrifice which the Indian peasant with his small margin of reserve was called upon to make was severer than the deprivation of comfort which people in other countries with higher standards might suffer.

Replying to question whether the burden on the civil population would increase with the increase in the tempo of the war against Japan, the C-in-C said one hoped not. He added as more resources became available from overseas, it should not be necessary to demand so much from India but so long as the war against

Germany continued those resources were difficult to come by. "I can assure you that the Government of India has this matter very much in mind. The strain on the civil population should not be increased to a point at which it becomes unbearable."

Difference in the Emoluments of British and Indian Troops

In reply to a question put by Mr. K. C. Neogy in the Central Legislative Assembly on Nov. 3, last, Mr. C. M. Trivedi, on behalf of the Government, made a statement about the difference between the emoluments of a British soldier serving in India and of an Indian soldier serving abroad. The figures are given below :

British other ranks serving in India (i.e., outside their own country):—

Rank	Monthly emoluments
Privates— (Private after 3 years' service)	Rs. 119-12-0
Non-Commissioned Officers—	
Corporal	142-9-0
Sergeant	171-1-0
Warrant Officers—	
Class II (Sub-Conductor)	262-5-0
Class I (Conductor)	307-15-3

Indian soldiers serving outside India:—

Privates— (Sepoy after 3 years' service)	44-8-0
Non-Commissioned Officers—	
Naik	56-0-0
Havildar	63-0-0
Viceroy's Commissioned Officers—	
Jamadar	108-5-133
Subedar	183-10-223

In addition to the monthly emolument, the married British soldier gets a marriage allowance at the following rates :

For wife	Rs. 30
For wife and 1 child	86
For wife and 2 children	136
For wife and 3	181
Each additional child	45

In his report, Lord Munster has suggested several amenities for the British troops, but the conditions of Indian troops serving inside and outside India, has not merited the attention of either of his Lordship or the British or Indian Governments.

India's North-West Frontier

The Leader's special New Delhi representative reports that an Afghan Military Mission has arrived in New Delhi. With the emergence of Russia on the world's diplomatic chess-board, India's North-West Frontier is again coming into lime-light as a bulwark of defence of the British Empire in India. A committee under the chairmanship of General Tucker is already examining the problem of frontier in regard both to the tribal aspect and future defence line. The arrival of the Afghan Military Mission at a time when the Tucker Committee is

at work may be of some diplomatic significance. It is for the first time that a military mission from a neighbouring country has come to visit India during the war. Formerly goodwill or cultural missions have toured the country from Siam, Turkey and Iran. According to an official statement, the Afghan mission has come to study Indian Army methods.

Muslim League Politics

Muslim League politics in this country has developed three different characteristics, (i) one for Mr. Jinnah as Dictator, (ii) one for the provinces where the League is in opposition and (iii) one for the provinces where it is in office. The worthlessness of Mr. Jinnah's long standing grievance against the Congress parliamentary Board of the Working Committee in that it interfered in provincial administration has been proved by his uncalled-for intervention in Sind politics after Mr. Roger Thomas had been appointed Minister by the Sind Premier. The opportunist policy pursued in the provinces has also been exposed. In the Punjab, the League opposed the Members' Salary Enhancement Bill on grounds of principle demanding that any extra money should go to the small salaried people, while in Bengal such a Bill is being sponsored by the League to put more money in the pockets of the League members of the Legislature at a time when the petty clerks and school teachers, including a large number of their brothers in faith, are starving. In the Punjab the Leaguers have suddenly become conscious about the political prisoners and have demanded their release condemning the government action as "crushing the civil liberties of the people." The Punjab Premier has given a fit reply to them when he challenged the Leaguers who, he said, had one high command and one leader, to release all political prisoners and detenus in the N.-W.F.P., Sind, Bengal and Assam, and then press such motions in the Punjab Assembly. In respect of the states also the same dual policy is pursued. In Hindu majority states, where the Ruler is a Muslim, separatism is condemned but if the Ruler is a Hindu separatism is fostered. In the Hindu majority states where the Ruler is a Muslim, dictatorship is applauded as being the best arrangement, but where the Ruler is a Hindu popular government is demanded.

Index of "The Modern Review"

On account of restriction on paper it has not been possible for us to publish in this issue the index of the seventy-sixth (July-December, 1944) volume of *The Modern Review*. Readers desirous of obtaining it should write to the Modern Review Office Manager, enclosing one-
 at a time when the Tucker Committee is

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE end of the year leaves the position of the Allies on the Western front in a state of flux. This is an anti-climax to the inspired news we have been receiving from that quarter regarding the desperate straits to which the German defenders have been reduced. After the magnificently executed landing operations of the Allies in June, the real war-situation became secondary in importance on the "News-front" the head lines being repeatedly and continuously pirated by this allied spokesman and that, predicting an early and summary collapse of the Germans on the West. Mr. Churchill predicted victory by the end of summer in the first instance, then by the end of autumn and finally after many disappointments discreetly refused to think of victory at all for the present. American spokesmen were no less optimistic and even amongst the Allied fighting generals many broke out in prophecies, Field-Marshal Montgomery being the most optimistic. The earlier checks in Normandy cooled down the optimists for a while but after the German started their retreat to the frontiers, they gushed forth again into a veritable spate of amateur strategy and mock-heroic perorations about the future. Even the very distinct set-back in Holland and the very stiff opposition encountered in the Palatinate and elsewhere failed to daunt these oracles even though Mr. Churchill himself cooled down to a more cautious vein. It is this back-ground against which the present German thrust comes out in such a violent contrast.

We do not think the Allied commanders-in-the-field were under any delusion, whatever the position might have been in the Supreme War Council, for the facts of situation were standing out in stark relief after the German master-plan stood revealed in Eastern Europe. There, after an orderly retreat across hundreds of miles of devastated Soviet territory, the German defenders stood to battle on the approaches to the Reich. Thereafter the fighting took on a new orientation. On the coastal territories of the Baltic States, on the marches of East Prussia, across the heart of Poland and on the foothills of Carpathians a series of grim show-downs took place in which the defenders fought for each square yard of territory with a ferocity and skill that belied all thoughts of an imminent collapse. The debacle in Rumania, the defection of Finland and the seemingly total collapse of the defences in the Balkans were all major disasters and if the Germans

chill and other Allied spokesmen led the world to believe, then the Wehrmacht would never have been able to pull the defence together out of such desperate straits. The Wehrmacht succeeded, at that time, in establishing the defence on fresh lines where it materially succeeded in containing the Soviets' assaults *en-masse*. The defence line in Warsaw stood in spite of the very violent thrusts of the Soviets forces—aided as it was most substantially by the truly valiant "forlorn hope" attempts of "General Bor" and his gallant and heroic two hundred thousand Polish patriots. That the Soviets' assault should fail in spite of such a major diversion in great force at the rear was proof enough of the resources and efficiency of the Wehrmacht. Stalin's condemnation of "General Bor" after the failure of the assault on Warsaw is not only one of the most ungracious incidents of this war, it is also an indicator of the extent of the up-setting of the Russian plans consequent on this unexpected check. In East Prussia the Soviets' forces were fought to a standstill and in the Baltic states their progress became progressively slow and laboured in the extreme. Even in Hungary the Russian assault met—and is still meeting—extremely fierce and highly skilled opposition. All these facts clearly go to show that the German supreme command is not so down and out, shorn of all reserves and bereft of all resources, as the wishful thinking of some of the great ones on the Allied side led the democratic world to believe. Turning to the Western front, the extremely slow and halting progress of Montgomery's armies, which virtually have come to a standstill for the present after being manoeuvred into the flooded and marshy areas of the Dutch frontier regions, and the long and bitter opposition the American forces met prior to the German thrust were all pointers standing up a mile high of the strength and capacity still retained by the Nazi war-machine. And the Allied commander-in-the-field must have been well-aware of the implication of these facts, else why their slow, cautious and calculated, step-by-step advance into enemy territory in spite of a more than five-fold superiority in men, armour and artillery and mastery of the skies above the battle lines?

The fact is that the Wehrmacht is trying to force a long war of attrition on its opponents. The first essential of such a project is to disrupt the Allied plan of campaign with regard to both its continuity and coherence. The Russians

this manner before Moscow, at Rostov and finally at Stalingrad. After each set-back the Nazi supreme command had to plan afresh and, new reserves of men and material had to be sent to the field. Major alterations had to be made in the commands and drastic changes had to be made in the strategy of the assault in the matters of venue, tactical moves and the method of approach to seize the initiative. The Russians knew that they had not a ghost of a chance to obtain a decision on the field in their favour without the full weight of Allied intervention on a major continental scale in the West, which would force a substantial diversion of the forces of the Nazi High Command from the Eastern front to the West. And so they confined their counter-thrusts and winter-campaigns to limited objectives, which merely aimed at throwing the German campaigns out-of-gear, inflicting heavy losses in men and high wastages in material on the Germans thereby. Realization of the implications of such methods of warfare dawned on the Nazi war-lords after Stalingrad and with characteristic efficiency they changed their strategy from offence to defence in order to meet the imminent threat on the South and the West. That the defence plan was well thought-out and placed in capable hands is proved by the survival of the defence forces in the face of colossal disasters caused by the defections of all its allies in the West with the exception of the Hungarian fighting forces. This thrust by F. M. Rundstedt is thus just one more move according to plan. "Aachen as Xmas present" and "Paris in New Year" is just so much ballyhoo by Allied news-retailers for place names are of little moment in warfare on the continental scale. The German is fighting for time, time to add to and perfect his defences, to his reserves of men now in training and to his reserve of latest weapons, and the measure of his success is by the measure of time by which he can prolong this war.

It might be argued that the Russians could look forward to the day when the Western Allies formed the Second front and brought into action their vast resources in men and material against the enemy. They knew that once the Allies landed in France the battle in the West would be as exacting in costs to the Nazi resources as in the East and sooner or later the Axis war-machine would break under the load of the tremendous odds against it. But what have the Germans to look forward to, that they thus are trying to take a leaf out of the Soviet hook of defensive warfare? Apparently they have nothing—or have they? Japan's latest campaign in China provides much food for thought in that respect. As things stand,

already the U.S.A. has made substantial diversions of fighting forces to the Far Eastern theatre and indications are that still more and more troops and plans and material of war will have to be sent to that area. The Allied Supreme Command has had to modify its own dictum of "Asia must wait" already and if the war in Europe lengthens out to the end of 1945, then major alterations will have to be made in its plans. Japan did not wait though the rest of Asia had to perforce and it is gradually dawning on the Allied war-lords that further delay might be dangerous.

But will the Germans succeed in their attempts to gain time? This is a question for the Allied Supreme Command to answer. The situation in Luxembourg and Belgium at the time of writing (27-12-44) is too fluid for others to draw any conclusions. If Rundstedt succeeds in taking Liege and in consolidating for the winter on the line of the Meuse down to the approach to Sedan, then the Allied plans for the spring offensive would be handicapped.

In Italy the fight for the plains of the river Po blazed up about the middle of December and is still continuing in the pulsating manner that has marked the Italian campaign all along. We wrote in a previous issue that the Germans would probably stage a stubborn defence here, as beyond the Po the terrain would be in favour of the Allied forces due to their preponderance in the weight of armour.

In Hungary the battle for Budapest has now mounted to a climax. The Soviets' winter campaign has also started in the North and also on the Slovak border. The difficulties facing the Russians in this year's winter-campaign are peculiar, as we have remarked before, and therefore continuous long-term battering of the German positions have not been possible up till now. Even now the offensive has not mounted up to the proportions of the previous campaigns, though there are signs that the Soviets have solved their supply problems to some extent.

In the Far-East the Chinese have fought the Japanese campaign to a standstill. There is a welcome respite from the pressure on the slender and vanishing resources of China. The situation is far from the re-assuring as yet though the immediate danger seems to have passed. In the Philippines Leyte has been freed from the Japanese. This is a substantial gain for the Allies and it will probably aid the U.S.A. plans for a major offensive against Japan to a very great extent. Luzon and Mindanao have to be brought under American control, however, before the Japanese inner sea-lines can be cut, and that is the main objective before the Allies.

A NEW SOURCE OF MARATHA HISTORY

By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, KT., C.I.E., D.Litt.

At the end of the year 1771, Mahadji Sindhia rose to unmistakable prominence in Indian politics by the leading part that he took in restoring the exiled Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II to his capital at Delhi. Then followed years of stagnation and gloom for him owing to the premature death of the Peshwa Madhav Rao I (18 Nov. 1772), the murder of his successor Narayan Rao (30 Aug. 1773) and the civil war that broke out in Maharashtra against the next Peshwa Raghunath Rao. The English merchants of Bombay seized the opportunity of this internal weakness of the Puna Government to intervene and annex Maratha territory on the west coast (December 1774). The Maratha national leaders, popularly known as the *Bara-bhai*, patriotically met the challenge and war ensued with the English and the local traitor whom they supported. This is known as the First Maratha War, though it really consisted of two separate conflicts which were rightly styled in some contemporary English histories as the First and Second Maratha Wars. The treaty of Salbai in May 1782 put an end to them, recognising Mahadji Sindhia as guarantor of its terms to the English.

This people's war brought to the front two national leaders of unrivalled ability and character: Nana Fadnis the statesman and Mahadji Sindhia the soldier and diplomat. The work of the latter survives to our day. From the Convention of Wargaum (January 1779) in this war to the day of his own death on 12 Feb. 1794, Mahadji Sindhia dominated contemporary Indian history in North and South alike. He was the friend and "patron" of the English and the Regent Plenipotentiary (*Wakil-i-mutlag*) of the Mughal Empire after December 1784, and his successor Daulat Rao Sindhia continued to hold that commanding post till his reduction by Wellesley in 1803.

Therefore, no history of India in the last quarter of the 18th century can be complete which does not use the original Marathi and Persian State-papers and news-reports emanating from the courts of these two Sindhias or the camps of their generals. Hitherto our best sources of the history of Mahadji were the letters relating to this period (published by Rajwade in his *Sadhanen*, vol. 12) and the despatches sent to Nana Fadnis by that minister's envoys (*wakils*) stationed in Mahadji's camp (printed by Parasnis and reprinted by the Gwalior Darbar). These are supplemented by the reports, also in Marathi, sent by the Peshwa's agents at Delhi (the Hingane family) and also (though incidentally) by Nana

Fadnis's agents at the Court of Ahalya Bai Holkar (both series printed by Parasnis), besides a mass of Persian news-letters called *akhbarat* written by professional 'reporters of events' (called *wagia-navises*) kept at the Emperor's Court or in Sindhia's camp by prominent princes and nobles. This last class of records has not yet been printed, or even fully listed.

The Marathi despatches and news-letters sent from Mahadji Sindhia's camp run in an unbroken stream so long as Mahadji was absent in Northern India. But after his return to Puna in June 1792, they naturally ceased, because Nana and Mahadji being now at the same place there was no occasion to send such information about the one to the other in writing. This gap in our materials is filled by Persian *akhbarats* from the Peshwa's Court and Mahadji's camp written in Puna for employers in Northern India, such as the Nawab of Oudh, the English Council in Calcutta and others. A mass of these manuscript newspapers covering the years 1793-1795 are preserved in the British Museum (London). I have worked through photographs of them belonging to Kumar Raghuvir Sinh.

But these Persian "private press reports" from Puna do not supply us with any information (except at second hand or hearsay) about the happenings in Sindhia's dominions and spheres of influence in Northern India. *Akhbarats* were undoubtedly sent from those places to the Peshwa and the two Sindhias at Puna during these ten years, but they no longer survive among the Peshwas' Daftar in Puna and the Sindhia archives at Gwalior.

This gap has most happily been filled by the recent exploration of the *Gulqule Daftar*, preserved in the Sarola House in the city of Kotah. These are the property of a family of Saraswat Brahmans surnamed Gulqule who were placed at Kotah as the managers of the Maratha tributes from Rajputana as early as 1740. The founder of the family Balaji Yashwant and his son Lalaji Ballal cover between them the long period from about 1734 to 1810. Balaji started his career as a clerk of Sindhia about 1733 and rose to be *Kamavisdar* or Commissioner of tribute collection for Sindhia at Kotah.

Kotah was for a long time the pivot of Maratha interests in Rajputana, Malwa and further north, and a convenient half-way house between Delhi and Poona; being just at the gate of the Mukundara Pass. Money governed the unending military operations of the Marathas, and Gulqule at Kotah was constantly kept

informed of the developments of their campaigns and diplomacy. He received frequent despatches from Sindhia's captains, envoys and civil administrators in various places, reporting the progress of events, the substance of the letters received by Mahadji and his orders on them, and the diplomatic moves in which they were engaged. Besides, Gulgule like other high officers had his own paid newswriter at his master's court or camp. Thus, after Mahadji Sindhia's arrival at Puna in June 1792 this is the only source from which we get *inside* information in full detail about the savings and doings of Mahadji and of his chief officers. The Persian *akhbarats* mentioned above and the Marathi letters in Khare's *Aitihasik Lekh Samgraha* often give only the current reports and echoes of original information. Lalaji Ballal's agent, Jagannath Vishwanath, wrote to his master from Puna during 1791-94, full details of the affairs at the Peshwa's Court, and Sindhia's moves and fortunes there. These letters are an invaluable corrective and supplement to the letters of the Southern Maratha jagirdars printed by Khare in many volumes.

For the period 1789-1802, when the Sindhia-Holkar rivalry dominated and distracted the history of Rajputana, Malwa and Puna, one would naturally look for the primary sources of information in the record offices of the Gwalior and Indore States. But the old historical papers of the Holkars were badly burnt in a fire in the wooden house where they were stored, and only their charred fragments have been printed in three or four thin volumes by the Indore Darbar. Hence, this side of the case is practically silent except for the book *Holkaranchi Kaifiyat* which is open to doubt as a later compilation, written in 1824 on the basis of hearsay and traditions and not quoting original documents.

As for the Sindhias, the record office at Gwalior contains only a few historical papers for the period before 1803, and these are of second-rate or third-rate importance, often relating to money matters only. After 1803 the records in the English language are profuse and most authoritative, except for the small domestic concerns of these two States. The full correspondence, both letters received and sent out, of the successive British Residents with Sindhia have been published in five volumes in the "Poona Residency Correspondence Series" (Bombay Govt. Press),—the last of them being under preparation.

Thus it happens that the Gulgule Daftar is of supreme importance, and in some points our only source, for the history of Mahadji Sindhia from 1792 to 1794 and also for the Sindhia-Holkar relations from the rise of Jaswant Rao

Holkar at the beginning of 1799 to the neutralisation of Daulat Rao Sindhia by Wellesley in the first months of 1804. On the early career of Jaswant Rao Holkar, the Gulgule Daftar contains the only original sources in Marathi that I know of, and these documents with their exact dates and precise details, very usefully supplement, and where necessary correct, the memoirs of Bhawani Shankar Bakhshi written in Persian. In fact, no full history either of Mahadji Sindhia or of Jaswant Rao Holkar can be written unless the Gulgule records relating to them are printed.

The Gulgule records change in character as we pass from the year 1742 when they begin to 1785; when Sindhia became regent of the Emperor. At first the letters are very short, mostly bare entries or orders about small money transactions or land rights and similar commonplace things, without the least historical significance. But after 1785 they become despatches, giving authentic accounts of battles and diplomatic negotiations, announcements of policy, or exact reports of the speeches and doings of the chiefs on the two sides. Here we get State-papers in the true sense of the term, written on the spot by competent agents and exactly dated. An example may be here cited: the detailed study of the Lakheri campaign of De Boigne (1793) which I had composed with great labour and thought from the previously known materials, had to be vitally changed and corrected after the Gulgule papers on the subject were made available to me.

In addition to the Marathi records, the Sarola House archives contain a number of Persian letters written to Lalaji Ballal or to Zalim Singh (through Lalaji) on behalf of the French commanders of Sindhia, such as De Boigne, Perron, Bourquien, &c. by their Persian secretaries (*munshis*). But they are of no historical importance, in not being despatches on campaigns, but mostly conventional letters referring to petty matters. On them, however, we get the exact signatures of these officers and also impressions of their Persian seals.

The despatches and news-letters in the Marathi language in the Gulgule collection number over 5,000. They have been carefully preserved and sorted according to the different chiefs to whom or for whom they were written. This work was done by their late owner Pandit Purushottam Rao Gulgule about 20 years ago. He permitted Sardar Anand Rao Bhau Phalke, a noble of the Gwalior State, to transcribe them from the Modi script of the originals into Devanagari characters, and to publish them. Phalke printed two volumes of selections from these archives; the first (printed in 1920) contains 206 very short documents

relating to the family of Sindhias from Ranoji (the founder of the house) to Ravloji, 9 persons, covering the years 1742-1767; his second volume (printed in 1930) is made up of 198 letters from the Peshwas, the Pawars of Dhar and Dewas, the Gaekwads, and the Holkars, from 1738 to 1814. But both volumes are very scanty, as not a single despatch or news-letter relating to any of these chiefs has been included, because the latter class of records are not *letters* written by them! No letter of Mahadji Sindhia has been yet printed, as Sardar Phalke reserved this chief's correspondence for future publication on account of their vast size which demands several volumes to deal with them exhaustively.

The present head of the Gulgule family Pandit Chandra Kant has very kindly permitted Maharaj-Kumar Raghuvir Sinh, D.Litt., LL.B., the heir of the Maharajah of Sitamau (in Malwa) to take typed copies of these records. All lovers of Indian history must pray that this highly enlightened and liberal prince will be able to publish the very cream and truly unique portion of the Gulgule archives,—namely, the records of Mahadji and Daulat Rao Sindhia, under the competent editorship of Rao Bahadur Govind Rao Sardesai, soon enough to enable the older generation of students of Maratha history like myself to use them before we leave the earthly scene.

SOME NON-POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE CONGRESS

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.

I

WHAT, it may be asked by many not friendly to our only all-India non-communal political organisation, has the Indian National Congress done so far? A complete answer to a question like this should cover so many points and concern itself with so many aspects of national life that one naturally shrinks from undertaking such an onerous task. Naturally the answer which comes first of all to our mind is its achievements in the sphere of political progress. It may point with just pride to the progressive advance made in widening our liberties and claim that these have been secured mainly, if not wholly, on account of the repeated demands made by this organisation and the self-sacrifice and devotion of very large number of its members who have courted imprisonment and even physical pain in order to put pressure on an alien unsympathetic bureaucracy.

It is not intended to deal here with those political advances for the securing of which the activities of the Congress are responsible, but to discuss certain other improvements in our all-India condition which the present writer regards as the outcome of the activities of this great organisation.

II

Ever since the foundation of the Indian National Congress, it has always carried on a vigorous campaign for the inclusion of Indians in the various branches of the public services. Even up to the seventies of the last century, the highest of Indian ambitions was limited to appointment as the Principal Sudder Amin on the Judicial and as the Deputy Magistrate on the Executive side. No one could then imagine that an Indian could aspire to the position of a Session Judge or a District Magistrate. The present writer has heard from his father that when in 1871, three Bengalis forced their way into the I.C.S., the late Rev. K. M. Banerjee, always known for his balanced judgment and the sobriety of his language, described their success as the "second great battle of Plassey fought on British soil." Since that time, many such battles of Plassey have been fought and won but without attracting much public notice. Even the most careless comparison of the Civil List of the period just referred to with any of today will show what progress has been made in this direction, all of which it is maintained, represents

gains made by the country through the constant agitation carried on by our great national organisation.

Today we see Indians occupying the highest possible positions everywhere and administering the country in various different capacities with skill and success but into this it is not necessary to enter. Only those who have any knowledge and recollection of those older days can fully appreciate the robust optimism which urged the Congress to demand the legitimate rights of Indians in no uncertain voice and to continue insisting on them till they had been secured.

There is, however, still a sharp distinction between the Provincial and Imperial services as well as special provisions for safeguarding the interests of a certain class of the servants of India. National India does not feel the slightest doubt that it too will disappear. In this connection, something ought also to be said about the rapid Indianisation of the Army which has been forced on the British administration by the exigencies of the present war but it is such an important matter that the present writer will content himself with merely making the barest reference to it.

III

Bengal and Madras had long an indigenous textile industry but they had been ruined by the importation of cheap foreign textiles from Lancashire. It was in 1905 that Bengal launched the boycott movement as a protest against partition. The present writer has vivid recollections of the mammoth meeting held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, where there was an audience said to have numbered between thirty and thirty-five thousand. There were three meetings held simultaneously—one on the first and the second on the ground floor of the Town Hall but the largest was held in the *maidan* opposite the Town Hall. The boycott movement spread like wild-fire all over India and it was then that the British administration came to realise the intensity of the opposition this uncalled-for measure had provoked as well as the strength and the unity which lay behind the boycott movement. The Congress did not formally sanction the boycott but gave its approval to *Swadeshi*.

The first to benefit were the Bombay mills. They had to be enlarged again and again. There was greater demand for hand-woven stuff. We next had small-scale

and cottage industries supplying many of our major wants and every Indian is aware to what extent we are growing self-sufficient. Large-scale Indian industries have also come to stay. But these are too well-known to require any but the barest mention. It is the Congress and the Congress alone which gave the required fillip to industry and it has thus indirectly met many of our most crying needs. In conclusion, to fill in this barest of sketches, reference has to be made to the organisation of the National Planning Committee and the unfortunate circumstances under which its activities have been suspended.

IV

It was Hume, the "father of the Indian National Congress" who, in laying down the aims and objects of our national organisation, said that they were "the regeneration of India on all lines, spiritual, moral, social, industrial and political," though at the same time he added that the energies of the Congress were to be principally "directed to national and political objects upon which the whole country was able to stand on a common ground." Later on, another friend of the Congress, Sir William Wedderburn, pointed out how "the workers for political progress were the most active friends of social reform."

Who of the elder generation does not remember the question of sea-voyage and how it was tackled by the older race of Congressmen so that it has today ceased to be a problem at all? We are now concerned with another and still more difficult problem, the problem of the *Harijans* and of untouchability. This too is being boldly faced everywhere. When they were in office, the different Congress ministries made educational grants for the uplift of this backward community. The use of public wells and roads by *Harijans*, their proper treatment in schools, dispensaries and hospitals and temple entry are now insisted on. The present writer confesses his inability to give an adequate description of the value of the work done by Mahatma Gandhi both through his own efforts and through the *Harijan Seva Sangh* in this direction.

In addition to the campaign against untouchability carried on by the *Seva Sangh*, we also find that the destruction of caste exclusiveness has been hastened by the national struggle for political freedom. Common ideals and common sufferings have brought the different classes closer to one another. In the jails, members of all castes mixed freely and came to know and love one another. Then again, the distinction between the rich and the poor was obliterated and new bonds of sympathy forged between them. It was in the jails that the economically prosperous Congressmen came to learn something about the miseries of their poorer brethren and the oppression to which they are only too often subjected. The first-hand knowledge acquired in this way explains the whole-hearted enthusiasm with which the richer and the more influential have given their moral and financial support to organisations, such as the All-India Spinners' Association, the All-India Village Industries Association, the *Harijan Seva Sangh*, the Wardha Scheme of Education and the Prohibition policy of the Congress.

V

Three years after its foundation, the Congress alarmed by a large increase in the consumption of liquor entered a demand for a policy to promote temperance. This led to an increase in the import duty on foreign spirits, the imposition of excise duty on Indian-brewed malt liquors, the abolition of the outstill system in Bengal and the closing of more than 7,000 liquor shops in Madras in 1889-90. Ten years later at the Lahore sessions, the Congress passed a resolution in which a further rapid increase in the consumption of alcohol was ascribed to the "cheap supply of liquor" rendered possible by the indifference of the administration to the

problem of intemperance. Recommending the enacting of legislation to discourage the easy availability of liquor and the imposition of additional taxation upon intoxicants not intended to be used as medicines, the Congress stated that unless these or similar steps were taken immediately

"the moral, material, and physical deterioration of those classes among whom liquor etc., have obtained a firm hold would be inevitable; and as intoxicants have already affected the great labouring class, the benevolent intention of the Government to help the growth of the Indian arts and industries would bear no fruit."

As the Congress became more and more broad-based, the new blood that entered it and which had more intimate contact with the masses and sympathised with their miseries, came to the conclusion that hesitating measures such as an increase in the duty would merely scotch the evil but would never kill it. These people also noticed a serious increase in the consumption of narcotics as also that the use of drink and drugs was growing more and more extensive in the rural areas so much so that, in most provinces, the revenue from excise formed a considerable proportion of the total revenue. This explains why total prohibition became one of the planks of the Congress platform from 1920 and why it was pressed on the attention of the people and a large volume of public opinion in favour of it was sought to be created by Congress leaders not the least among whom was Mahatma Gandhi.

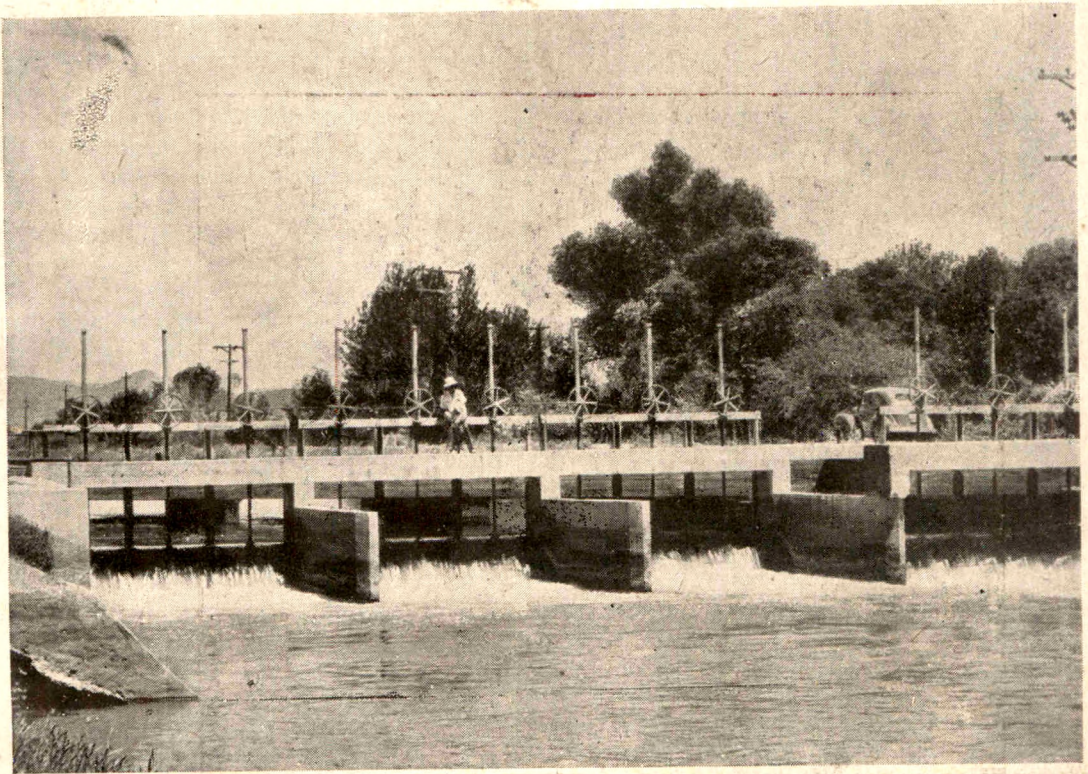
This move received little support from the British administration which probably held that it was a political stunt to capture the imagination of the masses. Dr. Ansari, the nationalist Muslim leader, was referring to this unsympathetic attitude of our rulers when he said,

"Forbidden by his religion to the Mussalman and held pernicious by the Hindu, the evil of drink would not have spread so rapidly and extensively, had the Government taken sympathetic attitude towards those who were endeavouring to stop it."

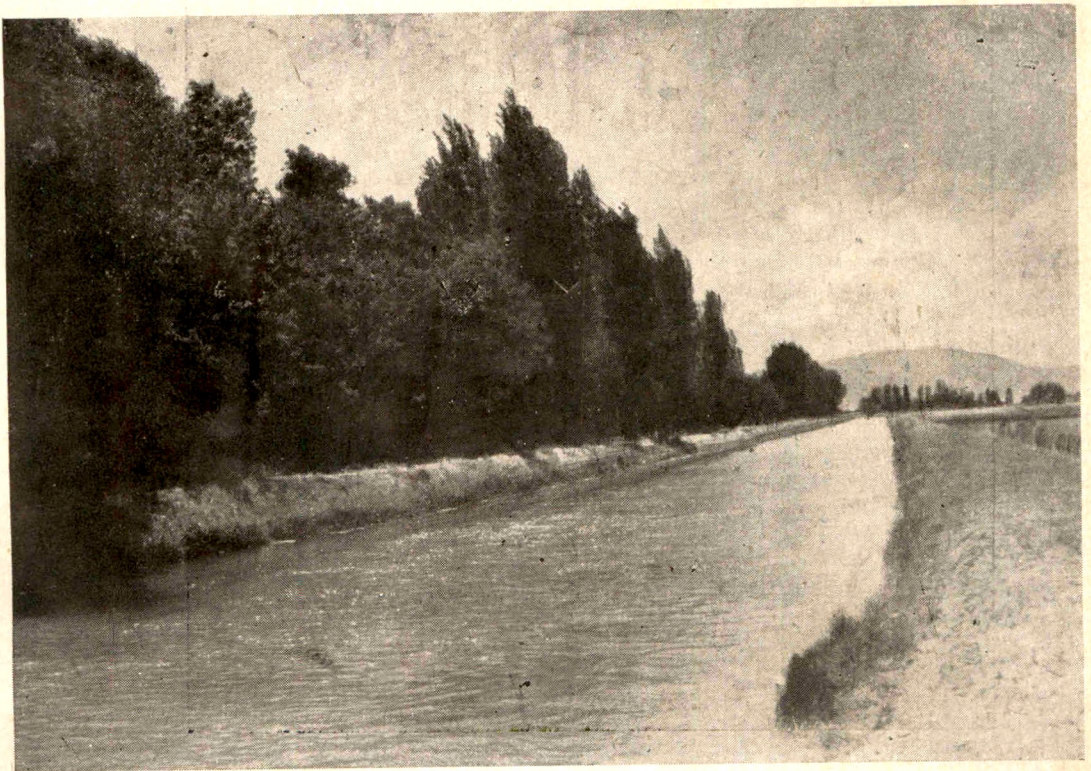
Though the necessity of prohibition was urged on the country by Congressmen from 1920, the movement assumed its most militant form during the Civil Disobedience Movement when shops selling liquor and drugs were picketed with very great success by women most of whom belonged to highly connected and prosperous families. Two or three of them would be seated on chairs, sometimes provided by the shop-keepers. Every one would have a badge with a number and a book of printed forms in which the names of those who patronised these shops were entered. An appeal would be made to them not to buy and if it failed, a letter enclosing "temperance" literature and some sort of pledge was posted to them.

The campaign was carried on up to the time of the introduction of Provincial autonomy when Congress ministries were formed in some of our provinces. The seriousness of the menace was realised only when it was found that the revenue from drink and drugs constituted as much as 25 per cent of the total revenue of Bombay, Madras and Bihar and 20 per cent or more of the revenue of the Central Provinces, the United Provinces and Assam. In spite of the inelasticity of the revenue structure, the different Congress ministries took immediate steps to introduce prohibition in certain restricted areas and, to make up the loss, taxed the rich with the anticipated result of incurring their hostility. It is a regrettable fact that, little by little, prohibition has been withdrawn on the plea that it leads to the illicit manufacture of liquor, smuggling, etc.

The one thing, however, with which we are concerned here is that the introduction of prohibition has reformed many a drunkard and drug addict so that today their families have at least the happiness of knowing that the whole of their earnings is spent on providing the necessities of life. The present situation



This irrigation gate in the Western U. S. State of Colorado controls the flow of water into the canal which carries water to miles of farm fields

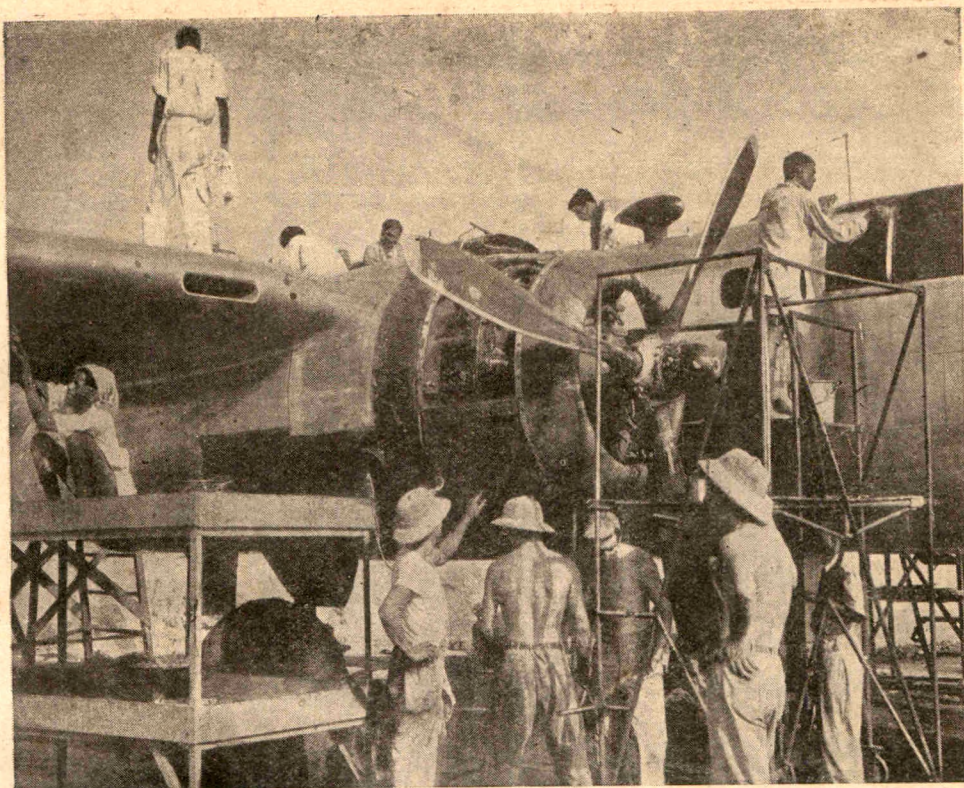


The main canal in an irrigation project in the western State of Oregon supplies about 65,000 acres of farm land with irrigation water



AFTER HARVEST
Nihar Ranjan Sen Gupta

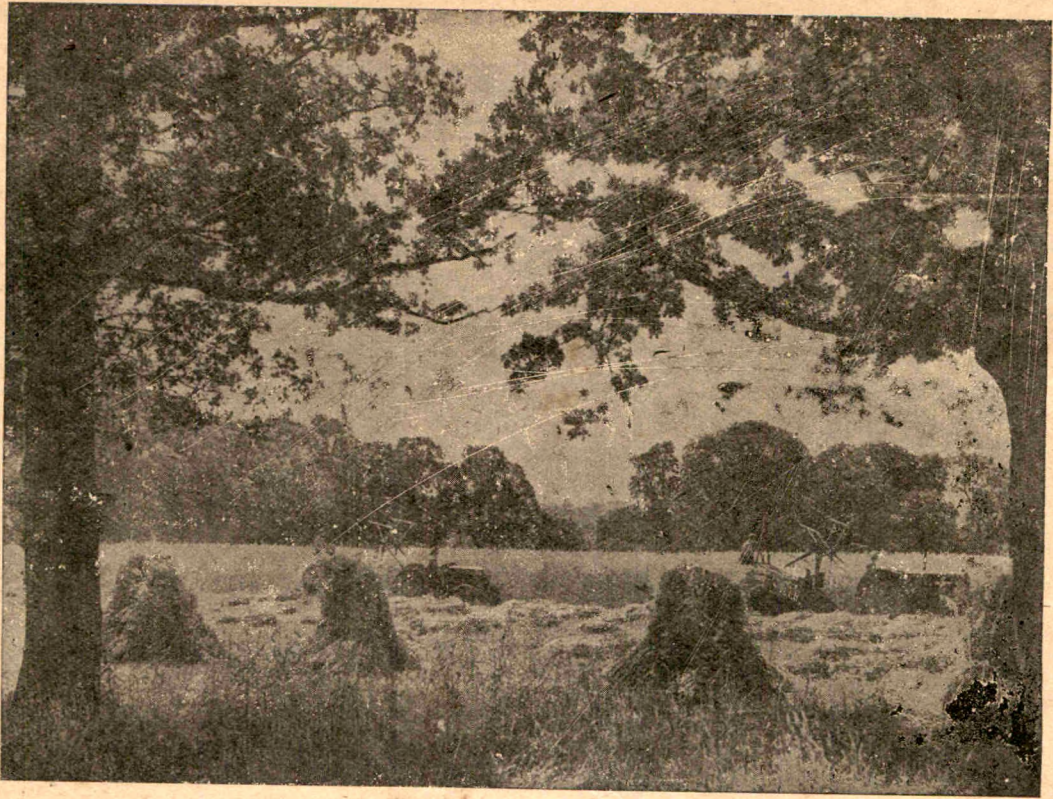
Prabasi Press, Calcutta



Indian mechanics work under the direction of U.S. Engineers on a B-25 at a field somewhere in India



These dogs and their trainers are attached to the Marauders, the American infantry troops that



Britain's harvest is being gathered in Sussex by tractors driven by Land Girls



Accompanied by parishioners, members of the Women's Land Army and Young Farmers' Club, the Bishop of Salisbury passes through a wheat field blessing Britain's crops

met many such persons in different parts of India and is therefore in a position to vouch for the correctness of the opinion expressed above. The one thing about which he is certain is that though indulgence in stimulants and narcotics is easier than in the days when the Congress ministries were enforcing their prohibition policy, there can be little doubt that the example of these reformed drunkards and drug addicts must open the eyes of their friends and neighbours as regards the benefits derivable from abstinence—indeed a valuable contribution to their economic betterment.

VI

The Civil Disobedience Movement very greatly accelerated the disappearance of the *purdah* and the awakening of women. Many women came out of the *purdah* for the first time and never went back. Ladies belonging to the highest and wealthiest aristocratic Hindu families as also ladies belonging to the wealthiest Parsi families picketed liquor shops and shops selling foreign cloth, led processions, were handled roughly, often beaten and flung into jail.

The present writer has seen an enthusiastic Congress-woman, the wife of a Hindu holding the very highest of official positions, dragged by the hair of her head by an Indian police constable in front of College Square, Calcutta, and in the presence and under the eyes of a non-Indian Commissioner of Police, not fit to black her shoes. It is true that she was breaking the law by picketing the Presidency (Government) College but what he witnessed he considered deliberate "frightfulness." Jawaharlal Nehru has told us in his autobiography how even his frail mother was beaten. This happened not here and there but all over India and only cases concerned with people occupying high positions attracted public attention and called forth public comments. It was when our women in their thousands were treated thus that the iron entered into our soul and we felt what Englishmen must have felt when only one Englishwoman had been ill-treated at Amritsar during the troublous days in the Punjab.

Thanks, however, to Mahatma Gandhi the resentment natural as it was, never found any expression in violence. And violence too in a disarmed country would have been useless. Probably this was as much responsible as the principle of soul force in keeping the country quiet. It had, however, one very beneficial effect. *Purdah*, at least among Congresswomen, disappeared for good. Only yesterday, the U.P., had a woman minister. A lady belonging to a very respectable and highly connected Muslim family was the very active secretary of a coolies' union in a city of North India when the present writer visited it three years ago. Two of the most prominent socialists are women. Truly, out of evil cometh good. Today we have Hindu and Mussalman women members in the different provincial assemblies.

VII

When engaged in conducting the campaign against the oppression of the ryots by the European indigo planters of Champaran in Bihar, Gandhiji had observed that in meeting these poor men he felt that he was face to face with God, Ahimsa and Truth. But it would be a mistake to suppose that a burning love for the masses is confined to him only. Vallabhbhai Patel has said,

"If any one is fit to walk with his head erect on this earth, it is the peasant. He is the producer, the others are parasites."

Along with these great men, leaders like Jawaharlal, Rajagopalachari, Rajendra Prasad, etc., had realised the appalling poverty of the peasant because of his enforced idleness for periods varying from four to six months every year due to lack of supplementary occupations. Congressmen, as a class, began to feel

had participated in the different attempts made to enlarge India's political powers, were sent to jail where intimate contact was established with them.

Gandhiji's suggestion that hand-spinning along with hand-weaving offers an immediate, practical and permanent solution of this our most vital problem, unemployment with its concomitant, chronic under-nourishment, was enthusiastically accepted. All understood that India had ample supplies of the raw material and that no appliances beyond the means of the masses were required for implementing the *khadi* programme. Its value lay in the fact that it could be taken up and laid aside at the convenience of the operator, that it could, by supplying all the cloth required by him, reduce the expenditure he has to incur for procuring this necessary of life and that even two annas a day, small as the amount undoubtedly is, promises a substantial addition to the very meagre earnings of the agricultural population living on the verge of starvation.

The extent of economic benefit which can be derived by the adoption of the *khadi* programme becomes evident when we remember that only 10 crores go towards the payment of the wages of cotton operatives in our Indian mills which are normally said to manufacture cotton textiles worth about Rs. 50 crores whereas the sale of *khadi* of the same value would mean the payment of Rs. 35 crores as wages to the workers.

The All-India Spinners' Association, originally organised by Mahatma Gandhi, recently severed all connection with the Congress mainly because it was felt that no handle should be given to the critics and opponents of the latter to describe it as part of its political machinery to influence public opinion. According to the report of the All-India Spinners' Association for the year 1940, it provided work for more than 275,000 villagers including nearly 20,000 *Harjans* and nearly 58,000 Muslims who received as wages nearly 35 lakhs while the value of the *khadi* produced was about Rs. 50 lakhs. It has to be remembered that the figures given above do not take into account probably still larger numbers engaged in similar work though not under the direct supervision and control of the All-India Spinners' Association.

The attention of the reader may now be drawn to the light in which the *khadi* programme is regarded by a well-known Western thinker. G. D. H. Cole on page 290 of his *Guide to Modern Politics* says,

"Gandhi's campaign for the development of the home made clothes industry, *Khaddar*, is no mere fad of a romantic age to revive the standard of the Indian villager."

This is why the present writer regards it as one of the most precious non-political contributions of the Congress to our national well-being.

VIII

The impact of Western industrialised civilisation on our old agricultural economic order has implied not only loss of employment for our rural craftsmen and increasing pressure on an already overburdened land, but also expenditure which he cannot always afford by the rural buyer for the purchase of manufactured articles which he cannot do without. In other cases, it has meant the substitution of less for more lasting articles and adulterated for pure foodstuffs. What is most regrettable is the unexampled rapidity with which our rural arts and crafts have been disappearing.

It has also been realised that the fundamental problem of India, like that of almost every other country in the world, is the adoption of effective measures for the gradual increase in the volume of employment and that industrialisation is no cure for large-scale unemployment. Improvements in technical processes merely mean cheapening the cost of produc-

amply proved by what Mr. Philip Murray, Chairman of the Steel Workers' Organising Committee, said on the 6th May, 1940, in the *New Republic*,

"The continuous automatic steel strip enables 126 men to do the work previously performed by 4,512."

So far as India is concerned, Mahatma Gandhi with his accustomed clarity emphasised the difficult problem we have to face when he remarked that

"Mechanisation is good when the hands are too few for the work intended to be accomplished. It is an evil when there are more hands than required for the work as is the case in India. The problem, therefore, with us is labour absorption and not labour saving machinery."

The aim of the All-India Village Industries Association organised in 1934 by the Congress under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi, was the resuscitation and popularisation of our village arts and crafts in order that we might use our raw materials in the areas where they are produced or in places as close to them as possible thus ensuring a continuous demand for them and a fair price for their producers. The second object was the supply of adequate quantities of manufactures at prices within the reach of the poor consumers. The third purpose was the providing of employment for our village craftsmen and, along with it, the reduction of the pressure on the land. The fundamental idea was to make the villages prosperous by making them self-sufficient and to decentralise production thus avoiding the evils of capitalism.

On the first page of the Report of the All-India Village Industries Association for 1941 we find the following account of its activities:

"The Association fixed on a minimum wage, organised exhibitions and museums to demonstrate the possibilities of persons taking to village industries, carried on propaganda to make the village people conscious, and develop their economic thought along decentralisation of industries."

Industries like paddy husking and flour grinding, oil pressing, *gur* making, bee keeping, paper and soap making, tanning and leather work, coir spinning and weaving, mat and basket making, slate pencil manufacturing, horn work, button making, etc., have been started in suitable villages. In 1935, the Gram Sevak Vidyalaya was organised to train students in various village industries. Along with the above, the Association also carried on village uplift and rural welfare work. No one can deny the valuable nature of the services sought to be rendered to the masses by this purely non-political activity of the Congress.

IX

Recognising the intimate connection between illiteracy on the one hand and poverty, ill-health and superstition on the other, Mahatma Gandhi outlined his scheme of Primary education in 1937. This, either in the form he gave it or with modifications to suit local needs, has captured the imagination of India. To realise its true place in the educational system, we must remember that it is meant for villages where the percentage of illiteracy is much higher than in towns, that it aims at imparting what may be characterised as practical literacy and familiarity with some useful handicraft and that one of its objects is to prevent the rush of rural folk to large urban centres. Its special feature is that the whole of the elementary school curriculum centres round a basic handicraft which, in its turn, leads to several subsidiary occupations.

There seems little doubt that its adoption with such variations as may be found necessary in different areas, would revolutionise village education within a few years provided the different political organisations could be persuaded to withdraw their opposition to it mainly because it comes from what many of them regard

decades of educational work to his credit holds the above view as he regards it as the most practical attempt at a type of education that has its roots in village life. In addition, he believes that the mass drive against adult illiteracy sponsored by the Congress ministries during their limited period of power and continued, though with less intensity, after they had withdrawn from office, owes nearly all its inspiration to the efforts made to popularise mass education through this scheme.

X

It did not take the Congress long to realise the importance of having one common language through which a man from say a province like Bengal could make himself understood say in Maharashtra or Tamilnad. Though it is perfectly true that English has played a valuable role in the interchange of ideas between Western educated people belonging to different provinces, it cannot be denied that it is useless as a means of communication where the masses are concerned. There is also the fact that the United India which nationalists envisage will require a medium of national self-expression which cannot but be one or other of the so-called Indian vernaculars. While there are objections to the selection of that particular type of Hindi which one authority has very happily called "Bazar Hindusthani," with its words drawn from Sanskrit, Persian and Urdu sources, for South India specially does not know much of it, we cannot deny that it is spoken in a more or less modified form more largely and that it is more widely understood than any other Indian language.

The steps taken by the Congress to popularise this language were characterised probably more by enthusiasm than by discretion and its political opponents did not fail to take advantage of the mistake made. But as they have no constructive suggestion to offer and moreover as the need for an all-India language is recognised, it is difficult to see by what other equally widely understood language it can be substituted. Under these circumstances, the establishment of an organisation for the popularisation of an all-India means of communication seems a distinct service. The use of Hindi or variants of it in the cinemas is also another pointer to the evolution of this common language for the whole of India and this too may fairly be regarded as one of the by-products of nationalism.

XI

It cannot be denied that, by temperament, the average Indian is unwilling to assert himself even when he has justice on his side. A little reflection will show what a marvellous change for the better has come over his character under the stress of the no-tax and the no-rent campaigns as well as other militant forms of the Civil Disobedience Movement. It is admitted that critics of the Congress are not altogether wrong when they contend that the adoption of what has been called "direct action" has brought in indiscipline as against which it has developed a capacity for suffering, a new type of pugnacity displaying itself by not striking back when struck and a self-confidence to which the Indian had been a stranger for generations.

The transformation referred to here is noticeable not only among those who defied the British administration and had to pay the penalty for doing so but also among those who stood by and watched the struggle from a distance. And what is still more remarkable is the fact that this psychological change noticed first among the leaders, nearly all of whom were drawn from different layers of the middle classes, was later on manifested by the masses whose patient endurance of all kinds of oppression has been noted and commented

Gandhiji, the sincerest and most consistent exponent of Ahimsa, had given India the political *mantram*, "*Swaraj* is the abandonment of the fear of death. A nation which allows itself to be influenced by the fear of death cannot attain *Swaraj*, and cannot retain it if somehow attained. . . We are not yet completely free because we are not prepared to look death quietly in the face."

Not content with merely giving this *mantram*, Gandhiji taught by his own example that the one and only way to freedom is absolute fearlessness with the result that thousands, if not lakhs, of Indians not only accepted the message but also acted up to it. It was astonishing to see a whole nation including the generally timorous down-trodden masses throwing off, as it were overnight, what an Englishman has called "the mental bonds of servitude" and acquiring a new dignity through sheer cold courage. The process commencing in the days of the Non-Co-operation Movement of 1920-22, found its consummation in the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-32 when an Indian commenting on what he had seen wrote as follows, in June, 1930 :

"The national upheaval has well-nigh broken the mental bonds of slavery. Man, woman and child are learning to hold their heads high and breathe as free beings. The dread of imprisonment is gone. The fear of bullets and *lathis* is also going."

In his *India and the Simon Report*, Deenabandhu C. F. Andrews was referring to this wonderful psychological change when, after giving a patient hearing to an Indian friend who was bitterly condemning the Non-Co-operation Movement, he asked the very pertinent question,

"Does the Indian villager today stand up to the Englishman more fearlessly than before? Has he become less afraid of the Government official, of the landowner, and of the police?"

and the Indian, after a very long pause replied,

"You're right, I never thought of that. Of course there is no comparison. The villager looks every man in the face today."

That this new fearlessness even in the face of death was not confined to the villager was demonstrated most clearly in Bombay when a young and humble Congress-worker drawn from the poverty-stricken working classes was run over and killed by a motor lorry carrying foreign piece-goods while offering Satyagraha by lying in front of it.

As the funeral procession that escorted the dead body of this poor and unknown boy was passing to the burning ghat, people were astonished to see that Hindu women who never attend funerals were carrying the bier along with the men. Still more wonderful was the fact that although no Hindu female may light the pyre even of her husband, father, brother or son, it was a Brahmin woman of the most exclusive sect and family who set fire to the funeral pyre of this youth.

It was thus that under the stress of common suffering, new bonds between the rich and the poor were forged. Even if they weaken with time, it is not likely that they will disappear altogether. The Congress and the Congress alone should get the credit for the establishment of this new relationship between the Indian classes and the Indian masses.

XII

Still another remarkable result of the conscious or unconscious imbibing of Congress teachings has been a marked improvement in the character of Indians in general. This naturally enough comes under the notice of a man like the present writer who has lived long enough to compare what was to be seen nearly seventy years ago with what one sees today. In every grade of society, there is a greater love of truth, a more

admiration for uprightness. People no longer show any backwardness in giving public expression to their convictions and to pay the penalties contingent on doing so. It is true that these qualities, praiseworthy in their own way, occasionally display themselves in undesirable forms specially among the educated young men and young women. None the less we must hope for the disappearance of their objectionable features and the retention of those only that are admirable.

The present writer for one can never sufficiently admire the obstinacy often displayed by Bengali youngmen in refusing to get married before they are in a position to support their families. The disintegration of the joint family system is another very welcome sign of a change of heart brought about by the urge for self-respect and economic independence which ever goes hand in hand with the desire for political independence.

Then again, the insistent demand for better treatment, the readiness with which gratuitous insults whatever the quarter from which they proceed are resented and, above all, the claims for justice and fairness are all more or less due to that independence of character which has been fostered by constant Congress propaganda. That cringing servility which has been the shame and the disgrace of India's manhood and to which Lord Macaulay made such caustic reference is no longer the rule either in official or public life. The restoration of the self-respect of Indians as a class had come first of all in the days of the Non-Co-operation Movement of 1920-22 but it had not touched directly or indirectly so many Indians as the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-32. Here in addition to the thousands who actively participated in it and most of whom paid the penalty for their temerity in ways about which the future dispassionate historian of Indian nationalism will have much to say provided the records are not destroyed or placed beyond his reach, there were others, numbering millions, who in spite of their fundamental ideological differences with the Congress felt a glow of pride when they realised the steadiness with which sufferings were borne and were stirred to the inner depths of their beings when they contrasted the gallantry of their countrymen and countrywomen against what appeared to them, at least in those hectic days, as the calculated frightfulness of an administration which claimed to be civilised and to be present in our country for the benefit of its people.

When Gandhiji after his march from the 12th March to the 5th April, lasting for 24 days in which he and his followers covered about 200 miles, lifted a piece of salt from the sea-side on the morning of the 6th April, 1930 without paying the tax, he was doing exactly what had been done more than a century before in the famous Boston tea party—asserting the freedom of the Indian people as a matter of right. In the frail, weak old man defying the mightiest empire in the world, India herself, poor, helpless and unarmed, asserting not merely her right to self-determination in the political sphere but also the acquiring by her children of a new dignity and a new self-respect. No one who calls himself an Indian will care to deny that, here, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the Congress was rendering a service to the people of this country which no other organisation in our motherland had ever even dreamt of performing.

Formerly, Indians patiently endured the results of natural calamities and, if relief came, it was received from official sources. It was very rare to find Indians organising themselves for doing this kind of work. Today, if there is a devastating flood, a disastrous famine, a great fire, any outbreak of an epidemic or even overwhelming pressure on local resources on account of a large religious concourse, one finds Indian organisations and Indian volunteers in large numbers ready to cope with the situation. Whatever the faults

one denies that they have their share like others including even their critics, it has to be admitted that it is a manlier and a bolder race inspired by higher ideals of public duty and public responsibility than earlier generations. Today Indians engage themselves in public service because they are patriotic and for their public activities the only reward they expect is the appreciation of their countrymen and the approbation of their conscience. The valuable work done by Indian organisations during the disastrous earthquake in Bihar and in the recent famine in Bengal is too well-known to require anything except the barest mention. It is the contention of the present writer that all this is the result of the example set by the Congress and of the work which Congressmen are doing even today.

XIII

A scrutiny of the actual situation will prove that, in spite of difference of language and even of race, there are and have been real points of unity among Indians all over the country. The Hindu religion, the universal acceptance of the obligatory nature of pilgrimages, the conception that India, like Palestine for the Jews, is a sacred country are all factors which have continued to hold up before the country at large some idea of territorial unity. This has been strengthened by remembrance of the historical fact, that, from time to time, very large areas, though not the whole of present day India, have been ruled by one sovereign. Another factor tending to produce the same feeling is the cultural unity of the Hindu background which, in a sense, resembles the idea of "Christendom" in medieval Europe.

It is admitted that during the centuries of Mussalman ascendancy, the unity found in the Hindu period disappeared to a very large extent, that the history of India became a history of the different provinces and also that, even under British rule, there was a time when there was little if any sympathy between the people of the different provinces. But those times have changed. The railway and the steamer have brought them together. Business has promoted intercourse between the provinces, and removed distance. Lastly, a common political aspiration has made it easy for the non-communal among their people to meet in the spirit of brotherhood on the common platform of Indian nationalism. Remembering all these things and recognising their value as unifying elements, one has to admit that all Indians are being gradually stamped with a common seal.

The partition of Bengal aroused indignation not only in that province but all over India. Whole India shuddered when news regarding the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy leaked out and the Creeping Lane insult filled every Indian heart with intense resentment. The Khilafat agitation which followed, united Hindu and Muslim at least once, while the Non-Co-operation Movement was characterised by the absence of class antagonism and communalism. The rich and the poor, the educated and uneducated and followers of different faiths united under the pressure of what was regarded as common political suffering and thus the way was paved for a unified Indian nation. The earthquake of Quetta and that in Bihar were regarded in the light of all-India calamities. The recent famine in Bengal aroused the sympathy and opened the purse strings of Indians of every part of India. These are some out of many incidents showing the gradual disappearance of provincial isolation.

Two examples taken from art and literature tend to prove the correctness of the above view. The first is concerned with the work of a particular and popular school of painting in Bengal which, at least in the eyes of an amateur, bears a very close resemblance to the frescoes of Ajanta. Instances taken from literature also prove the same thing. The Bengali and the Rajput

essentially different. But every one familiar with Bengali literature is aware of the extent to which the events of Rajput history have influenced it. Similarly, the doings of Sivaji and the Marhattas and the stories of the Sikh gurus have fascinated Bengali writers. Today many of them have been dramatised, others are found in historical novels which are very widely read and the rest have been enshrined in moving poetry of very high literary merit. On the 26th May, 1939, the *Marhatta*, a weekly published from Poona, in an editorial made a moving reference to the lead given by Hindu Bengal to nationalism and expressed regret for the way in which its interests were being neglected by the then Government. There are still other instances to prove that the barriers of provincialism are breaking down very rapidly.

Indians as Indians are today conscious of the link of common sympathy binding them together when they hear about the sufferings of Indians abroad. One has only to turn to any of the newspapers and read the comments made in the editorial columns as well as in the correspondence which appears from time to time in order to gauge the feelings of indignation excited when our brethren overseas are the victims of injustice. And yet, in a majority of these cases, these Indians are born and bred abroad and have but little in common with their brethren in India.

Though we have many all-India organisations to-day, it cannot be denied that the Congress has done more than any other single political party in making us forget inter-provincial jealousies and misunderstandings thus taking the leading part in gradually moulding the vast heterogeneous population of India into a homogeneous nation. This was referred to by the late Amvica Charan Majumdar, the President of the 31st Congress held at Lucknow in 1916, when he said,

"A generation ago, the stalwart and turbulent Punjabi, the intelligent and sensitive Bengalee, the orthodox and exclusive Madrassi, the ardent and astute Marhatta, the anglicised Parsi and the cold, calculating Gujrati, were perfect strangers to one another, and if they happened to meet anywhere they learnt only to despise each other. Their hereditary tradition was one of mutual distrust, while their past history was marked only by internecine feuds, pillage and bloodshed. But what are they today? They are now all united by a strong and indissoluble tie of brotherhood, over-riding all distinctions of caste and creed, and inspired by mutual appreciation and common fellowship. Hatred has given place to love and callousness to sympathy."

This very clearly proves that the Congress has not only laid the foundations for the colossal work of nation-building but has also made considerable progress with it. This one achievement is sufficient justification for the existence of the Congress.

When a leader like a Gandhi, a Nehru, a Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a Rajendra Prasad or an Abdul Gaffar Khan visits any part of India, he is made welcome at once. Difference in the religion professed makes no difference here. The present writer has seen Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan given as hearty a welcome as any non-Muslim leader. Many in India have at last come to realise that difference in the language spoken or the faith professed is no drawback to unity. The case of the United States of America where many languages are spoken and many faiths professed as well as that of Switzerland have taught us this lesson. It only remains for all to learn it when we shall achieve communal unity.

The Congress has gradually become the most powerful factor in bringing about an all-India unity. The present writer has toured through every part of India except Sind and the North-West Frontier and has been the guest of the very well-to-do, of the middle as well as of the poorer classes. He has, in a majority of cases, been entertained in the homes of his brothers in faith.

non-Christians. In a very large number of these homes, he has seen pictures of Mahatma Gandhi. Pictures of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru stand next in popularity. Then come pictures of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Rajendra Prasad. After these come the pictures of leaders of local Congress organisations. The time may yet come when the claims of Mahatma Gandhi to immortality will rest on his unique achievement in not only introducing the technique of non-violence and truth in the political field, but also in miraculously forging an all-India unity.

XIV

It was probably Lord Salisbury who remarked that the success of a people who know how to wait is always sure. The Indian National Congress has been working under exceptional difficulties for more than 50 years, differences of opinion and of policy have manifested themselves from time to time but they have been composed and the march towards the goal resumed with unflinching steps. The political consciousness of the people has been aroused. This has naturally raised new and difficult problems. They are being sought to be solved satisfactorily by those who have been entrusted by Providence to guide the destinies of this great national movement.

Our Mussalman brethren have been galvanised into increased vitality of which the signs are to be found in the keenness they now show for safeguarding their interests. There is no doubt that the somewhat unfortunate shape their political consciousness is taking is causing sharp differences between the two largest communities in our motherland. But we firmly hold that an ultimate union is inevitable and that once all com-

munities unite for the attainment of economic and political freedom, "there is no force on the surface of the earth," as Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah, President in the 12th session of the Indian National Congress observed in 1896, "which can resist our just and legitimate demands."

In the midst of a constant struggle between a jealous bureaucracy determined to retain power as long as possible and a progressive political organisation equally determined to force as much as possible from unwilling hands, the national movement, in spite of misrepresentation, calumny and downright persecution, has been gaining strength ever since 1885 when it first came into existence. Like a mountain torrent which in its headlong rush sweeps away all obstacles which lie in its path, the Indian National Congress is gradually obliterating those differences which are presented by dissimilarities of creed and caste, of language, customs, habits and manners. The work of unification is proceeding rapidly, the angularities due to provincial and racial causes are being rounded off and a united Indian nation fired by common aims and aspirations is in the making.

No doubt mistakes have been committed from time to time but these are unavoidable in every organisation which is alive and active. The pity of it is that its critics very rarely realise that if they had been placed in a similar position, they also, unless they are gods, would have made perhaps worse mistakes. But the one thing which stands out clearly is that there is no other single organisation, political or non-political, in India which has so much to its credit and so little to its discredit and that is the note on which the present writer would like to close this discussion.

THE NEGOTIATIONS AND AFTER

Position of Gandhiji

By D. N. BANERJEE,

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I

In this article I propose to deal with the position taken by Gandhiji during his recent negotiations with Mr. Jinnah and afterwards.¹

II

In his letter, dated 24th September, 1944, Gandhiji wrote to Mr. Jinnah, among other things²:

"With your assistance I am exploring the possibilities of reaching an agreement so that the claim embodied in the Muslim League Resolution of Lahore may be reasonably satisfied....."

"I proceed on the assumption that India is not to be regarded as two or more nations but as one family consisting of many members of whom the Muslims living in the north-west zones, i.e., Baluchistan, Sind, N.-W.F.P. and that part of the Punjab where they are in absolute majority over all the other elements, and in parts of Bengal and Assam where they are in

absolute majority desire to live in separation from the rest of India.

"Differing from you on the general basis, I can yet recommend to the Congress and the country the acceptance of the claim for separation contained in the Muslim League Resolution of Lahore on my basis and on the following terms:—"

"The areas should be demarcated by a commission approved by the Congress and the League. The wishes of the inhabitants of the areas demarcated should be ascertained through the votes of the adult population of the areas or through some equivalent method.

"If the vote is in favour of separation, it shall be agreed that these areas shall form a separate State as soon as possible after India is free from foreign domination and can, therefore, be constituted into two sovereign independent States.

"There shall be a treaty of separation which should also provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of foreign affairs, defence, internal communications, customs, commerce and the like, which must necessarily continue to be matters of common interest between the contracting parties.

"The treaty shall also contain terms for safeguarding the rights of minorities in the two States.

"Immediately on the acceptance of this agreement by the Congress and the League, the two shall decide upon a common course of action for the attainment of the independence of India.

1 As indicated in a foot-note to our preceding article, our original plan was to deal with the question of the "two-nations" theory of Mr. Jinnah in this article. Considerations of space, however, do not permit this. We shall deal with the question in our next article in this series.

2 See *The Statesman and Hindustan Standard* of 24th September, 1944 (Dak Edition).

"The League will, however, be free to remain out of any direct action to which the Congress may resort, and in which the League may not be willing to participate."³

If the letter from which the above extracts have been taken, has been correctly reported in the Press, as is very likely, then there is some confusion of ideas in it. It is not very clear from the language which Gandhiji has been reported to have used in extract 5 as quoted above, as to whether the Muslim-majority areas as contemplated by him are to constitute "a separate State" or "two sovereign independent States." Probably he meant—and this also follows from the wording of extract 7 above—that if the plebiscite suggested by him favoured separation, then India, after it had been freed from foreign domination, was to be divided "into two sovereign independent States." Our examination of Gandhiji's position in this article will proceed on this assumption—which we believe to be correct—of his view on this particular point.

Gandhiji suggested the formula contained in the extracts quoted above, in place of that which is popularly known as the "Rajaji" (or the C. R.) formula for the settlement of the Indian communal problem, but which had also previously received his own approval. He did this because Mr. Jinnah had stated, in his letter to him, dated 11th September, 1944, that the Rajaji formula⁴ had not only put the Lahore Resolution⁵ of the Muslim League "out of shape," but also "mutilated it."⁶ We shall refer hereinafter to the formula presented by Gandhiji himself as the "Gandhiji" formula. Let us now analyse the implications of the formula.

According to this formula, India is to be divided into two sovereign independent States, and these two

States are to be "the contracting parties" to "a treaty of separation," and this treaty of separation is to "provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of foreign affairs, defence," etc.⁷ Further, the treaty "shall also contain terms for safeguarding the rights of minorities in the two States." And in the course of an interview granted to a correspondent of *The News Chronicle*, London, on 30th September, 1944, Gandhiji is reported to have said :

"It is my suggestion that provided there was safeguard of plebiscite, there could be *sovereignty* for predominantly Muslim areas, but it should be accompanied by *bonds of alliance* between Hindusthan and Pakistan. There should be a *common policy and working arrangement* on foreign affairs, Defence, communications and similar matters. This is manifestly vital to the welfare of both parts of India."⁸

With all due deference to Gandhiji, we are constrained to observe that in expressing these views as he has done, he has spoken like a layman who is totally ignorant of the lessons of history of Federations like the United States, Switzerland, and the German Empire (formed in 1871), and who does not know how human nature works in Politics, whether national or international. Moreover, there are, as we shall shortly see, not merely misuse of political terms, but also some inherent contradictions, in his views. May we ask him in all politeness, what will be the sanction of his "treaty of separation"? In the absence of a common central authority, capable, in the last resort, of enforcing its decisions, if necessary, with the application of physical force, who will enforce the terms of the treaty, or of the alliance, as suggested by him, in the event of their non-fulfilment by either of the contracting parties? The philosophy of non-violence will be worse than useless in such matters. Government is not a matter of charity, goodwill, advice, instruction, or even persuasion. Ultimately, it involves the application of physical force. And it must be borne in mind in this connexion that this "treaty of separation" is to govern matters of such vital concern to India as foreign affairs, defence, etc. We do not like to repeat here what we have already said in our previous article⁹ in this series, in connexion with the position taken by Mr. Jinnah. We only want to emphasize here that all those arguments which we have put forward against that position, apply with equal force to the position taken by Gandhiji in this matter. It is, indeed, not only a gross, but a very dangerous, delusion to think that a treaty as contemplated by Gandhiji, can solve the Indian problem satisfactorily. The very same arguments may also be advanced against the view taken by Gandhiji when he clarified, in his letter to Mr. Jinnah, dated 11th September, 1944, clause (iv) of the Rajaji formula.¹⁰ He said : "Mutual agreement" means *agreement between contracting parties*. 'Safeguarding defence, etc.' means for me a central or joint board of control. Safeguarding means safeguarding against all who may put the common interests in jeopardy."¹¹ This is mere paraphrasing unless Gandhiji meant that his central or joint board of control would be a real Government, amply vested with legislative, judicial and executive powers, and capable, in the last resort, of enforcing its will, if necessary, with the application of physical force. And if he did really mean this, then there would be no room for the continuance of separate *contracting parties*. They would be *inso facto* merged in one Indian Union or Federation, and would form politically a single State.

3 The italics in these extracts are ours.

4 For convenience of reference and comparison we may reproduce here the Rajaji formula:—

(i) "Subject to the terms set out below as regards the constitution for free India, the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for independence and will co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a provisional interim government for the transitional period.

(ii) "After the termination of the war a commission shall be appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in the North-West and East of India, wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority. In the areas thus demarcated, a plebiscite of all the inhabitants held on the basis of adult suffrage or other practicable franchise shall ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindustan. If the majority decide in favour of forming a sovereign state separate from Hindustan, such decision shall be given effect to, without prejudice to the right of districts on the border to choose to join either state.

(iii) "It will be open to all parties to advocate their points of view before the plebiscite is held.

(iv) "In the event of separation, mutual agreements shall be entered into for safeguarding defence and commerce and communications and for other essential purposes.

(v) "Any transfer of population shall only be on an absolutely voluntary basis."

(vi) "These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the Government of India."

5 The relevant extracts from this Resolution were published in the first article in this series. See *The Modern Review*, December, 1944.

6 Gandhiji has been reported to have said on 30th September, 1944, to a correspondent of *The News Chronicle*, London, that Mr. Jinnah had "rejected Rajaji's formula."—*Amrita Bazar Patrika* of 3rd October, 1944 (Dak Edition).

7 See extract 6 from Gandhiji's letter of 24th September, 1944, as quoted above. The italics are ours.

8 See *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of 3rd October, 1944, (Dak Edition). The italics are ours.

9 Published in *The Modern Review* of December, 1944.

10 See foot-note 4 above.

11 The italics in this quotation are ours.

If, however, it is argued against the position taken above by us that under the Gandhiji formula there will be a treaty of separation which will "provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of foreign affairs, defence,"¹² etc., then our reply is that this is the very thing which the proposed treaty will not be able to ensure. Apart from what we have already said in our previous article¹³ against the efficacy of such treaties, we may observe here that a treaty between two or more independent and sovereign States cannot permanently and effectively bind them. The reason is that it does not create a political power superior to the contracting parties. Moreover, as a distinguished American political scientist¹⁴ has rightly pointed out in another connexion, "*Rebus sic stantibus*, expressed or implied, is a clause in every treaty, and States have ever asserted the right to declare such instruments of no force when by change of conditions their welfare has become so greatly affected or menaced as to overbalance the evil results to be expected, by way of retaliation or otherwise, from the violation of their faith as given in a treaty."

If, however, the words "efficient" and "satisfactory" have been used by Gandhiji to mean what they really imply, then there must be, by force of logic, a single State for the whole of India, an All-India Union or Federation—and not a Confederation, nor an Alliance, of Sovereign States, as the expression "a treaty of separation" seems to imply. Gandhiji owes it to the people of India to explain what he really meant by his formula. There must not be any subterfuge, intentional or unintentional, or any hide-and-seek policy, in such a vital matter. As it is, the formula is self-contradictory. If, however, Gandhiji says that he really meant by his formula the creation of a Federal Constitution for the whole of India, then we have no quarrel with him. In that case he should abandon the use of such misleading terms as "a treaty of separation," "two sovereign independent States," "two States," etc., and openly declare that India should be a Federation of autonomous, constituent units, as suggested by the All-India Congress Committee in its resolution, adopted on the 8th of August, 1942, in its Bombay Session.

In his letter to Mr. Jinnah, dated 22nd September, 1944, Gandhiji stated: "I can be no willing party to a division which does not provide for the simultaneous safeguarding of common interests, such as defence, foreign affairs and the like. There will be no feeling of security by the people of India without a recognition of the natural and mutual obligations arising out of physical contiguity." Certainly, there "will be no feeling of security by the people of India" without this recognition and also its translation into *consequential constitutional provisions*. But we may point out to Gandhiji that he cannot have both. If he wants to appease the Muslim separatists by conceding to their absurd and unreasonable demand for a "division" of India, he should not expect any "simultaneous safeguarding" of common interests. The two things are, by virtue of their nature, fundamentally incompatible with each other.¹⁵ Indeed, it appears to me, after a very

careful consideration of the correspondence that passed between Mr. Jinnah and Gandhiji, and also of what followed the break-down of their negotiations, that Gandhiji's mind must have been in a serious conflict during the negotiations between two things—his desire to maintain, in consonance with his unequivocal declarations in the past, the unity and integrity of India as far as possible and the implications of the commitment he had made by giving his assent, *while he was fasting*,¹⁶ to the communal formula which Mr. Rajagopalachariar had presented to him at Poona. As a consequence, the offer made by Gandhiji himself to Mr. Jinnah is indefinite, misleading, and self-contradictory. It cannot really solve the Indian problem unless it has for its object the establishment of an All-India Federation, composed of autonomous, constituent units, with adequate statutory safeguards for all racial or religious minorities in this country. But in so far as the offer made by him concedes the principle of separation or partition, it has the same mischievous potentialities as the Rajaji formula. The partitionists would make a full use of it in a future negotiation for the settlement of our communal question, and the enemies of India's unity would not be slow to take a full advantage of it either. And Gandhiji has said that, so far as he is concerned, the offer made by him stands.¹⁷ Moreover, in his correspondence¹⁸ with Mr. Jinnah, Gandhiji again and again assured the former that, although he refused to assume any representative capacity, he pledged himself to use all the influence he might have with the Congress, to have any agreement reached between them ratified by the latter. And this means much. Herein lies a danger of the Gandhiji formula. And there is not much essential difference between the Rajaji formula and the Gandhiji formula in so far as their mischief-making

the politics of sovereign States and friendliness as Gandhiji contemplates, are seldom compatible with each other. Things would not be otherwise here. As Spinoza rightly pointed out long ago, "Two States are natural enemies." And this is particularly so in the case of border States. Gandhiji cannot have both "sovereignty" and "friendliness." *Federalism* is the only durable and satisfactory solution in a case like ours. Gandhiji should work for that.

16 It appears from a statement of Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar to the Associated Press of India, dated at Panchgani 9th July, 1944, that he "had secured Gandhiji's personal approval *even during his fast* in February-March last year (*i.e.*, 1943) for the formula that" he was then releasing to the public. We cannot help remarking here that it is really strange that Mr. Rajagopalachariar should have chosen to present his highly complicated formula with its far-reaching implications, to Gandhiji when the latter had been fasting and, therefore, could not be, being a human being, in a sufficiently proper and alert state of mind and body. Gandhiji has been reported to have said at the Press Conference, held at Bombay on 28th September, 1944: "When he (*i.e.*, Rajaji) found me in the Aga Khan Palace and presented the formula (*i.e.*, the Rajaji formula) I did not take *even five minutes* and I said: 'Yes, because I saw it in a concrete shape'." (The italics are ours). We do not know if the implications of the Rajaji formula were so simple as to enable Gandhiji to come to a decision within *five minutes*. At least we do not think so. Perhaps Gandhiji has since realised that the formula is not really so simple as it may have appeared to him when he was *fasting*. At any rate, this only confirms what we have said above in this foot-note.

17 See Gandhiji's statement at the Press Conference, held at Bombay on 28th September, 1944.

18 See, for instance, Gandhiji's letters to Mr. Jinnah, dated 11th and 26th September, 1944.

12 See extract 6 from Gandhiji's letter of 24th September, 1944, as quoted above.

13 Published in *The Modern Review* of December, 1944.

14 See W. W. Willoughby, *An Examination of the Nature of the State*, pp. 198-99.

15 Gandhiji has also been reported to have said at a Press Conference at Bombay on 28th September, 1944, that "he accepted the principle of sovereign States, consistent with friendliness." And "friendliness suggests," he said, "that before the whole world we must act as one nation, not united by extraneous circumstances, or united by force of British arms but united by greater force, that is our own determined will." This is, undoubtedly, a very fine sentiment. But, unfortunately,

property is concerned.¹⁹ This is our deliberate view. Of course, it is far from our mind in saying this to ascribe any sinister motive to the authors of the formulas. We are only exposing here the inherent defects of the formulas and their probable consequences. And Gandhiji himself has invited criticisms of his offer from the general public.²⁰

III

We should also like to refer here to another view of Gandhiji, which we think in the public interest should not be allowed to go unchallenged. At a Press Conference, held at Bombay on 28th September, 1944, he has been reported to have said in reference to his own formula:

"I think it is a just solution of the problem and it is in the spirit of the policy which the Congress has consistently²¹ adopted in connexion with the communal question, namely, self-determination." And, with reference to his assent to the Rajaji formula, he has been reported to have said at the same Press Conference:

"Thereby I have not departed from the Congress standpoint in general terms. Congress has accepted self-determination and the Rajaji-formula has also accepted the principle of self-determination and the formula had become a common ground."

Further in the course of a statement to a special representative of the *United Press*, Gandhiji has been reported to have previously said²²: "At the same time, at the time I made the statement you refer to, I was also a party to the self-determination resolution of the A.I.C.C. I hold that Rajaji's formula gives effect to that resolution."

The clear implication of these statements is that, even though the Gandhiji formula and the Rajaji formula may concede the principle of partition of India, yet they are quite in consonance with the object and policy of the Indian National Congress. We should like to submit to Gandhiji very respectfully that his view is both wrong and misleading. And, quoting his own words used in another connexion, we may also say that mere "assertion is no proof." Nor can the repetition of what is not a fact make it a fact. We have already dealt with this question in an article entitled *The Rajagopalachari Formula and the Congress*, in the October (1944) number of this *Review*,²³ and, therefore, do not propose to repeat our arguments here. We should like to invite Gandhiji's attention to this article, and to say only that the Rajaji formula is definitely against the declared policy and object of the Congress. The resolution of the Congress Working Committee adopted at New Delhi early in April, 1942, which presumably Gandhiji had in mind when he made the statements quoted above, was completely neutralized and nullified by the resolutions of the A.I.C.C. (All-India Congress Committee), adopted by the latter in 1942 during its Allahabad and Bombay sessions—and, in particular, by

what is now known as the Jagatnarin Lal resolution. This resolution—rather counter-resolution—of Mr. Jagatnarin Lal which the A.I.C.C. adopted on 2nd May, 1942, by a majority of 92 votes against 17 during its Allahabad Session, and which we have quoted in our article referred to before, is so categorical and so unequivocal that there can be no room for any reasonable doubt about its implications in anybody's mind. Moreover, the A.I.C.C. accepted this resolution of Mr. Jagatnarin Lal after he had made it definitely clear, in the course of his speech in support of his resolution, as to what his real object was in moving it. He had said:—"I want the A. I. C. C. to give a clear and unequivocal declaration against the disintegration of India.....I appeal to the members of the A.I.C.C. to give here right now their firm, clear and unequivocal mandate against the disintegration of our country and against Pakistan." And the A.I.C.C. did it. The A.I.C.C. did not pass in 1942 any "self-determination" resolution. These remarks apply equally well to the Gandhiji formula. We really wonder how after all this Gandhiji still maintains that his formula as well as the Rajaji formula, both of which concede the principle of division of India, is consistent with the position of the Congress. He seems to be under a misapprehension. This is evident from the following sentence in his letter to Sardar Durlab Singh, dated at Sewagram 14th November, 1944:—

"Maulana Saheb explained the implications of the Jagatnarin Lal resolution which please see."

We have seen what the Maulana Saheb said. "Giving permission for the resolution moved by Shri Jagatnarin Lal, the President (Maulana Abul Kalam Azad)," says an official document of the Congress, "gave it as his opinion"²⁴ that the resolution no way contradicted the position taken up by the Working Committee at Delhi with regard to the question of the demand for the partition of India made by the Muslim League and incorporated in the resolution dealing with Sir Stafford's draft proposals."

This was a purely personal opinion of the President as the Chairman of the All-India Congress Committee, and not even an official ruling. Even if it had been an official ruling, it would not have mattered in the least. As we have shown in some detail in our article published in the October (1944) number of this *Review*, under the Constitution of the Indian National Congress, the Working Committee, being what it is, has no power to act against any policy or programme laid down by the All-India Congress Committee or by the Congress itself. Further, it is subordinate to the All-India Congress Committee which can undo what the former has done. The Working Committee is in a sense a Committee of the All-India Congress Committee, and an agent of the latter. As its master and official superior, the All-India Congress Committee may, therefore, with unquestionable constitutionality, set aside or repudiate any action or decision taken by the Working Committee. Moreover, the language of the particular resolution of the A.I.C.C., which Mr. Jagatnarin Lal had moved, is to be the determining factor here. And that language, Gandhiji knows very well, is absolutely unequivocal and categorical. No personal remark of the President, not even an official ruling by him can undo, nullify, or neutralize the implications of a resolution which the A.I.C.C., while in full possession of all facts, solemnly and deliberately adopted. There is no provision in the Constitution of the Congress which empowers the President to neutralize the effect of a resolution which has been adopted by the A.I.C.C. The A.I.C.C. itself, or its own master the Indian National Congress in its annual or special session, can undo it, and none else. This is the correct constitutional position. The acceptance of Gandhiji's view would mean the placing of the Working

19 And Gandhiji himself said at the Press Conference at Bombay on 28th September, 1944:—"Where there is an obvious Muslim majority they should be allowed to constitute a separate state by themselves and that has been fully conceded in the Rajaji formula or my formula. There is not much distinction between them. That right is conceded without the slightest reservation."

20 See Gandhiji's statement to the correspondent of *The News Chronicle*, London, dated at Bombay 30th September, 1944.

21 The italic is ours.

22 The "United Press" message, dated at Wardhaganj 8th August 1944.

23 Also see our letter entitled "The C. R. Formula and the Congress" in *Hindusthan Standard* of 4th September, 1944, Calcutta (and of 5th September, 1944, Dak Edition), and in *Free Press Journal* of Bombay, dated 7th September, 1944.

Committee above the A.I.C.C., and the enthronement of the dictatorship or absolutism of the President of the Congress. We believe that the Congress is yet a democratic body, and not an authoritarian institution. Being a lawyer, Mr. Jinnah, therefore, was perfectly right when he pointed out, in his letter to Gandhiji, dated 25th September, 1944, the difficulties created by the Jagatnarrain Lal resolution in the way of the division of India, so far as the Congress was concerned.

In regard to the much-abused and much-misunderstood doctrine of self-determination referred to by Gandhiji, all that we should like to say here is that the right of self-determination is, as Lord Curzon pointed out once in 1923, like a two-edged sword and can be admitted only with reservations. The doctrine is to be applied to a country as a whole, and not to any section of its population at its dictation. Otherwise, there will be a disintegration of the country. Moreover, if the doctrine is unwisely applied to sections of the population in a country on a religious basis, then the minorities in the areas affected, who may be opposed to the majorities in them, should also have the right of self-determination on the same ground. Logic, reason, and equity would, therefore, require that there should be parallel governments, over the same territories, for majorities and minorities. Thus there would be created an absurd situation. The principle of self-determination is not such a simple thing as some people imagine it to be. It is not without any reason, therefore, that we find such a comment on it, in Hall's great Treatise on International Law,²⁵ as the following:—

"The phrase (self-determination) is one of *dangerous vagueness* as encouraging *inordinate* nationalist claims, and its application, in ignoring economic conditions, has led to some *disastrous results*."²⁶

And if Gandhiji applies this principle to sections of the Indian people as he proposes to do, it is sure to lead to equally, if not more, disastrous results for this country.

It may, perhaps, not be out of place to refer here to the Aaland Islands dispute and to a certain view of the Committee of International jurists appointed in 1920 by the Council of the League of Nations to give

an advisory opinion in this connexion.²⁷ The dispute "was one concerning certain islands which lie midway between Finland and Sweden, inhabited almost exclusively by people of the Swedish race, but which historically and geographically had always formed a part of Finland." The Finnish Government "declared that the Aalands were geographically part of Finland, and that it was strategically impossible for Finland to surrender them." The Swedish Government complained that the Finns were refusing "to allow the Aalanders the right of self-determination."²⁸ As a matter of fact, by plebiscites held in 1918 and again in 1919 the people of the Aaland Islands, writes Professor Garner,²⁹ an American authority on International Law, "had voted almost unanimously in favour of separation" from Finland. The Committee of Jurists, however, declared its opinion, continues Professor Garner,³⁰ "that there was no rule of positive international law which recognized the right of fractions of peoples as such to separate themselves by a simple act of their own will from a definitely established state of which they form a part, any more than it recognizes the rights of other states to demand such separation..... It added that the recognition of the right of self-determination in the form asserted by the inhabitants of the Aaland Islands would amount to an infringement upon the sovereignty of existing states, would lead to destruction of the stability which the very word 'state' implies, and would endanger the interests of the international community."

In June, 1921, the Council of the League of Nations decided to recognize Finnish sovereignty over the Aaland Islands, practically accepting the recommendation of a Political Commission previously appointed by it. And in October, 1921, this decision was accepted by the League of Nations "under the condition that *autonomous rights*"³¹ should be granted to the population of the Islands." This incident has a very valuable lesson for us, and we invite the attention of both Mr. Jinnah and Gandhiji to it.

27 See *The Annual Register*, 1920, pp. 153-54, 218-19, and 267; also *The Annual Register*, 1921, pp. 76, 152-53, 199-200, and 257-58.

28 See *Ibid.*

29 See his *Political Science and Government*, p. 135.

30 *Ibid.*

31 The italics are ours.

25 8th Edition, p. 54n.

26 The italics are ours.

DESERT

BY HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAYA

Wounds have replaced warm roses. Nothing stirs
Except black winds which dally with the hours:
Weed-gatherers have exiled the gardeners
And with uncanny cunning do succeed
In making men wild lovers of the weed
Oblivious of their heritage of flowers.

Inheritors of the desert, grim and bare,
We are mad, self-crowned monarchs who
Painting red struggle on the envenomed air:

In love with ugliest intrigue and strife,
Driving authentic beauty out of life,
We record the beginning of the end.

Sowers of song-seeds have departed, and
Our gardens bloom no more; the singing throng
Makes way for vultures, while the poet's hand
In sad, star-widowed solitude withdraws,
Leaving a multitude of hungry claws
Which close around the throat of real Song!

WAR NURSERIES

By CICELY FRASER

BEFORE the war, a mother with a baby to look after had no time for any duty outside her own home. The war has altered that, for now that women are going to work in factories to produce shells and tanks, means have had to be found of relieving mothers of this domestic task.



Father is taking his little son to the nursery school and handing him over to one of the charming and efficient nurses

In a large and airy room, its walls discoloured and lined with nursery frescoes, forty children between two and five are eating their mid-day dinner. The miniature tables at which they sit in groups of four are painted in bright colours. The children—industriously feeding themselves with large spoons—are dressed in gay check overalls of blue and red and mauve. To look at you would say they were "country bred" children, for their faces are round and their cheeks rosy. Yet a year ago these same kiddies lived in mean houses, with no better playground than the city streets. To see what they looked like then you have only to notice the newcomer in the corner, whose face is pale and thin, and who seems much smaller than the other children of his own age.

The children's new home is a war nursery, built in the country some thirty miles from London. They themselves are evacuees whose

mothers are engaged in war work, and who are brought here for the day to be looked after while mother is working.

This particular nursery has been specially designed and built for the purpose. It stands in a field, where the toddlers can play in fine weather. All the furnishings—chairs, tables, the washbasins and lavatories—are made to scale. In the cupboards lining the playroom walls are toys of all kinds; dolls, engines, books, paints. In another room are forty small beds for the afternoon nap.

The scheme of war nurseries, set up by the Ministry of Health in the first place as an emergency scheme, has spread and developed, and has proved one of the most valuable contributions to social service brought about by the war. When at the outbreak of war large numbers of mothers and children below school age were transferred from the town to country districts, the problem of how to see that the children were kept healthy and occupied became a pressing one. It became still more pressing with the need for mobilising woman power for



With the encouragement of her teacher this little toddler is learning to fit a puzzle together

factory work. And so the Government began setting up nurseries in all parts of the country.

They are of two main types, one for children under two, and the other for toddlers

from two to five. Some nurseries are open for school hours, from about nine till five, others from seven in the morning till seven or eight at night. Nurseries have been opened both in country and in city areas, in all cases under the auspices of the Government.

For these infants nurseries have been started in the towns. One manufacturing district has no fewer than seventy, scattered about the outskirts and centres of its towns, and more are being built.

These nurseries are usually converted houses. One of the biggest is in an old Victorian mansion. The house has been refitted and re-decorated, with coloured walls and furniture which make it suitable and attractive for children, and is now one of the full-time nurseries. It opens at about 6.30 or seven in the morning, so that mothers going early to work in the factories can bring their children on the way, and it does not shut till about eight at night. It caters for children up to five years of age.

The top floor belongs to the babies in charge of a trained nurse, assisted by a number of helpers. It has a sick room where babies with any suspicion of illness may be isolated—if necessary they are trans-



Britain's young children are being cared for with every kind of attention in the way of feeding, recreation and training

From the very beginning, the idea was to provide something more than a mere place where children might be kept out of the way. Those nurseries are training the children, seeing to their physical health, teaching them to be independent, clean, intelligent, and good citizens. Frequent medical inspections take place, minor ailments are cured.

The trained helpers who are in charge of the nurseries report that most of the children improve in health and physique after a very short time. And they are well-behaved too—not because they are regimented, but because they are occupied and happy.

The parents pay a small sum, a few pence a day, but the main cost of the nurseries (which includes two or three meals a day) is borne by the Government.

Some mothers have been unable or unwilling to evacuate their children under five.



School-children evacuated to all parts of the country have contributed models, drawings and paintings to the Exhibition of "The History of English Life"

ferred to a hospital. Clothes are found for babies who are poorly dressed, and each baby is bathed every day. They spend most of their time in cots, though babies old enough to start

crawling are allowed periods of exercise round their health and clearing up the coughs, colds, and similar ailments which often affect city children.

Down below are the older infants, in con-



The wash basins, like all the other nursery fittings, have been specially constructed in miniature to suit the young children



One of the very young children is enjoying her mid-day meal

ditions like those described in the country nursery. They have not had the same advantages of country air, but plenty of rest and healthy food has done wonders in improving small children of working mothers has always been a serious one, but it has taken the war to solve it on a proper scale.

THE GOLCONDA FORT

How a Cowherd Helped a King in Its Construction

By M. FATHULLA KHAN

SOME queer legends about the celebrated fort of Golconda in Hyderabad-Deccan, round which centres the romantic rise, the glorious prosperity and the sudden fall of the famous Qutb Shahi dynasty, have come to light in connection with its construction for the first time. These are contained in an interesting three-centuries old document which has come to the notice of the writer.

Although there is no recorded history of the fort prior to the year 1363 A.D., traces in the citadel indicate that it is at least as old as the fort of Warangal which dates from the middle of the thirteenth century. Therefore, it must have originally been a small mud fort,

like that of Warangal, under some Hindu prince before it fell under the sway of the Warangal rajas who subsequently ceded it, together with its dependencies, to Muhammad Shah Bahmani in the year 1363. It was after this Sultan that Golconda was known, for a time, as Muhammad Nagar. Even though the Bahmani kingdom began to break up in 1490 A.D., Quli Qutb-ul-Mulk, the Bahmani Viceroy of Golconda, continued to hold allegiance to Sultan Muhammad Shah II, his benefactor, until the latter died in 1518. Thereon he assumed independence as Sultan Quli Qutb Shah of Golconda.

Quli Qutb Shah is said to have had replaced

THE GOLCONDA FORT

the mud fortifications by substantial stone ones during his viceroyalty.

The fifth king of Golconda, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah (1580-1611) was the next monarch who is recorded to have made extensive additions to the fort.



Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah

We then come to Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah (1626-1672), the seventh king of Golconda, who apprehended danger from the Mughals, and, therefore, further strengthened the defences of the fort, making it as far as possible impregnable. He added new defences in the new wall to the fortifications on the north-east, which is 3,340 yards long, taking in the small strategic hillock within the fort, as otherwise this hill would have presented a very favourable position to the enemy making it difficult to dislodge him from there.

It will thus be seen that the fort did already exist at Golconda long before the Qutb Shahi dynasty was founded, and that its fortifications had been strengthened not only by two of the Sultans prior to Abdullah Qutb Shah, but also by the latter himself to a considerable extent.

STORY OF THE COWHERD

The *sanad* or document, which is written separately in Persian and in Telugu and bears the seal of Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah, with whose name the events mentioned therein are associated, is granted in the name of *Dhangar* (Cowherd) Kondiah, and it is now in possession of a distant descendant of the original recipient.

The *sanad* mentions the original name of the citadel as Manugal fort, *alias* Golakonda, situated at Muhammad Nagar in Bhagnagram pargana, and it records the story as to how Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah managed to construct the fort.

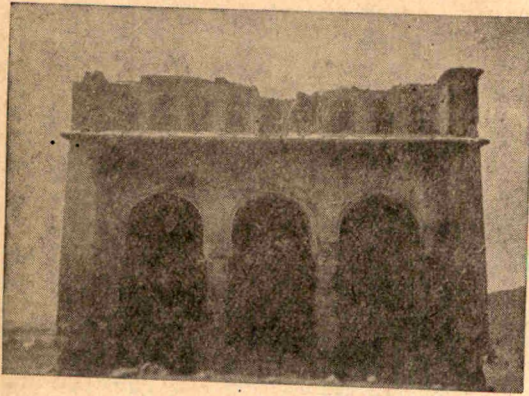
The Sultan, narrates the document, having failed in his attempt to construct a fort consulted a *murshid* or spiritual guide by name Syed Muzaffar Shah of Aurangabad, then residing at Gulbargah, as to why his ancestor was not able to construct a fort and why even his own attempt had failed. The *murshid*, thereupon, suggested that the services of the *Dhangar* (Cowherd) Kondiah, who had promoted the scheme to construct the forts at Warangal and Bhongir for Raja Pratapa Rudra Deva, and which fact had been acknowledged by the Raja himself in the *sanad* granted to Kondiah, be requisitioned in this connection. The Sultan agreed; and the cowherd was accordingly sent for. When Kondiah arrived at Golconda, he was entrusted with the task of completing the Sultan's project. The cowherd,



The Golconda Fort

in obedience, laid the foundation of the fort, calling it, after his occupation, *Golla Konda*. The cowherd then pointed out to the Sultan the mysterious gold image lying in Sadhu Gokuldas' well, and explained to him the secret about it. The construction of the fort was eventually completed.

with the wealth obtained out of the idol in the well. The Sultan was greatly pleased with the services rendered by the cowherd, and he asked the *murshid* to find out from the cowherd what he wished to have in return from him. When asked, the cowherd said that as he



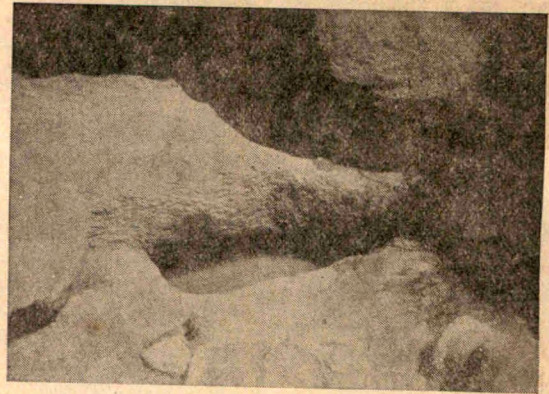
The Mosque

was the *guru* of 12 cowherd and two shepherd castes, a sanad granting him rights and privileges similar to those granted by Raja Pratapa Rudra Deva be awarded to him, with the seal and signature of the Sultan.

Members belonging to cowherd and shepherd castes should not be killed and if this condition were to be violated, evil would befall his kingdom and the goddess of wealth also desert the ruler. Full rights over the Ellamma temple, the mosque, and the Mari Mutta be given to him, and also the lands surrounding these places for the purpose of their maintenance. The honours granted to him by Raja

their *peetham* (seat of learning and authority in the community) for the past 5007 years be allowed to him throughout the Sultan's kingdom. He further requested that some lands and rights for performing certain *jatras* (fairs) be given to his castemen, and that all their rights and privileges should be safeguarded and instructions to all Government officials be issued accordingly. They should have the right of settling their disputes amongst themselves. Except in the case of theft, Government interference should not be allowed. Wherever the sovereignty of the Sultan was extended, their rights and privileges should also be extended in those territories. The right to collect one rupee from each house of his caste people should also be given to him. Such were the wishes of the cowherd Kondiah who asked that a sanad granting them be awarded to him.

When the *murshid* conveyed the cowherd's wish to Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah, the Sultan



Naga Jharra

issued a sanad granting him and his *peetham* all that he had asked for.

SANAD HISTORICALLY EXAMINED

There can be no doubt with regard to the authenticity of the document itself. But some of the dates and events mentioned therein are so very contradictory, covering the periods of previous rulers, that one is led to believe that the document might be only a renewal by Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah of the original grants.

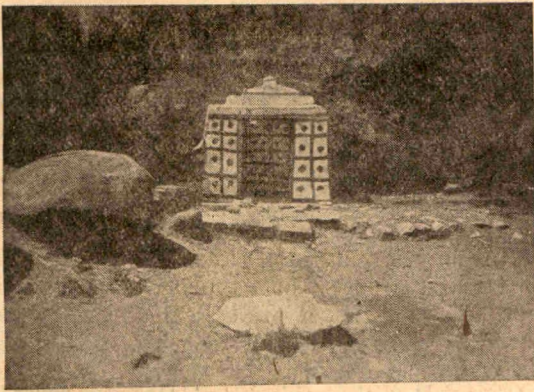
The French traveller Monsieur de Thevenot, who visited Golconda in 1666, during Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah's rule, does not mention of either this Sultan as having founded the fort, or of the cowherd as having come to his rescue. He gives quite a different story. He says that the site where the fort stands was pointed out to Sultan Quli Qutb Shah, the first king of Golconda, by a shepherd who guided him to it through a wood, and that the king called it



Sadhu Gokuldas' Well

Pratapa Rudra Deva, such as the use of palanquin, umbrella, crown, musical drums on elephants and camels, ear-rings, lion-headed gold bangles, *panjah* (five-fingered emblem), etc. etc. and the use of all the titles which he had been enjoying ever since the institution of

Golconda, from *Golcar* the Telugu word for shepherd. Thevenot's own words are: "Qutb Shah the first, gave it that name because after his usurpation seeking out for a place where he might build a strong castle, the place where the castle stands was named to him by a shepherd, who guided him through a wood to the hill where the palace is at present; and the place appearing very proper for his design, he built the castle there, and called it Golconda, from the word *Golcar*, which in the Telenghi language signifies a shepherd."



Ellamma Temple

Had the story of the cowherd occurred, as the document would give us the impression, during Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah's reign, why should not have Thevenot told us so, instead of having associated it with the first king of Golconda?

So, from these divergent stories, it occurs to a searching mind that the cowherd legend about the founding of the fort might have originally been associated with the first Hindu rulers of Golconda, and subsequently handed down and kept current by the descendants of the original cowherd Kondiah for the purpose of perpetuating the grants made to his caste *peetham* by the founders of the fort. Thus, the story of the cowherd does not seem to have anything to do with the fortifications built by the Qutb Shahi Sultans.

LEGENDARY SITES

It is, however, interesting to see within and around the fort such sites as the Naga Jharra, Mari Mutt, Ellamma temple, Mallana Mutt, and Sadhu Gokuldas' Well. All these are mentioned in the document, and were pointed out to the writer.

THE GOLD IDOL

There are two queer but slightly varying legends about the gold idol of Sadhu Gokuldas' well mentioned in the sanad. One is that, once

there lived near the fort an old sadhu by name Gokuldas. A cowherd who used to graze his cows in the vicinity greatly venerated the sadhu, and used to offer him daily milk. When the sadhu became confident of the faithfulness of his disciple, he, one day, placed a big vessel filled with oil on an oven, and calling the cowherd said to him: "I want to do you some good; go round this vessel three times." The cowherd obeyed the sadhu. As he was making the third round, the sadhu caught hold of him and tried to hurl him into the boiling oil. The cowherd became furious and lifting the sadhu, in turn, threw him into the vessel. The sadhu suddenly disappeared, and in his place stood a gold image. At this, the cowherd became nervous, and, not knowing what else he should do, he seized the image and threw it into a well close by.

The mystery about this gold idol was that whenever a part or piece out of it was cut it became intact again the next day. This secret was known to the cowherd Kondiah, who explained it to Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah, as narrated in the document; and that it was from the gold derived out of this idol that it became possible for the Sultan to meet the cost of the construction of the fort.



Mallana Mutt

The other legend is that, during the reign of a certain Hindu ruler, a cowherd used to graze his cows in the vicinity of a rock on which was a temple. One day, the cowherd met a sadhu who had come there for penance. The cowherd respected him profoundly, and used to offer him milk. The sadhu asked him one day if he had ever seen a plant whose leaves grew up as soon as they were eaten away by the cow. The cowherd replied that he had so far never seen such a tree, but that if he came across it any time, he would immediately inform him. Some days afterwards, the cowherd came to the sadhu and told him that he had seen a tree with the qualities described by him.

Thereupon, the sadhu immediately went to the tree and set fire to it. While the tree was in flames, the sadhu told the cowherd that if he went round the burning tree it would do him good. And as the innocent man was going round the sadhu caught hold of him and was about



Mari Mutta

to throw him into the flames, when the cowherd struggled and, freeing himself from the sadhu's clutches, lifted him in turn and hurled him into the fire.

The cowherd went there the next day to see if the sadhu was completely burnt to ashes. But he was amazed to behold a gold image standing in place of the tree, which resembled the sadhu. As the cowherd could not tolerate his sight, he began to break the idol with an axe. No sooner had he cut one hand of the idol than it became intact again. So, he changed his mind and carried the idol home. Thereafter, he would daily cut a piece out of it and exchange the gold piece for his daily requirements from a merchant. While the idol remained intact all the time, the merchant amassed gold in plenty.

One day, the king of the place came to know of the sudden prosperity of the merchant, and wished to know the truth of it from him. The merchant, thereupon, revealed the secret to the king, who took away the idol from the cowherd. The king thereafter extended his territory with the help of the gold derived out of this mysterious idol. Later, when this king died and his successor happened to be an immoral and wicked ruler, the idol disappeared.

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CONTROL FOR CHAOS

By P. R. SRINIVAS

NEARLY always, the Old Year is like a guest who has overstayed his welcome—the departure occasions no regrets. For ten years at any rate, every year has proved in the end a disappointment, being no better than its predecessor in some respects and distinctly worse in many others. 1944 has the advantage that no extravagant hopes were entertained of it at the beginning. It opened in India with the food crisis reaching its climax, the general economic life nearly breaking under the demands of wartime and prices particularly, straining against the leash of controls and other anti-inflationary measures. Let it be said of the year now closed that it could easily have been worse than it was. The food position was slowly brought under control, though by no means to the satisfaction of the people. The national economy was strengthened at a few points; and the markets relating to some of the necessities of life have been better regulated than before. These are small mercies it would be churlish not to feel some gratitude for. But the general outlook from the point of view of the national economy is by no means brighter. This outlook embraces such questions as the progress of the "grow more food" campaign and the general adjustment to wartime conditions and demands, the success of anti-inflationary measures, the progress of post-war planning and India's position in international trade and finance after the war will be over. In the background is the war itself, its vicissitudes and the prospect of its early end. It is indeed a pity, as well from an individual or sectional as from a broad human point of view, that the last quarter of the year failed to strengthen the hopes of an early end to this war.

progress of allied arms has slowed down since the liberation of France, while the practical value of American gains in the Pacific is not as highly rated as it used to be. So far as India is concerned, not only is there no prospect of early relief from the strains of the war period, but 1945 may well add to our burdens and privations; so that the main trends of 1944 are less important in themselves than for what they may be expected to lead to.

Take first the food problem. Here the main trends were almost determined by the events of the previous year. 1944, in fact, opened with Bengal and parts of South India in the grip of severe shortage of food-grains. In Bengal particularly, the whole machinery of the food administration had completely broken down, and men had begun to die in tens of thousands in many districts. Destitutes poured into the city of Calcutta in large swarms; and hastily improvised systems of relief did their best to mitigate the suffering and the distress. It is a sad commentary on the administration as a whole in all its rings that a tragedy so acute and on so vast a scale was needed to bring about a realistic appreciation of the food position. From the international plane of the U.N.R.R.A. down to district boards and local authorities, there was for the first time recognition of the gravity of the problem. Questions were asked in the House of Commons; and though Mr. Amery characteristically blamed the Indian birth rate on the one hand and on the other emphasised the priority of British and American lives over Indian, there was sufficient anxiety to avoid the repetition of a similar disaster. It was some advantage that the worst

to feed. The next rice crop was better. Shipping position, too, had eased. And what was most important of all, public opinion was more disposed to support drastic measures of food control.

Meanwhile, the Food Policy Committee had submitted its report. And the basic recommendations were import of wheat and the building up of a large reserve of over 500,000 tons and the inauguration of a system of monopoly procurement and rationing of food-grains in all the towns and cities of India. So far as the acute situation in Bengal was concerned, immediate relief could be provided only through the agency of the army authorities. Imports of wheat during the last one year have been well maintained, though authentic figures are not available. In all the Provinces, the machinery for procurement has been slowly improved. The Railways have functioned with better recognition of the priority of food supplies. And more and more towns are being brought under the scope of the rationing system.

But the country as a whole is hardly out of the wood, so far as the food problem is concerned. The authorities are inclined to pat themselves on their backs for what they have done. While it is true that procurement has gone ahead and rationing ensures even distribution of available stocks, the quality of the supplies is extremely unsatisfactory. Imports have not been sufficient to build up the Reserve recommended by the Food Policy Committee. And it is now recognised that, the grow-more-food campaign has to be buttressed with other measures. On the one hand, it had to lead to an agricultural plan for which the outlines have been drawn up by Sir Phiroze Khareghat, on the other, it has called for statutory restriction of the acreage under cash crops which in the present state are more profitable than food crops. Altogether, our experience of the food problem is illustrative of the restricted scope of war time measures and of the way they pave the transition from wartime controls to post-war planning.

As compared to food control, cotton cloth control can claim a greater degree of success. Though there are still complaints of uneven distribution, which must be attributed to defects of the local administration, the control has succeeded in bringing down prices by more than 40 per cent, since the middle of 1943, in ensuring supplies of yarn for handloom weavers and in making essential goods available at tex-mark prices all over the country. Production as a whole has increased to 5,800 million yards; and though the country can certainly do with more, the position must be considered satisfactory, particularly in view of the coal shortage, which is the principal handicap of industry at the present time.

The coal shortage affects not only the production of cotton cloth in the mills but the whole gamut of Indian industry. Considering the wide orbit of its repercussions, it is strange that the Government did not ward off the danger but was driven to secure relief by such dubious methods as lifting the ban on female labour. But the coal shortage is not the sole handicap of Indian industry. While all the world over, industry was substantially adding to its equipment, quantitatively and qualitatively, Indian industry had to be content with doing jobs of a minor character and that, too, under surveillance. Changes in the fortunes of the allies would seem to have made no great difference. While during the dark days of the war, imports of essential raw materials were denied to Indian industry on the ground of shortage of shipping, improvement in the shipping position led only to increased imports of the finished products. Instances of these are found in many lines. But complaints of this kind are most common in the chemical industry; and it is not without significance that its development in the post-war period is forestalled by the drawing up of plans for a centralised

chemical industry to be run under foreign direction. The ostensible ground for increased imports of consumer goods, however, is the need to fight the effects of inflation.

The effect of these imports of consumer's goods is seen in the figures of foreign trade. Imports went up Rs. 53·76 crores in the first half of 1943 to over Rs. 80 crores in the corresponding period of this year while the rise in exports is only from Rs. 92·72 crores to Rs. 106·74 crores. Leaving these figures aside, which are only a small part of the much bigger picture of the exchange of goods and services between India and the rest of the world, India's foreign trade is characterised by shifts in the direction of trade, of which the closer relations between India and the Middle East may prove lasting, though it had its origin in the closing up of the Mediterranean till the surrender of Italy. The Indian cotton mills, which had long been content with the home market ever since the loss of the Chinese market for yarn, have again been able to secure an export market in adjacent lands. Though this is no unmixed advantage in the present period of scarcity, the progress made is not to be despised. At any rate, it is a matter for satisfaction that the scarcity of cotton cloth has been reduced in spite of our having to earmark a portion for this export trade of recent origin.

The improvement in the position of food and cotton cloth would not however warrant a complacent view either of anti-inflationary measures as a whole or of the claims commonly made for control in the war period. Now, more than at any time statistics are unreliable; they are almost treacherous. In regard to prices and cost of living, while the price of food-grains and sugar and cloth have certainly been brought down, there are other necessities of life like milk and vegetables where the rise in prices more than offsets the decline in the former. This is only to be expected since the basic conditions which make for the rise in prices continue unchanged. The problem of inflation in India was never tackled as such. The Government of India took an unconscionably long time to recognise that there was any inflation. And when it could no longer be burked, they accepted the obligation to fight the effects of inflation rather than inflation itself. To fight inflation, it was necessary to insist that foreign Governments should pay every rupee worth of goods and services in Indian, and not foreign, currency. And that was beyond the powers of the Government of India. The Government, therefore, have endeavoured to check inflation to the extent possible and fight the effects of inflation as well as they can. The former course was taken later; and it is even now far from complete. Generally speaking, additions to currency have been made almost without a break during the whole of the war period; and the following table shows the position during last year :

	Notes in circulation	Sterling securities	
		Issue Dept.	Banking Dept.
7-1-44	845·69	738·84	123·70
31-3-44	882·49	779·84	166·23
7-7-44	931·93	828·33	174·46
29-9-44	941·25	834·33	304·85
8-11-44	989·82	886·33	340·03

The note issue has risen more than five times its pre-war figure. And this in spite of the fact that gold and silver belonging to the Allied nations have been sold in India. The twin problems that this gives rise to are inflation at home and accumulation of sterling balances in London. So far as prices are concerned, as has been mentioned already, the success of control of certain commodities is no index of the control of prices as a whole. The following table shows that, though wholesale prices at one stage showed a fall, the rising trend has reasserted itself.

WHOLESALE PRICE

	Agricultural commodities	Raw material	Manufactured articles	General index	Cost of Living Bombay
1940-41	108.6	121.4	120.0	114.8	114
1943-44	270.6	184.9	251.7	237.2	237
Sept. 1943	272.0	181.4	251.3	236.4	245
Jan. 1944	264.4	193.3	251.3	237.8	238
Mar. "	257.8	196.7	252.3	236.3	226
June "	265.9	204.3	251.3	244.1	236
Oct. "	262.0	205.5	255.7	242.0	239

The fight against anti-inflationary measures in preference to inflation is definitely a losing battle—the odds are against the authorities. It is a case of letting go the reins and tugging the tail of a fiery steed. The Government are glad that from a political and social point of view they are keeping the situation well in hand. They are able to claim that there is not a rupee of their own war expenditure which is not covered by taxation and borrowing. They are able to claim, too, that they have drawn off a large part of the redundant money by their campaign for small savings and that more than all this, they have fought inflation itself to the extent that they have been able to sell gold and silver in India on account of the allied nations. But it is high time that more was done. There must be a definite ceiling set to the rupee circulation and measures taken to see that the note issue is kept within that limit.

The other problem, *viz.*, that of sterling balances, has unlike the problem of inflation been taken out of its wartime setting. Intrinsically and by reason of its discussion at the Bretton Woods Conference, sterling balances is recognised as a post-war problem. Even before the Conference the controversy in regard to our sterling assets had developed marked acrimony, thanks to the British Press which has more than once shown itself lacking in regard for Britain's good name. As in the political, so on this front, too, India has lost much ground during 1944. The refusal of the Bretton Woods Conference to include the repayment of our sterling balances within the scope of the International Monetary Fund was felt keenly first as an insult and secondly as injury to our national interests. It is possible that the majority of the delegates did not mean it as either;

since there is a great deal to be said for not saddling a new and untried institution with so heavy a responsibility. Somewhat similar is the case of the International Bank where India has not been accorded a permanent seat in the Executive on a formal basis, but has been ensured a seat in all conditions. But considering that the work of the Conference as a whole requires ratification of which we cannot be too sure, a different milieu of conditions calling for a revision of the scheme is not unthinkable.

After all, 1944 was only one year in a world war that might conceivably see its seventh year. All the events are related to what went before; and their significance depends on what may follow thereafter. So far as India is concerned, it is certain that the most strenuous times are yet ahead. The past never seems too sombre in retrospect. Suffice it for us that the war period leaves us with tinted glasses with which we can see a rosy future, beyond the psychic present. In the mixed bag that war presents to peoples planning is a kind of meccano set, which they can either toy with in infantile playfulness or utilise to build up truly constructive qualities. About the ultimate fate of economic planning, it is unwise to be dogmatic. But it is only fair to those concerned to recognise that some progress has been made in what may be called planning the plan. The Reconstruction Committee of the Viceroy's Council has issued two of its progress reports where ideas are clearly gaining in concreteness. It has been definitely stated that nearly Rs. 1,500 crores will be available for investment in the first five years of the Plan. Detailed plans have also been evolved for agriculture, railway development and education. The Bhoré Committee is busy drawing up its plan for public health. Industrialists are being asked to clarify their ideas and book orders for machinery for the post-war period. The country, too, is visibly plan-minded. Provinces and States are making plans of their own and are eager to have them correlated into an all-India Plan. It is unduly pessimistic to believe that all these efforts will run to waste. And it is likewise dangerous for the public to forget that, if vigilance is the price of liberty, it is even more necessary to ensure that the surrender of ordinary freedom in the name of planning yields commensurate results in the increase of general well-being.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA

By SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL

Our people in India are no doubt taking a keen interest in the problems of Indians in East Africa but something more is necessary. It is high time that everyone in India should study the question of Indians abroad. To India the East African decision will serve as a test for her own position under the British Empire. It is to be remembered that East Africa was colonized by Indians long before the time when Englishmen knew of this tract of land. According to Premier Churchill's *My African Journey*, "It was the Sikh soldier who bore an honourable part in the conquest and pacification of these East African territories and the Indian trader who developed the early beginning of trade and opened up the first slender means of communications. Is it possible for any Government with a scrap of respect for honest dealing between man and man to embark on a policy of deliberately squeezing out the native of India from regions in which he has established himself under every

I know it is useless to quote Mr. Winston Churchill to-day against the East African administration, for much water has flown under the bridges since then. After prosperity had been built up by Indian labour and Indian blood, the White settlers began to look at the presence of our people in East Africa as an obstacle for their future well-being. Often vigorous attempts were made by the White settlers, who practically dominate over the affairs of the territories, to secure the gradual elimination of Indians from there, but they could not achieve their goal owing to the intervention of the Government and the people of India.

Now under the cover of war exigencies and under one false pretext or another, the Whites are once again at their old game of prohibiting Indian immigration into East Africa. They have so engineered the situation as to secure the enactment of the Emergency Defence Regulations under which the non-native immigration

tremely restricted, and even those who came out of that country to India at the instance of East African Governments are prevented from returning to their land of adoption, where they were engaged in different trades and occupations.

The White settlers, it is obvious from the recent events, want to squeeze out as many Indians as possible, and the Emergency Defence Regulation is only a cloak under which the real intention of the White settlers, which is to keep the East African territories exclusively reserved for the European whether he is a Jew or a German, a friend or an enemy of England, is cleverly screened.

The British settlers have been conspiring since a long time past to prevent the immigration of Indians, and they have now virtually succeeded in their object. One recalls in this connection the Convention of the European Association, of which the late Lord Delamere was the head-figure, started clamouring for the elimination of our people from East Africa in the early twenties. The Government then appointed an Economic Commission consisting of some officials and some of the leading lights of the Convention and although the ostensible purpose of it was to enquire into and report upon the economic condition of the country, they arrived at the astounding conclusion that the presence of Indians in the colony was responsible for all its misfortunes and miseries, hence their future immigration must be prohibited and the Government should aim at the gradual reduction of those Indians who were already domiciled in East Africa.

A strenuous agitation was started by the Convention, but ultimately the proposal was turned down by the Colonial Office in London due to the unanimous and vehement opposition of the people and the Government of India. At the time of that upheaval, the White settlers threatened an armed revolution if their demands were not granted, and the armed rebellion was very near to being carried into effect. Our esteemed friend the late Sadhu C. F. Andrews was assaulted by those White hooligans during his visit to South Africa at that time.

The white settlers have never hesitated to use extra-legal means of getting their own way. But now under the cover of war they want to achieve what they failed to have at that time and have, therefore, by enacting an Emergency Defence Regulation put a ban on the Indian immigration. It is reported that a large number of Indians, numbering about ten thousand, had returned to India in response to the appeal made by the East African Governments. Under the new Regulation those Indians will not be permitted to return to East Africa. They are thus stranded in India, away from their business venue. This is the British way of doing things, it must be admitted.

I am glad that a delegation of Indian settlers of East Africa under the leadership of Shri Shamsud-Deen, M.L.C. has recently visited India in order to draw the attention of the Government and the people of India to the tragic situation created by the Emergency Defence Regulation in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. They told plainly their tale of woe and distress to the Viceroy Lord Wavell and Dr. Narayan Bhaskar Khare,

the Member of Commonwealth Relations Department.

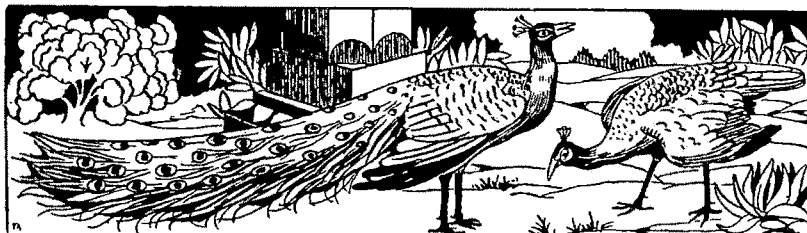
I understand the decision, prohibiting the immigration of outsiders in that territory was taken by the East African administration with the full knowledge and, perhaps also the approval of the Government of India. It is an irony of fate that the approval of the Government of India to its enactment was acquired under some false pretences. It passes beyond our comprehension how the India Government with their bitter experience of the past, took the word of the East African authorities at its face value and did not care to find out the Indian opinion on the proposed emergency legislation.

In practice the Regulation has been used only against the Indian immigration because the Whites are permitted to enter the territories on the pretext of employment in essential war work. The situation in East Africa raises an issue of grave importance to India. What is involved is not merely the rights and privileges of our people already settled there but the much bigger issue whether India will allow the door of East Africa to be closed against her people for future immigration.

Some time back I reminded my countrymen that the Premier of South Africa, Field-Marshal Jan Christian Smuts, a new Messiah of White Race Supremacy Religion and a foremost exponent of racial discrimination, was bent upon creating the UNITED STATES OF AFRICA or a FEDERATION OF AFRICA, and it is reported that he has recently been very active gathering forces to achieve his object. The Smuts' Government of South Africa has been putting extreme political pressure on the Imperial Government for the amalgamation of all these African territories with the Union. If it succeeds the lot of Indians as well as of natives will be positively worsened. Are we going to adopt the policy of 'wait and see' till the hammer-blow falls on our people in Africa?

The White hegemony which is sought to be established in East Africa is a great danger to India's present and future interests and unless the Government of India insists on immediate withdrawal of the restriction with regard to immigration it would in fact barter away India's rights. It is certain that without Swaraj the grievances of Indians abroad can never be removed, and India cannot give an effective retort to this unabashed racial arrogance of the Whites, yet even the present Government of India can do a great deal to give the Indians the much needed protection, if only they seriously take up the matter which in all fairness they should. The India Government is in a position to bring the East African authorities to their knees owing to the monopoly of piecegoods trade which India holds just now in those territories. Should the Government of India leave our people in the lurch or come to their rescue to protect their just rights which are being assailed in such a ruthless manner?

India's door is kept open to every foreigner and thousands of foreign refugees and evacuees are being fed and housed in spite of the general scarcity of food and famine and deaths of millions of her people. Can it be tolerated that the people of India should not be free to emigrate to East Africa which they have helped to develop with their sweat and blood!



MUSEUMS IN INDIA

Their Educational Functions

By "KAUNDINYA"

THE enormous growth of the science of Museology in Europe and in America during the last fifty years, has developed the role that Museums should play in supplementing the educational curriculum of schools and colleges. It has long been recognised that the services that a Museum can render to any community may be conveniently grouped under three heads: (a) Collection and Preservation, (b) Interpretation and Study, (c) Educational Services, (d) Publicity. Since the Markham Report was published on the positions of Museums in India (1936) which severely criticized the starved and stunted conditions of the majority of them, due to the apathy of Government and the poor financial assistance provided in official budgets, Indian Museums have recently come in for its share of criticisms from our overseas visitors, who are accustomed to the benefits, in their own countries, bestowed by efficient Museum Administration, liberally supported by official and private munificence,—particularly in the United States. In India, the growth of Museum Collections depend on (i) Acquisitions under Ancient Monuments and Treasure Trove Acts or Excavations, (ii) Purchases, and (iii) Gifts. Owing to poor finances and 'public apathy, development and growth under the last two headings are almost nil in marked contrasts with the munificent sums allotted by Government, private donations and gifts which are showered on the Museums of U.S.A. Most museums in India have no definite educational plans, and are unrelated to the programmes of studies current in schools and colleges, and the facilities for private studies are very meagre and the public are severely discouraged by official red-tapeism and indifference. The general public and the cultured members of the community are not taken into confidence and are not encouraged to take any interest in the growth of Museums or to make any gifts or endowments. Voluntary gifts of objects and monetary endowments are one of the chief sources of the development of the Museums of U.S.A. To cite some examples at random, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, received by way of gifts and loans notable masterpieces of Art, numbering altogether 233 items, during the year 1928 and as money gifts two several sums of 7328 dollars (Rs. 29,312) and 5,000 dollars (Rs. 20,000), earmarked for the purchase of objects of art, during the same year.

The incentive for private gifts and donations is stimulated by regular programmes of Educational Services (Gallery Talks, Lectures for the General Public, Special Lectures for Schools, Colleges and for Teachers, and incessant Exhibitions throughout the year), and by active publicity work, of which the most important is the issue of *Bulletins* (monthly, bi-monthly, or quarterly) which keep before the public eye the activity of the Museums, and which frequently publish notices of and describe (through short illustrated articles by experts) the most important new additions and accessions, and through which a constant link is maintained with members of the public,

and with those interested in Art and in the Museums' educational programmes. The *Bulletins* are the most important features of American Museums and help to radiate an up-to-date knowledge of the latest acquisitions of examples of Art of diverse schools and countries and are of invaluable assistance, not only, to scholars and research workers but also to the general public interested in Art and Art-History. As a rule, these *Bulletins* are very inexpensive, costing one to two dollars a year for 4 to 12 issues, according to the importance and status of the Museum.

The Markham Report has passed severe strictures on the general absence of Periodical *Bulletins* for Indian Museums: "Out of a total number of 105 Museums in India, only sixteen museums publish Annual Reports, and for the most part these are thin publications of a few pages, merely serving as a brief catalogue of recent acquisitions. They give the minimum of information and are stereo-typed in character, differing from year to year in little save statistics. But even these are preferable to the obstinate silence preserved by the majority of the museums."

To this dismally black cloud a silver lining has been added recently by Dr. Goetz, the enterprising Curator of the Baroda State Museum and Gallery, with a bright little *Bulletin* of 62 stimulating pages, replete with interesting and educative articles and notices of numerous important items in the Museum (Pictures, Illuminated Mss, Miniatures, Coins etc.), profusely illustrated by excellent plates. In addition to the Half Yearly Report of the working of the Museum, the *Bulletin* contains a sheaf of original articles describing and discussing several un-published and very little known works of art of unique interest, e.g., 'Nalanda Seals in the Baroda Museum' (A. S. Gadre), 'Twenty-two Buddhist Miniatures from Bengal' (Benoytosh Bhattacharyya), 'The Art Exhibition of the 15th Guzerati Literary Conference' (V. L. Devakar), 'A unique Decani Miniature' and 'Modern Art in the World Crisis' (H. Goetz). As pointed out in the Introductory Note, "The Baroda Museum through the personal interest of the late Maharaja, has grown to an all-round collection almost unique in India which may offer opportunities for the broadest public education in natural science, ethnology, history and art, as in few other museums in this country. It is the fervent wish of the State to make the utmost of these possibilities. And the present *Bulletin* forms merely an aspect of a general and comprehensive modernization scheme. Its purpose is not only to publish the scientific treasures collected in it during the last half century, but also to make a wider educated public conversant with them, to resuscitate so life the dead exhibits, to let them reveal their secrets, their meaning, their beauties." The Baroda State has indeed made a new and unique contribution to the growth of educational role of Museums and the greatest credit is due to its eminent Curator who has set a valuable lesson to his brethren to follow.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—
EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

BEGINNINGS OF MODERN EDUCATION IN BENGAL: WOMEN'S EDUCATION: By Jyôgesh C. Bagal. Pp. 82 + iv. four illustrations. Ranjan Publishing House, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8.

The minute and patient study among old old books, MS. records and newspapers by which Mr. Bagal has been building up a true and documented history of the Renaissance in Bengal in the first half of the 19th century has yielded this valuable and interesting history of our women's first steps in the modern world. The highest credit is given, and quite deservedly, to the Christian missionaries and committees of sympathising lay European ladies, who were pioneers in this untrodden and at first very unpromising field and who looked for their reward only beyond the grave. But we are glad to note that an orthodox Hindu like Rajah Radhakanta Deb became a public champion of our women's education at a time when Hindoo society frowned upon the very idea of it. Two valuable documents enrich the Appendix. We also get much new light on Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar's services as the early founder of girls' schools (on behalf of the Government). This history stops a little before the end of the East India Company's rule; but the story of the early pioneers ought to hearten modern social reformers in similar fields where strenuous effort has to be made against orthodox opposition and the apathy of a sleeping society. Our great countrymen of that age were justified in their distant vision of an educated modern and yet domestic Hindoo womanhood.

JADUNATH SARKAR

PESHWA BAJI RAO I AND MARATHA EXPANSION: By V. G. Dighe, Ph.D., with Foreword by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Pp. 236 + x. One portrait and two maps. Karnatak Publishing House, Bombay 2. Price Rs. 6.

This book marks, in the English language, the greatest contribution made to the history of the Peshwas since Grant Duff wrote his history 125 years ago, as Jadunath Sarkar's *Shivaji and his Times* does to our knowledge of that founder of the Maratha Nation. Undoubtedly Baji Rao I in his meteoric career of twenty years—which was cut short before he was 40,—was the most brilliant and successful of the long line of Peshwas, and he has hitherto waited for a worthy biography. In the meantime original materials of primary importance for a study of his times have accumulated, in English, Portuguese, Marathi and Persian, and been mostly published. In the Peshwas' Daftar selections series alone as many as 2,500 documents on the subject have been printed. It is a most promising prospect for Indian history that a comparatively young son of Maharashtra has mastered this mass of materials and presented a compact study as the fruit of his labours in synthesizing all the diverse sources, and "touched up the salient features with a commendable economy

the Capture of Bassein (based on newly published Portuguese state papers) are the most detailed and documented accounts of these two heroic achievements of the Maratha race to be found in any language. Sir Jadunath commends the book in the words, "This volume will form a very valuable addition to the growing literature on Maratha History, and will long continue as a standard authority in its own field."

New light is thrown on every branch of Baji Rao's manifold activity, which enables us to understand the Nizam ul mulk Asaf Jah's cry of admiration, *Is mulk men ek Baji aur sab paji*. The chapters on the Maratha progress in Malwa and Bundelkhand and on the early and decisive tussle with the Nizam take note of the latest research and correct many long-prevalent historical errors. The two final chapters treat of this Prime Minister's realtions with his royal Master (which show Chhatrapati Shahu in a very pleasing light) and Baji Rao's character and achievements, in a sober judicious spirit and are not vitiated by chauvinism or bombast.

Indeed, we hope for more first-rate work from this writer.

B. N. B.

GAURI MATA: Published by Durga Puri Devi. Saradeswari Ashram, 26 Maharani Hemanta Kumari Street, Calcutta. August, 1944. Pp. 117. Price Re. 1-8.

Gauri Mata, "a direct disciple of Sri Ramakrishna Deva," embraced the monastic life at a very early age, and her great work stands for the good of posterity. Her special field lay among women, and it was educational in scope. To her said the Master: "Mould thou the clay," and the words prompted the strenuous endeavour—not mere asceticism but living in God through living for humanity.

The story of her life is here told in brief but with skill and with proper emphasis on points that require it. The glossary at the end will be helpful. The book tells us of remarkable achievement and it deserves to be read with appreciation. The institution which is her legacy should be an asset to society for years to come.

P. R. SEN

PREMCHAND: By Madan Gopal. Published by The Bookabode, 119, Circular Road, Lahore. Pp. 130. Price Rs. 3-8.

Premchand is one of those great Indian writers, who can safely claim a place of his own in the august galaxy of world *literati*. He was a prolific writer and wielded a vigorous pen for over 35 years and thus gave a status and standing to Hindi letters. But, it is regrettable that neither there is any good biographical book on him nor there are reliable renderings of his works in English and other principal Indian languages. Under the circumstances, this journalistically written treatise on Premchand, though of a rudimentary nature, will be very welcome as a good introduction to the life and works of Premchand. Even in a brief memoir like this, Mr. Madan Gopal has successfully tried to be faithful, critical and sympathetic towards Premchand's works and

chand's inspiration. We commend this book to lovers of Hindi literature. M. S. SENGAR

THE STARVING MILLIONS: By Santosh Kumar Chatterjee, M.A. Ashoka Library, 15, Shyama Charan Dey Street, Calcutta, Pages 94. Price Rs. 1-8.

This is a timely book on Famines in India with special reference to the Bengal Famine of the last year. India had 14 recorded famines during the seven centuries (11th to 17th century) before the advent of the British, some of which were local only. Since the establishment of the British rule in India, we had four famines during the last thirty years of the 18th century. During the first half of the 19th century we had nine famines and the second half of the century saw another sixteen. The Bengal famine of 1943 is unfortunate from many points of view. Loss of Burma and other sources of rice supply, local crop failure in some districts on account of natural calamities, denial policy of the Government, lack of communication due to destruction of boats etc., profiteering and hoarding by seekers of gain, maladministration of the provincial Government and inefficiency of the Central Government, export of food-grains from India even during scarcity, inflation and last but not the least Bureaucratic stubbornness in not yielding to the popular demands and cries in taking suitable measures promptly when the country was actually in the grip of famine, are some of the causes which the history shall have to record of this most unfortunate visitation.

The writer has, in a small compass, given facts and figures but has not given reference from which they have been taken. He has succeeded in showing that there was not only confusion of thought but of action also so far as the authorities were concerned (both Provincial and Central), and as a result some three millions had to perish. A book of this nature deserves to be widely read. A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

SANKARACHARYA'S SELECT WORKS: Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price Re. 1-4.

This contains the Sanskrit text, along with an English rendering made by Mr. S. Venkataramanan, of some of the small popular philosophical treatises of Sankara as well as a number of hymns, including extracts from a few, attributed to him. It serves as a useful introduction to the more abstruse writings of the Great Master. That the book is passing through a third edition testifies to its popularity.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

BANGLA SAHITYER KHASRA [A Sketch of Bengali Literature]: By Sri Priya Ranjan Sen. The Book Emporium Ltd., 22/5, Cornwallis St., Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.

To all serious students of Bengali literature Prof. P. R. Sen is too well-known to need an introduction. Here he presents a short history of Bengali literature, barring out as far as possible, dry statistics and knotty controversies. Works by Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen and Dr. Sukumar Sen are immensely valuable for their wealth of details, but they are not meant for the average reader. For him too we needed a book and here it is. The preliminary chapters on the Meaning of Literature and the relation of Bengali to Sanskrit are not out of place. They serve as a good introduction. The last chapter brings the story down to the time of Rabindranath and it includes comments on Sarat Chandra, Prabhat Kumar and Pramatha Chaudhuri.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

BANGIYA NATYASHALA: By Brajendra Nath Banerjee. Visva-Bharati, 6/3, Dwarkanath Tagore Lane, Calcutta. Price eight annas.

This book is included in the Visva-Bidya-Sangraha series of the Visva-Bharati. Lebedeff, a Russian ad-

venturer, gave start to the Bengali theatre so early as 1795. Within eighty years from that date the Bengali stage took a regular shape on Western model. Professional theatres came to be opened in Calcutta and the moffusil by 1872. The reader will find in the volume the story of this development, told in a fascinating manner. In the narrative the author has mainly depended on materials, hitherto unused. From this point of view also the book has been unique. The stage has played a very important role in our national life, which, too, the author has not failed to refer to. The publishers deserve congratulation for bringing out such a neat volume on the Bengali stage.

CHELEDER JEhangir: By Srimati Bani Gupta, M.A., B.T., with a Preface by Brajendra Nath Banerjee. Published by Lalit Mohan Gupta, 72/1, College Street, Calcutta. Illustrated. Price Rs. 2.

Among the Moghul Emperors, Jehangir's was a most romantic life, and it aroused the curiosity of the people of different ages. The authoress has presented this romantic career in a way suitable for our juvenile readers. The style is easy and lucid. Apart from its valuable contents, the illustrations of the book are a great attraction for the reader. The frontispiece is of four colours, and the inside pictures are printed in one but distinct colours. And all of these are reproductions of first class Mughal paintings. We should congratulate both the authoress, and the publisher for producing the book in such a beautiful and neat way.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

HINDI

DARSHAN AUR JIVAN: By Sampurnanand. Published by Paripurnanand Varma, Cawnpore. Pp. 190.

Philosophy is not a subject outside the range of practical life; on the contrary, it is of the greatest practical use possible. It is the philosophical outlook of a community which determines its social, political and economic organization. Starting with this idea of the supreme usefulness of philosophy, the author analyses the concepts of the true, the good and the beautiful—*satyam, shivam, sundaram*, roughly corresponding to *jñana, karma, bhakti*, to metaphysics, ethics and aesthetics.

The author, who put down his observations and comments into this book from a central prison, did not aim to give out his conclusions or the result of other people's investigations so much as to awaken the questioning spirit in his readers. He has been successful in that. The language is very simple. P. R. SEN

TELUGU

NETI NATUDU VAGAIRA: By Koppuram Subba Rao. Printed at Larmi Power Press, Tenali. Pp. 100. Price Re. 1 only.

The book contains three short plays. In the first, the author tries to show the difference between good acting and bad acting. The second is a satire on religious fanatics and the third is an opera satirizing present-day civilization.

Necessary directions are given by the author so that amateurs can easily enact the plays. K. V. SUBBA RAO

GUJARATI

KALI DARSHAN: By Muljibhai P. Shah. Published by the Jivan Sahitya Mandir, Baroda. 1943. Paper cover. Pp. 26. Price four annas.

This very small book was published at the time when the Sahitya Parishad met at Baroda in the Christmas of 1943. The writer has devoted to each of the fifteen well-known poets including one female poet—Miranbai,—old and new, one poem and published in a popular form the services they have rendered by their work to the development and growth of the literature of the Province. It is a good work.

K. M. J.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Claim of the Upanishads

The verses of the Upanishads vibrate with contagious life and light. *Prabuddha Bharata* writes editorially :

The seers can speak out their conviction even before celestial beings who spy into the recesses of people's hearts :

Hear Ye all the sons of Immortality, Ye who dwell in celestial regions! (*Shu.*, II. 3).

I know that great Being whose appearance is like the effulgence of the sun and who is beyond darkness. By knowing Him alone can one get beyond death : There is no other way of approach (*ibid.*, III. 8)

The reader's attention is often quickened by remarks of astonishing insight, his comprehension is assisted by illuminating phrases, and his spirit elevated by passages of noble eloquence.

We now turn to the literary beauties of the Upanishads. But before we proceed further, we must make one thing clear—the Upanishads are not philosophical treatises, nor are they anthologies of disconnected poems, epigrams, or catechisms. They are written both in prose and poetry ; but the poetry is not laboured versification, nor is the prose mere philosophical disquisition bereft of all art. The poetry deliberately avoids philosophical stiffness and methodology, but aims more at inspiring the will and the emotion to reach a state beyond speech and thought through beautiful similes, imageries, figures of speech, rhythm, and change of perspectives, etc. And the prose through its simplicity, directness, and sincerity breathes poetry at every turn. The prose is resonant with poesy, and the poetry sparkles with direct touch and simple grandeur.

Let us look at the Upanishads more closely.

We are, to start with, struck with awe at the grandeur of conception and the wide sweep of imagination expressed in the simplest of language :

Fire is His head; the sun and moon His eyes; the quarters His ears; the Vedas His voice; the wind His breath; the universe His heart; and the earth His feet. Verily He is the indwelling Self of all (*Mu.*, II. i. 5).

For fear of Him the fire burns, for fear shines the Sun, for fear proceed Indra, Vayu, and Death the fifth (*Kat.*, II. iii. 4).

One example of simple and direct prose, throbbing with life and comparable to the highest poetry will suffice :

From evil lead me to good. From darkness lead me to light. From death lead me to immortality (*Br.*, I. iii. 28).

Mark how the feeling rises in cadence in the following paragraph from the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad*.

It is not for the sake of the husband, my dear, that he is loved, but for one's own sake that he is loved. It is not for the sake of the wife, my dear, that she is loved, but for one's own sake that she is loved. It is not for the sake of the sons, my dear, that they are loved, but for one's own sake that they are loved. . . . It is not for the sake of the worlds, my dear, that they are loved, but for one's own sake that they are loved. It is not for the sake of all, my dear, that all is loved, but for one's own sake that all is loved. The Self, my dear Maitreyi,

should be realized—should be heard of, reflected on, and meditated upon (II. iv. 5).

The following quotation—this time from the *Kenopanishad*, which is in verse—can hardly fail to rivet the attention on the prime dynamic factor in life, mental and physical :

That which cannot be revealed by speech, but which reveals speech, know that to be Brahman and not this which is objectively worshipped.

That which the eyes cannot see, but that by which the eyes see, know that to be Brahman and not this which is worshipped objectively.

That which cannot be vitalized by life, but that by which life is enlivened, know that to be Brahman and not this which is worshipped objectively.

Can Indian Philosophy be Made Progressive ?

G. R. Malkani writes in *The Aryan Path* :

The ideal behind Indian Philosophy is the knowledge of That knowing which all else is known. It is knowledge that will cut at the root of all evil and all suffering. The Truth which we should seek in Philosophy is timeless and eternal, and our knowledge of it absolutely certain. There is no room for "may be," but only for "is." The certainty of truth is part of its very nature. There can be no higher truth than that. Has Indian Philosophy found this truth and shown a way to it ? If it has, all further philosophical progress is barred. There is no scope for it. We may give an exposition of it in language, adopting the conventions and the spiritual genius of that language,—but that will not be reorientation or re-interpretation. It will simply be speaking to everyone in the language he can understand. After all, this truth cannot be racial or communal. It is for all humanity. We must therefore communicate it in the language in which different sections of humanity can imbibe it and make it their own. In this sense alone can we say that Indian Philosophy can be written. Has it not a message for all mankind and must it not enter the cultural tempo of the lives of all ? But, this is not philosophical progress. It is progress in the forms of its communication or expression, or, more generally, progress in its presentation, not in its content.

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INDIAN ASSOCIATED PUBLISHING Co., LTD.,
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Kalhana, the Poet-Historian of Kashmir

Rajatarangini, the famous saga of the Kings of Kashmir, was written 800 years ago by the poet-historian, Kalhana. Prof. S. N. Dhar writes in *The Indian Review* :

Little is known about the life of Kalhana beyond his own confessions in his history, which he wrote between the years 1148-49 A.D. He came from a celebrated family of Brahmins. His father, Campaka, was a minister. Untoward political circumstances determined an author's career for Kalhana. He cultivated a thorough-going acquaintance with all the past chronicles of Kashmir and knew at first hand, the political and social developments of his time.

Kalhana's erudition is estimated from the fact that the story of Rajatarangini or "The River of Kings" covers thousands of years from earliest times down to his own day.

Kalhana is pre-eminently a Kavi, a seer poet. He looked upon himself as a poet first and chronicler afterwards.

His standpoint as the historian is that of an independent and dispassionate observer. Non-Kashmiris like Bengalis who did great things in Kashmir were warmly applauded by him. He extended the same tolerance to idol-breakers, iconoclasts and vandals that he meted out to temple and city-builders and great patrons of art and learning. He wrote history with the professed aim that it might help people to live and to understand life. He is no sycophantic court-poet who pays extravagant tribute to kings. He describes royal love-affairs, court intrigues and military campaigns with the same veracity with which he gives accounts of famines, floods and fires. He ascribes no dates to the kings of the pre-historic period of Kashmir. He gives dates after 813 A.D. when he is sure about their authenticity.

Kalhana ranks among the first-rank Indian Sanskrit historians of the Middle Ages.

He boldly expressed his sympathy with the down-trodden Kashmiri masses who lived the pitiable lives of serfs. He gives interesting descriptions of their hunger-strikes which formed the only political weapon that they could use against their feudal and autocratic oppressors.

Kalhana's saga portrays the ancient times of Kashmir, the clash and the consequent intermixture of various cultures. Kalhana acquaints us with many ancient superstitions, customs and traditions, some of which have persisted to the present day. He gives brilliant pen-portraits of great men like Surya the engineer, King Meghavahana the philosopher, Lalitaditya the conqueror.

As a man, Kalhana presents the curious combination of poet and historian on the one hand and a Brahman and rationalist on the other. He was a Brahman but he had Buddhist leanings though he lived in a time when Buddhism had been completely replaced by Hinduism. Perhaps his interest in Buddhism accounts for his determinism and didacticism. The cult of Saivism, then prevalent in Kashmir, influenced him strongly, so that each one of the eight cantos of his poem begins with a Saivistic quotation that emphasises the transitoriness of life and the triumph of Death over it. Thus the dominant "rasa" (sentiment) of his chronicle is "santarasa," the sentiment of resignation. Kalhana's numerous references to ancient Indian classical mythology reveal his broad learning. He was well informed in history, geography, literature, economics and prosody.

Disruptionism as a Determining Factor in the Indian Situation

K. M. Munshi writes in the Fourth Annual Number of *The Social Welfare* :

Right till the Partition of Bengal, the educated Hindus and Muslims were agreed in secularizing their group sentiment and pursuing the path of nationalism related to India as the Motherland. But the British presented separate electorates to the Muslims; the community was segregated; religious passion was made the measure of politics; and broadminded nationalist Muslims were suddenly made unrepresentative of their own community.

When the Congress broke with the British in 1939, Disruption which was no more than a bare idea was exploited by the British to create an obstacle, which now has assumed a sinister shape.

Mr. Jinnah has recently in his letters to Gandhiji given us an idea of what its latest phase means.

First, the Muslims of India are a separate Nation, and the Nation has an inherent right of self-determination.

Secondly, Sind, Baluchistan, N.W.F., Punjab and Bengal and Assam as they are now, are Muslim homelands, subject to minor territorial adjustments without any regard to the crores of Hindus who are residents of these provinces and irrespective of the fact whether as in Assam they are majority. This attitude logically implies that a dozen Musalmans in any corner of India are part of a Nation which sprawls across the whole continent; that these dozen, even if they be near Cape Comorin, have a right to determining what they should do with any part of the country even if it be predominantly Hindu; and that in determining whether any part of this country should be under Muslim control, the non-Muslim, inhabiting their territory, has no right even to be consulted.

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Thirdly, it makes a sweeping claim that the Muslims historically, ethnically or culturally have nothing in common with the Hindus of this country.

The fact that these claims are entirely fictitious makes no difference; that every territory occupied by Hindus is as much their homeland as the Muslims inhabiting equally has no appeal; that the doctrine of religious nationalism employed with the two-nation theory is anachronistic and unrealisable does not matter.

Disruptionism is for the moment the most serious impediment to the country's progress. It asks the Congress to give up its demand for independence; to forswear the demand for a federal centre and for a democratic constituent assembly; and to withdraw the August Resolution, "which is inimical to the ideals and demands of Muslim India." (Jinnah's letter, 23rd September, 1944.)

The self-restraint which the Gandhian policy has imposed on the Congress Hindus, who form the majority of politically-minded Hindus in the country, is taken as weakness.

Swiss paper, according to a report in *The Chemical Age*, recently discussed the synthetic oil situation in Germany and estimated her total output of synthetic oil at 10,000,000 tons per annum.

Oil is produced largely from lignite in which Germany abounds. Most of the larger lignite mining companies have established their own plants for the hydrogenation of coal on the right bank of the Rhine under the leadership of the Gelsenkirchner Mining Company. It is stated that about 30,000,000 tons of lignite mined in the neighbouring Geisel valley are being utilized for the production of synthetic oil. On an average, about five tons of lignite yields one ton of motor fuel. At the Saale Water Works near Leuna, about 800,000 cu.m. of water are being daily used for the production of hydrogen required for the hydrogenation of coal. Leuna and the Gleiwitz Works in Upper Silesia are reported to be the most important centres for production of synthetic oil, each having an annual output of over a million tons.

Most of the plants are worked underground for reasons of safety against air raids and are further provided with smoke screen arrangements. The Blechhammer plants are completely underground and are reported to have survived several air attacks. With her growing difficulties of obtaining supplies of natural oil from Rumania, Poland, Hungary and Estonia, Germany will have to depend entirely on her synthetic oils, and her ability to continue the war will be derived from her ability to maintain the tempo of synthetic oil production on an upward curve despite the gloomy prospect of increased Allied air attacks.

Germany's Synthetic Oil

Science and Culture writes :

Unlike the United Nations, Germany is quite diversely situated with regard to her supply of natural oils and has to depend largely on synthetic oils for the successful prosecution of the war. Speculation is rife as to the extent of the output of synthetic oil in Germany, and various figures have been quoted from time to time from more than one source. An article in a leading

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Pearl Buck and Other Prominent Americans Join India League

Sept. 5, 1944

Pearl S. Buck, Nobel Prize winner, and a group of other prominent Americans have joined the India League of America to take action paralleling the effort now being made in India by Mahatma Gandhi and others to break the political deadlock, it was announced yesterday by Sirdar J. J. Singh, President of the League.

Pearl S. Buck became an honorary president of the League along with Dr. Lin Yutang, Chinese philosopher. An English and an Indian honorary president will be announced shortly.

Other Americans whose support of the India League was announced yesterday are: Richard J. Walsh, editor of *Asia*, who was elected chairman of the executive committee of the League; Louis Fischer, author and correspondent, who was elected a vice-president.

Among new members of the League's national advisory board are the following: John L. Childs, Chairman, Liberal Party; Professor Albert Einstein; Henry R. Luce, publisher; Philip Murray, President, C.I.O.; James G. Patton, President, National Farmers Union; Walter White, Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Pearl S. Buck, in accepting election as honorary president, made the following statement:

"I have joined the India League of America because I have been brought to the conviction, finally, after long, close and continuing experience with people and events in Asia, that India has become an immediate test case for world democracy, in the eyes of all the darker peoples, everywhere.

"Had it been possible for India to be regarded only as a single country, large, it is true, and with three times the population of the United States, but separate and out of the world—merely a colony in short—I would not be working for the Indian Freedom now. The people of India in that case, might have worked out their own relationship with the people of England.

"Or had there been another country which could have proved, in the eyes of the darker peoples, our determination for democracy, it might have been possible to by-pass India again. But the Philippines are not accessible to us, nor are the Netherlands East Indies, nor French Indo-China. At this present moment

Freedom can be declared only in India. And the moment is urgent.

"Millions of eyes in China, in South America, in North America, in the isles of the oceans, in Africa and even in Europe, are watching to see if democracy means what it says and if the Four Freedoms are true or false. By what we do about India, democracy will stand or fall. Today the watchers, in silence, in apparent immobility, are deciding the future for us all and for our children, and this decision waits, upon our action, not our words, in India.

"Knowing this now, beyond a doubt, and because I am an American, I will work for freedom and democracy in India."

Mr. Singh, in making public Mrs. Buck's statement, added:

"The India League has been made up chiefly of Indians, with only a few noted Americans, but the League has now been transformed into a predominantly American body."

"It will continue to work for the independence of India, but not primarily from the point of view of Indian nationalism. Its purpose, rather, is to present India as 'the test case of Allied war aims', and to further the winning of the war in Europe as well as in Asia, by proving through the liberation of India, that the war is being fought for democracy and freedom for all peoples."

"We stress the urgency of this issue particularly in sustaining the morale of the Chinese armies and people, and also in securing wholehearted support of the war effort, not only from the people of India but also, as the

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war progresses, from the people of Korea, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Indo-China, the Netherland East Indies, the Philippines and other Pacific Island groups."

"We stress also the stimulating effect which Indian freedom would have upon the peoples of the Balkan and other European areas, upon the American Negroes, and upon suppressed minorities everywhere."—*India League of America*.

Democracy in China and India

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has promised that within a year after the end of the war China will have a fully democratic regime based on the draft constitution proclaimed by the central government in 1936. In this connection, H. G. Quaritch Wales writes in *The Catholic World* in the article, entitled "Democracy in the Making in China":

A good reason for us to consider China's proposed constitution sympathetically, however unfamiliar some of its provisions may seem, is that attempts to transplant our Western democratic institutions to Eastern soil have in most cases not proved very successful. They failed generally in India, even where the Indians were ready to co-operate in working "provincial autonomy" which they did not through any conviction of the suitability of the system, but simply because it seemed to be a step toward freedom. Similar attempts failed none the less in independent Thailand, as I saw when residing in that country during the short-lived democratic regime. On the other hand, significantly enough, the popular self-rule adopted by the progressive Indian state of Mysore, and having much in common with the Chinese extended village system, has prospered.

The rock on which Western parliamentary methods have almost always foundered in the East is the fixed party system, foreign as it is to the Oriental belief in the reconcilability of interests. In Burma, notwithstanding that the people are racially and culturally remarkably homogeneous, government was reduced to a farce with the splitting of the Assembly into twenty or more irresponsible parties all primarily interested in attaining selfish ends. In India, thanks to the British mistake of establishing electorates on a communal basis, the rift between Moslems and Hindus was deepened, at least among the politically conscious of the cities. And the stress on "provincial autonomy" has tended to promote regional interests at the expense of the growth of a much to be desired Indian national outlook.

In India today not more than fifteen per cent of the

entire native population has any interest in national politics since it appears so remote from the people's lives. Hence in many provinces a trend toward oligarchy or dictatorship is not surprising. What can really be expected of an elaborate machinery designed to produce results the people do not want and which are not in accord with their tradition? Something far simpler and less mechanical will be needed if popular imagination is to be captured and a national ministry established with support of a strong and active public opinion.

The Indian leaders have insisted on their right to choose their own form of government in a free India. From the admiration which Jawaharlal Nehru has expressed for the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives it seems likely that he would be no less interested in China's village democracy. The basis for village democracy exists also in India, as it does in Burma, Thailand and other parts of Southeast Asia even if the persistence of feudalism did not favour its development to the same extent as in China. In India the *panchayats*, or elected village councils survive, cutting right across caste and creed. To regain their former importance they only need to have their prestige strengthened by heightened responsibility. And since now-a-days the radio and the spread of communications are rapidly increasing the peasant's awareness of the outer world, there should be little difficulty in extending the spirit of the village councils upward and outward to a fully elective national assembly.

Such a growth of democracy from below upward, rather than the attempt to impose an alien system, would appear to offer the best hope for the emergence of a united India. For the divisions that mar the harmony of the politically conscious in the cities have fortunately not yet reached India's vast rural population. Of them the distinguished Indian author K. M. Panikkar recently wrote: "The relations between Hindus and Moslems everywhere are exceptionally good. They live together as friendly neighbours." And Dr. J. Henry Carpenter on his recent visit to India was amazed to find, after all he had heard, Sikh, Moslem, and Hindu co-operatives contentedly working together.

This may suffice to give some idea of the wider horizons that a consideration of China's draft constitution opens up, and the tremendous bearing that it may have on future world peace. Ultimately it is probable that democracy in Asia will represent more of a synthesis of Western and Eastern elements than now appears practicable. The recognition of that probability, which China's readiness to consult us would appear to indicate, no less than her own bold experimentation, will qualify her for leadership in peace as certainly as her gallant struggle has made her an inspiration in time of war.

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Anti-U. S. Feeling in Argentina

Anti-U.S. feeling is strong enough among almost all Argentines to cause some gratification when the colonels' clique confiscates our business firms' holdings or professes to see in the American war attitude nothing of importance for the future of the world. It is a tragedy that, just when we officially stiffen up our relations with the Argentine government, we fail to enunciate impressive peace aims, fall into the old game of dividing Europe to satisfy rival ambitions, and give slight moral leadership to the Argentine anti-totalitarian forces. One strongly idealistic, firm, and hopeful stand for specific peace aims would confound the pro-Nazi groups, just as Churchill's laudation of Dictator Franco in Spain did more to harm democracy in Latin America than a hundred Axis propagandists.

A dangerous arms race is in the making. Up to now, virtually all the armament available for Latin American governments has been supplied by the United States, and we have sent one military mission after another to train these countries to the southward in their use. Now the Argentine government, after long and intense effort, has turned out a lot of modern and reportedly excellent war equipment, all in Argentine factories, and is going ahead with a self-sufficient program that will eventually arm the country to its molars. When the reactionary crowd now in power can do it, they will attempt to challenge Uncle Sam as the provider of "security" by armament, and will seek by selling arms to build up a great sphere of influence in South America.—*Worldover Press.*

Flax

In an article on "Flax Production in War and its Prospects in Peace," Earl De La Warr, Director, Home Flax Production, writes in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*:

Flax is the raw material of linen. It is probably the oldest vegetable textile in the world. Its origin has been lost in antiquity, but we hear of it first being produced in Egypt. I have with me to-day samples of mummy cloth manufactured in that country over 6,000 years ago. Although the decorticating, spinning and weaving machinery were of the most primitive kind, a careful examination of this cloth shows that the yarn is spun to a degree of fineness that cannot be equalled by modern machinery. When I tell you that the finest yarns that Northern Ireland is capable of producing are only half the fineness of the yarns comprised in this mummy cloth, you will realise how adept the old Egyptians were in the art of linen manufacture.

Flax is also the only vegetable fibre referred to in the Bible. Wool and silk were, of course, known; but for general purposes linen was the staple material used for clothing the biblical ancients, particularly the upper classes. Even the priestly garments, the ephods, were manufactured from the finest linen.

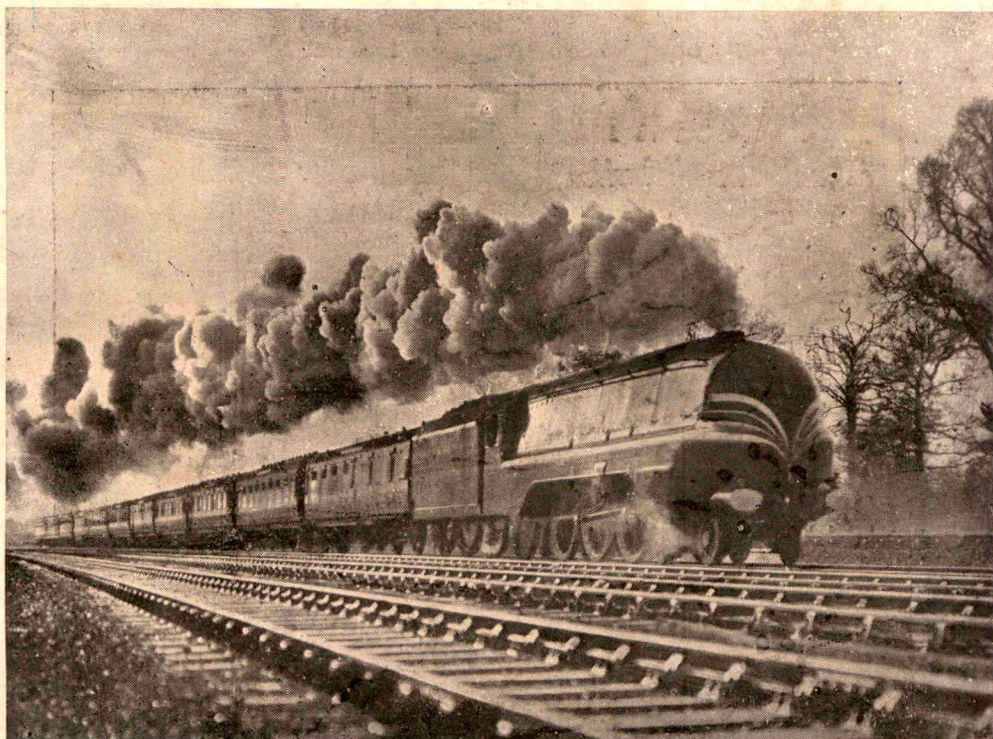
The cultivation of flax in Europe was introduced from Egypt. Greeks and Romans used it extensively both for under and outer garments—and it is probable that their conquests were responsible for the gradual spread of cultivation in Europe. It was late in arrival in this country and it was not until after the lapse of many centuries that we find it growing here. But up to the beginning of the nineteenth century it was still so essential for the sails of the Navy that a certain proportionate acreage was sown compulsorily on every farm. The sails of the Victory were grown in this country and spun by a Scottish firm still in existence. In certain areas of Scotland the marriage portion and trousseau of the farmer's daughter partly was of linen that was produced on the family farm. In 1864, 315,000 acres, or about double the present acreage, was grown in the United Kingdom.

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NOTES

A. I. N. E. C.

The fifth session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference has concluded its sitting in Calcutta. Welcoming the delegates, Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghose, Chairman of the Reception Committee, expressed Bengal's gratitude for the sympathy and help which journalists from all parts of India had rendered to her people during the 1943 "man-made famine, which the Ministers were trying to combat with terminological inexactitudes." In his brilliant address, which showed great erudition and an encyclopaedic knowledge. Mr. Ghose said about the famine :

"When Bengal was suffering because of the autocratic action of a Governor, the inaction of a supine Viceroy and the unsympathetic attitude of a Secretary of State for India, journalists all over India were impelled—I may say inspired—by their sense of public duty to overcome all obstacles and expose the maladministration in Bengal which was decimating the people; and many of them raised considerable sums of money to 'fill full the mouth of famine.' It was an achievement of which journalism of any country can feel proud.

"The Bengal Government tried to fight the calamity with false assurances about food. Foreign newspaper correspondents were not permitted to cable abroad even the bare facts of deaths and hospital admissions due to starvation issued daily in Calcutta by the Director of Information, Bengal.

"I am sure the time will come when it will be possible to publish the orders, the instructions and the advices which the Press in Bengal received from the local Government."

Tracing the history of the Press in India and the vicissitudes through which it passed, Mr. Ghose said:

"The rapid advance in every department of the newspaper in India has been marvellous. Those of us who possess cuttings from the newspapers of the last quarter of the nineteenth century can easily testify to the improvement in get-up. And thereby hangs a tale. At that time there were in Calcutta three English dailies conducted by Englishmen—the *Englishman* of the Saunders, *The Statesman* of Robert Knight, and the *Daily News* run by Wilson. The production of all three were unsatisfactory compared with the production of present times. The types were often worn out, the proof-reading left much to be desired. In these short-

occasion it was taunted for its shortcomings by the *Englishman*. Wilson quickly retorted by writing that there were three English newspapers in Calcutta—one (and he referred to the *Englishman*) caters for half-educated English planters, another (and he referred to *The Statesman*) is popular with educated Indians and the third (i.e., the *Daily News*) is the organ of cultured Englishmen who are sufficiently conversant with their mother-tongue to overcome printer's typographical errors without effort.

"The achievements of Indian newspapers had been such as would be considered creditable in any country.

"Acts, ordinances and orders invested by bureaucrats had been powerless to crush the Press in India, which had to labour under peculiar difficulties and brave dangers unknown to the Press in self-governing countries. Independence and self-respect had been the qualities most prized by journalists.

"Journalists in India have left their mark on contemporary politics and traditions have been created by sacrifice and suffering. We have fought for our rights and have to fight against tremendous odds."

Pointing out "the need for a free and unfettered Press" (Mr. Ghose appealed "to follow light and do the right." "If we have achieved much—much more still remains to be achieved."

Mr. Brelvi's Address at the A.I.N.E.C.

In his presidential address, Mr. S. A. Brelvi expressed the hope that the Conference which had become a power during the four years of its existence would not only continue to exist after the war, but have a useful role to play in the future in helping the Press in India to become one of the potent forces contributing to the extension of human freedom, knowledge, progress and happiness.

Few countries, he said, had suffered in the past and still continued to do so more than India from systematic and purposeful choking of news channels. A news charter for countries like India, even if embodied in peace treaties, would not be worth the paper on which it was written unless they ushered in dissolution of Imperialism as well as destruction of Nazism and Fascism.

The Press in India had thus to work both for its own freedom and that of the country and also for the emancipation of the radio and all other channels of information from monopolistic control either of Government or private agencies. He suggested whole-hearted

Newspaper Editors, now touring in different countries, regarding the American-sponsored programme for free exchange of information.

Referring to the "Delhi Agreement," the President complained that Government had on many occasions used the D.I. Rules not strictly and exclusively to secure the unhampered prosecution of the war but to serve their own political ends. He pleaded for immediate modification of the D.I. Rules and Press instructions, and a revision of the "Bombay Agreement" in view of the altered aspect of the war and political situation. He suggested appointment of a committee to indicate the lines of such revision and modification. He also urged the need for the repeal of the Press Emergency and Princes Protection Acts.

Mr. Brelvi pleaded for a fair deal to working journalists and for the enforcement of minimum standards of payment and conditions of service, especially in view of the present prosperous time when the newspaper industry was financially in a much stronger position than ever before.

The session was primarily looked upon as a conference of the members of the profession. But in our opinion the A.I.N.E.C. has a much larger scope in its ultimate purpose. During five years of its existence, this organisation of the Fourth Estate has not been able to inspire much sense of duty in the heart of the Government. Press Advisory Bodies have no doubt been set up in almost all the provinces; but their working has been of little use to the Press. Governments have made very little alteration in their policy of harassment and persecution of papers that dare offer strong criticism of bureaucracy. Mr. Brelvi himself had to admit that the D.I. Rules were used on many occasions not strictly and exclusively to secure the unhampered prosecution of the war but to serve their own political ends. It is now common knowledge that on several occasions prosecutions were ordered without even consulting the Press Advisory Committees. The A.I.N.E.C. has not succeeded up till now in securing the removal of the ban on the *National Herald*.

The cause of the weakness of this organisation is inherent in itself. It had in effect bowed its head before the repressive measures adopted by the Government against the Press. Protests there were, but they were feeble in extreme. It has somehow come to play a second fiddle to the Government.

Need for an Economic Service

Indian Finance, discussing the subject of the human factor in economic planning, observes that the first requisite of sound and successful planning is a political constitution properly geared to an efficient administrative system. Explaining the administrative system required for successful economic planning, it writes :

"Here the experiences of the war period are even more illuminative than the example of Soviet Russia and her five-year plans, because the former draws attention to the defects of the pre-war administrative system when it is called upon to tackle new tasks in the economic sphere. All the countries on the allied side, excepting, of course, Soviet Russia, have felt the need to strengthen the normal administrative framework with men of experience of large-scale business and of high academic attainments in economics. The change is less marked in the U.S.A. where the administration had even before the outbreak of the war undergone many changes in this direction as a result of the New Deal

Since production programmes during a war are the common concern of Government and industry alike, the two are naturally and inevitably drawn together; and the difference between businessmen who are formally drafted to Government service and those who simply co-operate with them is from a practical point of view inconsiderable. In any case, it is clear that the normal administrative system is by no means equal to the tasks which it will have to tackle during a regime of economic planning and that in the war period the need is not so much for additions in numbers as for the command of new kinds of administrative ability. This need also extends to men with more and better knowledge of academic economics. The part played by economists like Lord Keynes and Prof. Lionel Robbins in the evolution of the present system of war finance is well-known. The assistance of less eminent economists has, doubtless, been availed of for lesser tasks."

Unless a national government, fully responsible to the people and able to guard the interests of the masses, is established, no amount of recruitment of economists in the services will be of any use. Like Keynes and Robbins, we also find many able economists joining the Government of India but with no result. Recruitment in the nation-building services is a very important subject which has not merited the attention it really deserves. There have been ridiculous appointments like the posting of a thoroughly inefficient I.C.S. as the head of the agricultural department of a province to which he does not belong and the import of an expert from another province where there is hardly any agriculture. Such appointments are possible only under a system over which the people have no control.

The Coal Position

The coal position continues to be serious and a menace both to the industries and to the railways. The consumers of domestic coke continue to suffer. The coal position has been steadily deteriorating for a long time now. Although schemes are under way to augment the coal raisings, no appreciable success has yet been registered. The Supply Member, Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar, is now in charge of coal, and the country would feel grateful to him for one thing he has done—namely, the sending away of Mr. Young, the coal expert who was imported last year from England. Though called 'young' he is an old man in years, and he is also lame-footed. Like him, the coal control was also a limping one. It gave rise to bitter debates in the Central Legislature, as also to resentment outside, especially among industrialists, some of whom have been forced to close down their factories, either partially or completely. It is also an illuminating commentary on the outlook of Mr. Young that he could carry on smoothly with none of the three Members under whom he had served—Sir Edward Benthall, Dr. Ambedkar and Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar.

Recently a coal fund has been created. Two extra charges have been levied on coal, one of four annas per ton to be spent for the improvement of the colliery labour, the other of Re. 1-4 per ton to be utilised for the betterment of the collieries themselves. It has been calculated that the latter will yield about Rs. 3 crores annually. It is understood that this amount will be spent for the purchase of machinery to facilitate coal raisings in big mines. These up-to-date machinery are such that they may be utilised only in big mines, most of which are British, i.e., the benefit of this coal fund will accrue to the British coal kings at the cost of the

public. We also understand that no arrangements for ascertaining the views of the consumers or the Indian coal mines have been made nor any need is paid to public criticism. Application of public money for the benefit of a sectional foreign interest is one of the most reprehensible policy in the civilised world, but the people believe it to be quite possible in this country under the present system of Government.

Railway Rates Policy

The setting up of a Central Rate Fixing Authority was suggested by Mr. G. E. Cuffe, General Manager, Bengal and Assam Railway, and critically examined by Sir Edward Benthall at the annual session of the Indian Railway Conference Association at New Delhi. Mr. Cuffe said :

"The greatest problem to be faced in connection with rates in the post-war period, was not so much what the rates would be as how and by whom they would be fixed. At present, each administration has full discretion, within certain limits, to adjust its own rates. This has worked well in the past. The 20 years between the two world wars have seen the great and rapid expansion of the steel industry in India, and the creation and growth of, amongst others, the cement and sugar industries. This would have been impossible, had the present rate-fixing system not afforded a reasonable degree of flexibility. The good sense and mutual co-operation of the commercial heads of railways has ensured the quotation of special rates sufficiently low to foster the growth of these indigenous industries, but not so low as to result in uneconomic working. The growth of new industries and the expansion of existing ones in India after the war will be very much more rapid than it has been in the past and it is doubtful whether the present system will assure that each new industry as it gets into production will have railway rates arranged for it which will give the industry a reasonable chance of obtaining a market in reasonable wide area. Further there will be major questions such as what in the best interest of India as a whole should be the relationship between rates for indigenous products or rates for imported goods or between rates for goods moving to ports for export and rates for the same goods moving to markets in India."

The Government of India's views, as expressed by Sir Edward Benthall, were quite in keeping with its past traditions. British vested rights have always dominated our railway policy either independently through the Railway Board or through the Government of India, and the rates have always been fixed to suit their own interests, often to the great disadvantage and loss of indigenous industries. Mr. Cuffe's speech gives enough material to understand this aspect of the rate-fixing policy and it is not necessary to dilate on it here. At the expression of such a view from a General Manager of a big railway, the War Transport Member of the Government of India in charge of Railways has immediately reacted. Sir Edward Benthall said that Mr. Cuffe's views on the machinery of rate-fixing would stimulate controversy. Sir Edward said :

"What appears to be a suggestion that the Railway Board and the railways should be divorced from the control of their revenue-earning machinery is a case in point. It is true that in recent years and particularly in wartime there has been a tendency for Government independently to fix maximum and minimum prices for various commodities, but that is the usual limit of Government intervention and such a state of control already exists on the railways. To place on another de-

partment of Government the responsibility for rate-fixing would cut away one of the first responsibilities of the Railway Board and the general managers, namely, that of securing by efficient and economic general control an adequate return on the capital invested in the railways.

"Nor is the prospect of the centralization of rate-fixing altogether alluring. There is indeed the danger that touch would be lost with the business communities and with provincial Governments. In spite of modern communications there is still substance in the Mughal proverb 'Delhi Dur Ast.' There would be a danger of the growth of an inflexible, unwieldy central machine which would tend by its very complexity to be a dead hand on development and particularly when the local co-ordination of road, steamer and rail rates is concerned. With the recent acquisition of company-managed railways, we have unquestionably reached the cross roads where we are for the first time free to choose which road we shall take in the rating policy. With all the principal railways State-managed, there should be a cessation of rate cutting and manipulation as between company and State railways and consequently an entirely new outlook.

"There might also be a permanent rates committee of the major railways consisting of rates experts from the different administrations which should meet regularly to co-ordinate the fixing of thorough rates and to study the effect of the rating structure upon industries as they develop, leaving local rates mainly to the individual administration. Whether or not a rates advisory committee would be advisable is a matter of opinion. It must not be forgotten that the Government of India Act, 1935, makes provision for an *ad hoc* railway rates committee and a statutory railway tribunal, but until we know what form the new constitution is to take, and in particular what the railway administration of the future is to be, it is not possible to reach any final conclusion on this subject of rates machinery if indeed there is any such thing as finality in such matters."

Mr. Cuffe's suggestion to set up a Central Authority for fixing rates is sound. The Railways are being worked as a central subject and on a centralised principle. It should continue to do so. It is extremely desirable that the rates fixing power should be with a central body so formed as to reflect popular opinion. Not only in the case of Railways, we would advocate creation of similar central authorities for the fixation of motor and steamer rates as well.

Sir Sultan Ahmed Opposes Pakistan

The *United Press* reports :

"It is understood that Sir Sultan Ahmed's new treatise *A Treaty Between India and the United Kingdom* prepared for the Institute of International Affairs has been circulated among the members of the Sapru Committee. It is learnt that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru obtained copies of the book for the benefit of the members of his Committee who are engaged in evolving the principles for a solution of the Indian communal and constitutional problem.

"Sir Sultan Ahmed in this publication opposes Pakistan and suggests a communal settlement on the following basis : Representation in the Federal Assembly of Muslims 40 per cent, Hindus 40 per cent, Depressed Classes 10 per cent, the Rest (Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, Sikhs, Parsis, Tribes, etc.) 10 per cent. The Cabinet would also reflect this percentage according to Sir Sultan's formula.

"Sir Tej Bahadur, it is understood, has already communicated his appreciation of the book to Sir Sultan Ahmed."

Sir Sultan's denunciation of Pakistan coming in close succession of Lord Wavell's pronounced views on

the subject expressed in his Calcutta speech, may indicate some stiffening of the official attitude towards the Pakistan cry.

Anti-Indian Propaganda Strengthened

Insaf has made startling disclosures, in the pages of the *Leader*, of the Puckle-Joyce combine and the promoters of "United Publications" of running a propaganda racket under pseudo-names to poison the minds of the people in America, the Middle East and other foreign lands on Indian affairs. Insaf writes :

"Three weeks ago a letter was received by several newspapers from Mr. R. W. Pearce, acting business manager of the *Times of India*, Bombay, asking them to review the first issue of the English-Roman-Urdu edition of a new illustrated monthly magazine entitled *Duniya*. This request made on behalf of 'United Publications' set one thinking. Who could this new powerful publishing house be? Its address as 'Post Box No. 166, Delhi' made the situation intriguing. Ultimately it was discovered that the 'United Publications' is the name assumed by the 'Publication Division' of the External Publicity branch of the Information and Broadcasting department, run by Col. Wheeler. The pseudo-name is probably meant to give the impression to readers in India and in many countries abroad towards which propaganda is primarily projected that the publishers of the numerous magazines, posters and news-letters on India are not the Government of India but some private undertaking. More about this propaganda racket later."

Doping Americans About the Indian Problem

The British propaganda officials felt some embarrassment to checkmate the activities of the India League in the U.S.A. The first move in this direction was the appointment of a careerist Indian as Agent-General in America with a British publicity officer under him. But unfortunately for the British Government, Mr. Hennessy, the publicity officer, over-did his job and the experiment failed to achieve the desired result. Sir Frederic Puckle, Information Secretary to the Government of India and Mr. Joyce, Publicity Officer of the India Office, were sent to U.S.A. on a joint mission to suggest the best ways and means of doping Americans about the Indian problem. Insaf writes :

"The two officers reported that Americans are by nature inquisitive people and that two things were discernible about their attitude towards India, first, their ignorance about India, and, second, their interest in India. The reasons they gave for American interest in India were to the following effect. Americans hold the idealistic view that each country should be free to govern itself; Americans' sons are fighting in the eastern theatre with India as the base; Americans regard Japan as enemy No. 1 and are of the opinion that to win the war against Japan freedom of India is essential because India is not contributing as much towards the war as she would have had she been free; and Americans are interested in India on account of their interest in China, because all supplies to China go through India."

"The Puckle-Joyce report further stated that the isolationists in America look upon India as a complete example of imperialism and they hate the British rule in India not because they hate the British people but because they do not like imperialism and the imperialistic ways of life. They, therefore, feel that if America goes in for imperialism she will find herself in the same muddle in which Britons find themselves in India."

"But this analysis of the situation did not depress Sir Frederick Puckle and Mr. Joyce. They stated that Americans were in a mood to receive any information about India from any quarter and that it was to the discredit of the Government of India that information available to the Americans had been received from quarters unsympathetic to British rule. They added that although anti-British propaganda had in no way affected that British power in India it had sometimes put the British Government into a very awkward and critical position in the United States."

The Puckle-Joyce Report concluded with the recommendation that since Americans were in a receptive mood efforts should be made to present to them the English view of the Indian political scene. They suggest that information services to America should be operated by the British Ministry of Information and the Government of India in a co-ordinated way. A part of their plan was publication of magazines and pamphlets and the establishment of an India Library in America. It was thus decided to counteract the India League magazine *India Today* by bringing out a magazine *India Tomorrow*. Mr. G. L. Mehta has now disclosed that post-war schemes which have not even been officially adopted in India are being advertised in the U.S.A. as if they were being immediately carried out. It was also decided to start another magazine, the *Kohinoor* for distribution in America and to American troops in India. The operation of the censorship has deprived the India League magazine from obtaining real facts about India thus putting it at a great handicap.

The finishing touch to the propaganda plans in America was given by Mr. Bozman's tour to the U.S.A. A scheme was evolved for inviting to India American and British journalists. The plan envisaged the opening of a tourist bureau for the purpose and taking the foreign journalists round India in a conducted tour 'to let them see things for themselves.'

Publicity in the Dominions

India's foreign relations are controlled by the British Government through their Governor-General in India. This position will, of course, remain unaltered but the publicity angle has necessitated the creation of a facade to deceive India's neighbours and the world at large. It is proposed to create High Commissionerships or Agencies in various Dominions and Colonies, appoint to them Indian 'yes men' and place under them 'Information' officers to supply 'straight' or 'objective' material on India. Already a High Commissioner has been appointed in Australia and an Agent to the exiled Burma Government in Simla. The task of these dignitaries is to promote goodwill for the present Government and to counteract any anti-British propaganda.

Publicity Offensive in the Middle East

Insaf continues : The trial has already been blazed by our 'Goebbels.' The 'United Publications' is producing an attractive magazine *Al-Arab* written in Arabic for the countries bordering on the Persian Gulf. These places are inhabited by tribes which must be kept friendly to the British power. The world-famous and glamorous name of *Taj Mahal* is given to a magazine meant for Afghanistan and Iran, which countries Britain has to cultivate as her sphere of influence and counteract the dominance of Russian influence. Lest it be thought that the British are not fighting a war for

democracy another publication named *Jahan-i-Azad* (the free world) is published in both Persian and Arabic. Special attention is being paid to the Arab countries, through a magazine projected towards them exclusively. It is named *Ahang*. The tribes on India's border are not starved of entertaining literature. For them a magazine named *Nahun Parun* was brought out in Pushto. It had, unfortunately, to be closed because it failed to achieve its purpose. (It must be said to the credit of our 'Goebbels' that he does not hesitate to learn by trial and error). He brought out *Jahan-i-Emruz* in Persian and closed it when he found it did not make an appeal to his public. Another magazine named *Bugle* is issued in separate editions in French, Persian and Arabic, representing an over-all publicity offensive in the Middle East.

To cap it all, the author of the scheme has decided to bring out *Duniya* in several languages. The *Times of India's* business manager's letter recommending on behalf of 'United Publications' this new illustrated weekly for review mentioned it as an English-Roman-Urdu publication. Either he was being modest or he was not concerned with the editions for which the printing order had not been placed with the *Times of India*. This bilingual weekly is being published in English-Roman-Urdu, Urdu-Pushto, English-Russian, English-Persian and English-Arabic.

Propaganda Among Frontier Tribes

Insaf gives some idea of how tendentious propaganda among the children and the tribesmen is being carried out.

"United Publications' are bringing out a children's magazine *Nai Nihal*. This is meant to introduce the younger generation to the outside world, in particular to British might and invention in the various spheres of human endeavour. There is also another magazine, *Ajkal* (Today and Tomorrow). It is an Urdu fortnightly intended to influence the Frontier tribes, but in order to make it look like an Indian journal it has been modelled on the Urdu press with a special appeal to the tribesmen and the Muslims of India."

Propaganda Material for the Foreigners But Banned to Indians

The most subtle and the most sinister aspect of the propaganda is the preparation and distribution of materials to the foreigners which have been carefully withheld from the Indian public. Since there are politically-minded people in all countries and there is thirst for topical news a *Mizan* news-letter is regularly prepared, printed, and distributed in the various countries to which India is being 'projected.' No copies of this letter are made available to the Indian public but it is probably supplied to foreigners in India. Its 'objective' presentation of Indian news is done so subtly that the reader is left with the impression that India is making a great deal of economic progress under British rule and that her relative backwardness is due to her own social deficiencies and political and communal quarrels. The Information Bureau, too, is utilized, though not extensively. Its *Indian News* prepared by it is sent to foreign countries. The use of this bulletin also seems to be banned in India.

All the expenditure incurred for these purposes is classified as a legitimate charge on the Indian revenues and the starving Indian masses are bled for meeting them!

Future of Transport in India

The President of the Indian Roads and Transport Development Association, in a Press statement, says that the Association has forwarded to the Government of India its views on the future of road transport and rail-road relations with particular reference to the proposals placed before the post-war subjects committee on transport by an official sub-committee of that body. He said:

"The Association, while agreeing with a majority of the proposals of this sub-committee, voices its disagreement with two of the suggestions. One of these is that the bulk of long-distance transport of goods by road should be prohibited to prevent competition with railways and the other that the railways should aim ultimately at acquiring a commanding interest in passenger road transport.

"The Association fears that the acceptance of these proposals will lead, sooner or later, to the railways having an effective monopoly of transport by road and rail which, it considers, is likely in the long run to be harmful to the interests of the country.

"The Association believes in the need for fostering healthy competition which alone can create that incentive for constant improvements in transport services on which the future prosperity of the country so largely depends. There must be no monopoly if transport services in the post-war era are to be efficient."

Transport policies in England and U.S.A. have always been based on the principle that the transport user must have unfettered freedom to employ the means of transport he finds most suitable and convenient for his purposes and the British Parliament or the American Congress would not for a moment think of interfering with such a choice. It is a fixed policy with both these governments to preserve competition both between and within the different means of transport.

In India things are entirely different. Here the railways earn about a hundred crores of rupees in normal years, and yet their accounts do not show any profit except in very few occasions and in very small quantities. Although its capital has been provided by the public, our railways are run by a foreign government in the interest of the British merchants. The railway rates and the traffic are adjusted to suit vested interests abroad. The most objectionable additional feature of our railway administration has been its continued and persistent attempt to kill road competition with government help and legislation. Unless the whole structure of Government in this country changes, it will not be unjustifiable to believe that transport will continue to remain a difficult job for the people of the land.

The Over-Population Bogey

For some years past, since a guarded reference was made in the Census Report for 1931 to the increasing pressure of agricultural population on land, a hue and cry has been raised about over-population being the cause of poverty and general backwardness of the country. Mr. Churchill, Mr. Amery and Lord Linlithgow have all made over-population their scape-goat to hide their own failures. The worst feature of this sinister propaganda is that Indian economists and industrialists have taken up this cry. Amidst this persistent and powerful official propaganda to shift the responsibility for the glaring defects of Indian

administration from Imperialist shoulders to the poor Indian for producing too many children, it is reassuring to find a high official of the Government of India coming forward to lay the bogey of over-population. The *Indian Social Reformer* reports the following statement of Sir P. M. Kharegat, Additional Secretary, Education, Health and Lands Department of the Government of India, made while speaking at Rotary function at Allahabad :

"There is no need whatsoever to restrict population in India. Provided we devote our attention to the adequate increase of agricultural production. We may be able to increase our production by 50 per cent in a very few years, in five to ten years quite easily, and it can even be increased by one hundred per cent, provided the necessary facilities for increased production are made available and remunerative prices ensured. In view of that I see no reason why we should take a pessimistic view about our population and try to restrict it, at least at the present stage."

The main problems of Indian agriculture have been administrative. Since 1930, the beginning of the Great Depression, the Indian peasant had never obtained a remunerative price for his crop. Since then he never got cheap credit and cheap manure, his sales were never regulated so as to save him from the clutches of middlemen and the Government never came forward to provide for these basic needs of an agricultural population. To add to this, the break-down of the small industries has continued to throw more and more people on the soil thus increasing the pressure on land. U. S. A., Canada, Australia and other countries with their own government have taken stringent and effective measures to save their agricultural population from ruin as a result of the depression, while in India, the branch of the British Government at New Delhi has gone along merrily well disregarding the future fears that faced 75 per cent of the people. Thus at last when the people have come down to a level of a perpetual famine, steeped in debt and dying of disease and malnutrition as a result of the Government's failure to protect them from forces beyond their control, the "Trustees" of these 400 millions of human beings have come forward to make over-population responsible for the poverty of the Indian masses !

Indians De-Humanised

Inaugurating the Andhra Women's National Educational Conference at Madras, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said :

"Today we are not Indians. We are just human beings, dehumanised by a long process of alienation from our own culture. By culture I mean we are the inheritors of a tradition of womanhood which we have violated century after century because we have been untrue to the responsibility of women. I want your children should have no feeling that they are inferior to any other section. They should be proud and should be able to say: I shall give the world the message of peace, a contribution of a culture which has a universal application and not merely a sectarian or communal limitations."

Mrs. Naidu warned the ladies not to be mere suffragists and reminded them of their higher and nobler duties. Our womenfolk today need reminding that our culture, our tradition and our civilisation demands of women a rightful place in the building of our civilisation.

A Retrenchment Commission Needed

The *Bharat Jyoti* reports that from Lord Wavell down to the economists who attended the Consultative Assembly of Economists, hints are being thrown about the continuation of war time taxation after the war for development purposes. Not unreasonably it is feared that many of the war time controls will be continued after the war. The present grip on Indian trade and industry may have to be continued for two purposes during the post-war period, viz., to provide ready market for British goods after Britain had completely rehabilitated her industries, and secondly to dissipate the accumulated sterling balance by means of an one-way trade. For this purpose, the "experts" imported in this country from Britain at a great cost will have to be retained. The *Bharat Jyoti* says :

"A particular case in point is Mr. Kirby, British Rationing Expert. He has been devising ways and means to continue in his post after the war and a Directorate of Rationing is being set up. His deputy, who is believed to be an R.A.F. mechanic, has been already appointed. Jobs thus multiply under the stress and strain of war, and experts and British personnel are being added in the Secretariat notwithstanding the fact that there are so many Indian Members in the Viceroy's Council."

Proposed Indo-American Trade and Navigation Treaties

Sir Chunilal Mehta, Leader of the Indian delegation to the International Business Conference at Rye, New York, said at a press conference that he had taken up the subject of a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between India and the United States at the conference as well as outside it. In the absence of such a Treaty, the Indian trades and businessmen in the United States were at a great disadvantage as compared with other nationals. Such a treaty would entitle Indians to the privilege of going to the United States, staying there and establishing business. He declared at Rye that the expansion of world trade, which the conference envisaged, could not be achieved without granting equal rights to Indians to come and stay and establish business in the U.S.A. just as the American nationals have that privilege in India. A Bill qualifying Indians to become American citizens is pending before the American Congress but its consideration is being postponed from time to time. There is an apprehension that the postponement might go on perhaps longer than the war and thus the Bill might finally be killed.

It is necessary that there should be a Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the two countries which would place Indian businessmen on a par in America with other nationals. Sir Chunilal made a disclosure that a draft treaty had already been sent to the Government of India in 1939 and that after a period of about seven months, a reply had been received from the Government of India to the effect that the subject could not be proceeded with for the duration of the war. It seemed that such a reply of the Government of India had surprised the American authorities and Sir Chunilal felt that the United States authorities were willing and were also prepared to conclude such a treaty with India.

Nizam's Agent on the Absurdity of Two-Nation Theory

The two-nation theory was pronounced as "absurd" by Nawab Mirza Yar Jung Bahadur, Nizam's Agent at Nagpur, in the course of his inaugural address at the social gathering of the National College at Nagpur. Nawab Mirza Yar Jung began by asking the students to read little and think more. He asked them to apply independent judgment by thinking for themselves on various problems about which they may have read. By way of illustration he took up the Two-Nation Theory and expounded the result to which he had arrived by thinking for himself.

"Whether Hindus and Muslims are two nations or not depends on your definition of a nation," said the speaker. What constitutes a nation? Can the people belonging to one religion constitute a nation? The speaker thought it absurd to mix up religion and nationality. If religion is made the criterion of nationality, with the change of faith a person will have changed his nationality and will be kicked like a football from one nation to another.

The speaker asserted that the Muslims in India did not want the country to be invaded by any other power whether it be Afghanistan, Iran or Turkey. He concluded his speech by suggesting that education should aim at creating unity between Hindus and Muslims.

Mr. Siddiqi on Hindu-Muslim Differences

In a speech at a meeting of the One World Citizen League at New York, Mr. A. R. Siddiqi, known here for his very pronounced communalist views, asserted that the differences between the Hindus and Muslims of India have been given importance out of all proportion. He said: "So far as the freedom of the country is concerned, there is no section among the population which does not want it. The Muslims want it more than others, for they come into clash with Imperialist and colonial powers and every corner of the earth." This statement might have some truth outside India, but so far as Mr. Siddiqi's own motherland is concerned, it has not much relation with truth. Mr. Siddiqi's own party, the Muslim League, has never come into clash with Imperialism but has always served it against actual and prospective political payment. It has missed no opportunity to frustrate and retard the country's way to freedom. In Mr. Siddiqi's province of activity and leadership, it serves today as the most degrading agent of Imperialism costing the people heavily in life, property, health and education, the worst sufferers being members of Mr. Siddiqi's own community.

No Illiterate Muslims in Russia

Mufti Abdur Rahaman Zainullah Rassuli, the Russian Muslim leader, has been reported to have said, "There is no longer any illiterate among Russian Muslims." In India under the benign rule of our British "Trustees", run in in the centre some of the provinces with the help of the Muslim leaders, the percentage of Muslim literacy is still barely an one-digit affair. In Bengal, under a Muslim Ministry, arrangement for a permanent curtailment of education is being made with the active support of the white champions of democracy and progress.

Pakistan versus Loaves and Fishes

The Lucknow correspondent of the *Leader* has given a graphic account of the internal conditions of the Muslim League in the United Provinces, the stronghold of League politics. The report shows that the much vaunted goal of Pakistan has faded away as soon as there were any prospects of the distribution of loaves and fishes. The correspondent writes:

"The U.P. Muslim League was throughout the year torn by factional strife. Early in the year a new faction known as the Rizwanullah group came to the fore and challenged the leadership of the League comprising two of the biggest barons of Oudh and such stalwarts as Nawab Ismail Khan and Chowdhary Khaliquzzaman. At one meeting of the Council of the League it launched a blitzkrieg. It was able to get elected a Parliamentary Board consisting of the partisans of the Rizwanullah group and Mr. Rizwanullah himself got elected president of the U. P. League in the leave vacancy of Nawab Ismail Khan. In the first shock of surprise the leadership resigned *en bloc*. But later they rallied to wrest power from the rebels. Nawab Ismail Khan changed his mind and refused to go on leave. At the next meeting of the U. P. League Council the Mahmudabad group mustered its supporters for a fight. Finding itself weak the Rizwanullah group temporized and agreed to a compromise. Mr. Rizwanullah conceded Nawab Ismail Khan's right to change his mind about going on leave and vacated the chair for him. The Parliamentary Board formed for contesting the municipal elections was so formed as to consist of equal members of both the factions. But the compromise meant no mingling of hearts and the old bitterness continued to rankle in Leaguers' hearts.

"The decision to contest the municipal elections was forced through the Council of the U. P. Muslim League by the Rizwanullah group in the teeth of the opposition of stalwarts such as Chaudhary Khaliquzzaman and Nawab Ismail Khan who foresaw that as soon as there were any loaves to be distributed Leaguers would fly at each other's throats."

League Wrangles

The correspondent continues:

"That is what happened. The Rizwanullah group accidentally finding itself in a majority at a meeting of the League Parliamentary Board at Aligarh gave the majority of League tickets to its own men and gave the signal for the flare-up of dormant factional strife in the province. The strife was waged with great ugliness on both sides and much dirty linen was washed in public. League discipline cracked up. Whole city and district League committees revolted against the Parliamentary Board and rejected League candidates fought against the Parliamentary Board's chosen ones in the elections. The bigger leaders of the Mahmudabad group secretly sabotaged the Parliamentary Board's campaign. But the Parliamentary Board had hit upon the soundest strategy in conducting the elections. It gave its tickets to a very large number of sitting members who would have been elected in any case. This strategy brought them a measure of success.

"After the elections the Mahmudabad group which happens to be in majority in the provincial executive of the League again turned the tables on the Rizwanullah group and appointed a Control Board entirely packed with its own partisans to control the League parties in the municipal boards. The Control Board, however, does not seem to command any influence on the League municipal parties which did as they liked

in the subsequent elections for chairmanships of these boards.

"Thus power has gone back and forth between the two factions during the year in retrospect. At the end of the year, Mr. Rizwanullah's was the 'have-not' faction, and was preparing for another bid for power. At the beginning of the year the group raised some hopes that it would crystallize into a more progressive wing of the League. It had some politically conscious lower middle class elements. Some ex-Congressmen had joined it while Communist infiltration was greatest in this wing. But during the year it produced no progressive programme or policy and allowed itself to remain the instrument of ambition of disgruntled men."

It is becoming increasingly clear that the top leadership of the League is much more concerned with their own interests even at the cost of the Muslim masses. In Bengal the Muslim jute-growers have been the worst sufferers in the hands of what is called a Muslim League Ministry. In Bengal, the politically conscious lower middle class Muslim youths exerted themselves during the last League elections, although due to some mysterious reasons the old guards finally had their way. In the U. P. as well it seems that a similar politically conscious group is growing strong within the League.

Jamiat-ul-Ulema Demands Independence

A strong plea for the complete independence of India was made by Maulana Qazi Hafiz Mahammad Tayeb who presided over the Bombay Provincial Jamiat-ul-Ulema Conference. Continuing his speech he said that the conquest of a nation always led to the ruin of the economic life, education, prestige and good neighbourly relations between the communities comprising the conquered people. British dominion was responsible for the economic and educational backwardness of India and it had also had a demoralising effect on Muslim social and economic life and organisation. He quoted Hunter to prove that the British were responsible for the loss of Muslim power and prestige within 50 years of the establishment of their rule. The Moulana stressed that complete independence alone would remedy this state of affairs, and bring the different communities in the country together.

One of the resolutions also stressed the need for the Indian Muslims to exert for the complete independence of India.

Laski on Strategic Imperialism of Churchill

"Churchill has killed the Atlantic Charter with his own hands. He has made up his mind that no re-organisation of Europe shall be carried out which will endanger the kind of democracy to which he has been accustomed."—This severe indictment of Mr. Churchill's European policy was made by Harold Laski when the following question was put to him: "What is progressive Britain's attitude to Churchill's European policy? Is there any tendency to ascribe this policy to the fear of United States of America's predatory economic power?"

Laski added:

"If one adds to this, the Greek tragedy, Mr. Churchill's indignation when the Badoglio Government in Italy was forced to give way to that of Signor Bonomi; if one remembers that he was driven by events into support of Marshal Tito for whom he had little sym-

is added the fact that the basis of Mr. Pierlot's Government in Belgium is not the public opinion of the Belgium people, but the authority of Gen. Erskin and that there is no support of Belgian Leftwing, it becomes hard not to think that at the back of Mr. Churchill's mind is the determination at all costs to maintain 'traditional' Europe and to set the four freedoms in that context."

Saying that men and women of every shade of progressive opinion in England were deeply disturbed by Mr. Churchill's European policy, Laski emphatically said: "More serious is the belief that the essential principle of his policy is a form of strategic imperialism which it is difficult to reconcile with the building of a peaceful world."

Impoverished Britain Wants to Be a Great Nation

The American magazine, *Life*, commenting on Anglo-American relations writes:

"The British are exhausted and impoverished. Once the lords of creation, they want to continue as a Great Nation after the war but hints have been given by Marshal Smuts and Churchill that they have not the inherent potentials of Russia and the United States.

"Britain's foreign investments are short, her sources of raw material uncertain, her factories old-fashioned, her houses have been destroyed, her merchant fleet has been hard hit and her people need roofs, beds, knives, forks and clothing and automobiles. They have to fight hard just to eat, yet they also want a Beveridge Plan and a forty-hour week."

Stressing the basic unity of Britain and the U.S.A., both of whom are citadels of the capitalist economic system, *Life* continues:

"It is in America's interests that Britain should remain strong and Britain can remain strong only in a system of an expanding and of a comparatively free world trade and the only country that can revise and maintain such system is the United States. American Liberals may revile at Britain's India policy until they are blue in their faces but that policy can be criticised only when Britain is assured of access to equivalent trade elsewhere such as American markets."

The United States' silent support of Britain's India policy may be understood only in this context.

U. S. Negroes Want Full Freedom

A New York message, published in the *Free Press*, states that the American Negroes too have been deeply stirred by continued outside contacts in the midst of this war for freedom. They want just like Indians full political equality—the same right to vote as White-men, the right to run for elective offices and to be eligible for appointive offices. They want full civil equality—equal access to protection of law and an end to Jim Crow in transportation, hotels, restaurants, recreation and entertainments and all public facilities. They want an end to restrictive house covenants—and they do not want any so-called "equal but separate" accommodations; separate accommodations are, by that very fact unequal. They want full equality of educational opportunities—access to same schools and equal pay for Negro teachers at all level. They want full equality of employment opportunity—"the all too familiar spectacles of Negro College graduate working as messenger boy or dish washer must go."

This is the condition of millions of human beings in the U.S.A., the arsenal of democracy, for the only

Right to Resist Pulling Down of the National Flag

A full bench of the Nagpur High Court has set aside the convictions and sentences on 38 accused in the Yavali case—where these people had been prosecuted on charges of assault on public servants. Delivering judgment Mr. Justice Niyogi observed:

"It must be held on facts proved that the people assembled in the Chowk had the right to resist an attempt to pull down the flag. The flag was not proscribed and its hoisting in the Chowk was not illegal. If an attempt to remove the flag is illegal, however expedient it might have been thought, public officers cannot claim it to have been done in discharge of duty. Law does not authorise public officers to commit illegalities in discharge of duties and public officers who commit illegal acts which justify resistance are not entitled to seek shelter under Section 333 I.P.C."

"The removal of the flag without the consent and against the will of the villagers by one who was accompanied by an armed force of more than five persons was an offence much graver than robbery."

The case arose out of the last August disturbances in the village of Yavali in the Amraoti district when it was alleged that the District Magistrate and party were attacked by a mob while trying to pull down the Congress flag. Prosecution was started against 48 persons, some absconding, of whom five were acquitted and others were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment ranging from two to seven years.

Punjab Plan for the Uplift of Villages

The *United Press* understands that one of the youngest departments of the Punjab Government, the Directorate of Panchayets, has put up a five-year plan for the uplift of the 35,000 villages of the Punjab to come into operation after the war. The cost of the plan will be about Rs. 1 crore and 35 lakhs.

The scheme, it is learnt, is divided into three parts. In the first stage it aims at training up 3,000 village workers, known as village guides, who will be responsible for social welfare and economic uplift of villages, such as water supply, education, sanitation and road construction.

Secondly, it is proposed to set up a cultural centre in villages, each in charge of a village guide. Each of these centres to be named Panchayetgarh will be provided with a common discussion room, a library, a play ground, first aid equipments and a radio set. In order to feed these village libraries central libraries will be opened in each tehsil headquarters where adequate supplies of books will be maintained from the village improvement fund created out of the taxes imposed by the Panchayats for the purpose. In addition some direct Government grants will also be given.

Finally it is learnt that under this scheme Panchayets will be responsible for formulation and execution of plans of upliftment subject to approval of the central body on the model of the Soviet system.

The Coming Clash Between Capitalism and Communism

Geoffrey Crowther, Editor of the *London Economist*, in an article, has examined the possibility of communism or capitalism committing aggression on each other.

"In the early enthusiasm of the Soviet State there was a great deal of talk of world revolution. The communist International breathed fire and thunder against the bourgeoisie of the world. But even in those days communist aggression was quite singularly ineffective. With one dubious exception in Hungary (very easily suppressed), and a few minor successes in the deserts that divide Siberia from China, the world revolution was everywhere a complete failure. And now even that policy has been given up and the Comintern dissolved.

"If we are to judge by present intentions there never was such an unaggressive, unexpanding political doctrine as communism.

"With capitalism the story is rather different. From its origin in England 200 years ago industrial capitalism has now spread over a large part of the earth's surface. The expansion has not always been peaceful. On the contrary, it has often been fiercely resisted, and the guns both of Great Britain and of the United States have been used to force it on those who did not want it. But the character of capitalism is changing. The reason is partly to be found in the growth of new political concepts of national equality, of colonial trusteeship. It is partly to be found in the growing tendency of capitalist economy to find its expansion at home rather than in spreading over the face of the earth. It is perhaps partly the reflection of a slowing tempo of capitalist expansion connected with the slowing growth of the population in western countries. Whatever the reason, capitalism today is not nearly the aggressive force that it was."

If capitalism could be induced to refrain from attacking communism, he finds no reason why the two systems of economic government should come into serious conflict. If neither is deliberately seeking out the other to destroy it—if there is no attempt to foment a capitalist revolt in Russia or a communist revolution in America or Britain—then the possibilities of conflict are limited to the area where the two systems come into contact—that is in international trade. Mr. Cowther asserts that there had never been any serious difficulty in trading with Soviet Russia who have bought and sold on business-like lines, and have been prompt and scrupulous in meeting their trading obligations.

Mr. Cowther seems to have made a great mistake in assuming communism to be "unaggressive and unexpanding." The Comintern might have been dissolved, the revolts which formed part of a world revolution might have been crushed, but the doctrine has travelled to the heart of hearts of millions of exploited people on all continents of the world. International trade with Soviet Russia alone does not solve the capitalist problem. With the formation of peoples' governments in the East, and with the closing down of a free market on this side of the Suez, capitalism will face extinction, even in spite of a friendly alliance with the Soviet. Peoples of Asia have now quite realised the fundamental doctrines of Communism or Socialism, they are fully conscious of the fact that a people's government with complete control over arms will be the greatest bulwark against capitalist exploitation. Sheer force of capitalist arms and intrigues cannot prevent the coming into power of sovereign government of the peoples for any indefinite length of time.

Language Policy of the Indian Radio

The agitation against the language policy of the All-India Radio has made the Information and Broadcasting Department think of revising its policy. The *Leader* reports that an Advisory Committee is being set

up to deal with this question consisting of the following—Sir Sultan Ahmed, a Deputy Secretary of the Broadcasting Department, and two deputy directors-general of the Radio, will constitute the official team, the Central Legislature will be represented by Mr. Hossain Imam, Mr. Shri Narayan Mehta, Mr. Yusuf Haroon, Mr. Habibur Rahaman, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai and Mr. C. P. Lawson. Three representatives each of the All-India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu will represent the spokesmen of Hindi and Urdu respectively.

The main question on which the committee's advice will be sought is whether the news and features and talks which are broadcast in a common language called Hindustani should be split up into separate Hindi and Urdu broadcasts and whether a common language is to be used, and if so how its vocabulary should be chosen. The difficulty has been created by the Government's policy of recruiting both the programme staff and the artistes from predominantly Urdu-knowing people, i.e., from the Muslim community. The result was a definite drive towards a complete Urduisation of the Radio in the name of supporting a common Hindustani language. In the formation of the Advisory Committee also, the same policy of the Government has been reflected, out of the six members taken from the Central Legislature, three are Muslims and two Hindus.

Appeal to U. S. A. to Send Medical Supplies to India

"Hotsprings, Jan. 10.—The Indian delegate, Dr. P. S. Lokanathan, appealed at tonight's (Wednesday's) meeting of the Institute of Pacific Relations for sending urgent medical supplies to India. Referring to the United States Congress decision to include India as war-devastated territory in the U.N.R.R.A. Bill although there was no fighting on some of its territory, Dr. Lokanathan argued that the need of the hunger and poverty-stricken areas was so great and imperative that the Conference should recognize the necessity of sending relief from the United States as soon as possible. Dr. Lokanathan said that although India had not been overrun by invading forces, the fact that much of its food supplies were sent to the Allies had precipitated a famine in many regions and thus made India a war victim."

The U.N.R.R.A. failed to include India in the list of countries to receive aid from that organisation on the ostensible plea that she had not applied for any such aid. Dr. Lokanathan's appeal may go by default as it did not emanate from the Government of India. The real apathy of the U.N.R.R.A. to extend her aid to this country is not based on any technical grounds of the former nature but on a more deep seated policy—the policy of racial discrimination. Only the other day a news item was published that special type of medical aid was flown to Greece from America for the treatment of a Greek boy. India had cried for only general types of medicines available in plenty in the U.S.A. to save millions of human beings from death due to ordinary preventable diseases.

Working of Assam Railways by the Americans

Mr. Cuffe referred to the experiment of putting the operation of a large section of the Assam lines of communication under the control of the United States

operating battalions and said the results had been 'most successful.' He proceeded: "While it would not be expedient to give figures, the tonnage handled on the lines of communication has risen to a rate which has, I believe, been very gratifying to all concerned. The special problems and unexpected demands that arose last April were all successfully dealt with, and our Indian staff worked most praiseworthily, when large sections of our line were threatened by the Japanese not only on the length where they had United States assistance, but also on another section, which was perhaps the most seriously menaced. I believe that we shall obtain some permanent gain from this experiment which will last after the United States forces leave us. They have set us a new standard of keenness, determination and cheerfulness, which I am glad to say is proving infectious. Certain also of the United States methods, such as their system of hand signalling without flags. I am copying and propose to standardise on the B. and A. Railway."

The American administration of certain lengths of railways in Assam have been and are being carried out under the Railway Board on which the Americans have no representation, that they have nothing to do with the determination of railway policies in this country is quite clear from the statement of Mr. Cuffe.

Romain Rolland

Romain Rolland has passed away in chains in a Nazi concentration camp. After Tagore, the loss of Rolland is the most serious, for, in him India possessed an interpreter on the other side of the Suez. A rare soul, who had integrated the East and West within himself, he was the first to interpret Gandhiji to the western world, and like him he lived for truth. When the Soviet Union was being pilloried, Rolland was one of its earliest friends. His voice rang out in defence of democratic Spain when democracy in that country was forsaken by the champions of democracy in the world. His passion for justice, his love for truth unfolded in a message of love, peace and virtue for the suffering of humanity. He was above race and colour.

Romain Rolland paid the price of his idealism by spending the last years of his life in a Nazi concentration camp. Rolland the man is no more, but the brotherhood of peoples that he lived for is an idea beyond change and time. France, his motherland, was freed before his death; India, his beloved, is still in chains. India will remember Rolland. She has lost him at a moment when she needed him most.

The Frontispiece

The frontispiece is "Chhari-Shah-Madar." The title of the picture literally means "The Bamboo Banner of Saint Shah Madar." Dam-i-Madar is still a current mystic ritual very popular among agricultural and lower classes in Upper India. The ritual originally consisted of holding a bamboo banner (*chhari*) in hand, jumping into fire and treading it out with the exclamation, "Dam-i-Madar" (by the breath of Madar)—a ritual which is supposed to give immunity against the venom of snakes. Shah Madar, born at Aleppo (and represented in the picture as seated under a canopy receiving the presents of his devotees and blessing them), came to India in the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Sharki. He died in 1433 A.D. at Makunpur, near Cawnpur, where a handsome tomb was raised over his grave by Sultan Ibrahim.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

Russia again occupies the front-centre of the stage in the European theatre of the war. Starting on the 12th of January this gigantic winter-offensive gradually developed into the greatest battle of World War II. At the time of writing (29.1.45) this battle has lasted 17 days and has daily increased in fury and intensity and has spread over an area of about 50,000 sq. miles, stretching from the Carpathians to the Baltic States. Giant mechanized spearheads of the Soviets are striking deep inside the German home-land, aiming at the very vitals of the Reich. Vast masses of armour and mobile artillery backed by an infantry force estimated at between 1,800,000 and 2,500,000, are on the move, after tearing wide gaps in the German defence-lines that had remained stabilized since last winter. The offensive is beginning to show a distinct pattern during the last three days, though as yet the climax of the battle has not been reached. Deep thrusts have been made in East Prussia and Upper Silesia, while the drive in the Baltic States has resulted in the clearing out of the Germans from Lithuania. In East Prussia Koenigsburg is now under fire and in Silesia fighting is going on in Poznan, while another spearhead has bypassed this city further south and is thrusting forward towards the Reich border. The attempt is at the total destruction of the German defending armies between the Carpathian foothills and the Gulf of Riga, and in its initial stage the Soviets have achieved a great deal of success, though as yet very large German forces are left intact in the deep pockets that lie between the salients formed by the different Russian thrust lines.

This Russian offensive, begun within just under a month from the opening of the German winter offensive in the West, is well-planned and extremely well-executed up till now. It is clear now that the Germans had more than a suspicion of the imminence of this colossal assault, and that the attack launched by Rundstedt on Dec. 16, was a masterly stroke made by the Wehrmacht in an attempt at foiling a synchronised assault by vastly superior forces on both fronts. Rundstedt seems to have achieved some degree of success inasmuch as his offensive has upset the time schedule for the Allied campaign in Western Europe. Despite forewarning however, and despite forestalling in the West, the Germanic forces in the East proved inadequate to withstand the weight and momentum of the Soviets' assault *en masse* and great breaches were made in Poland and in East Prussia through which great masses of infantry and armour were flung in with great force and fast moving spearheads were formed which struck hard with high speed, tearing deep gashes in the German defence zones. German defending forces well left guessing for almost a fortnight, as to the weight and direction of travel of the spearheads, and it is only now that there are some signs of the defence crystallizing. But in weight of armour and in the collective mass of armament and men, the defence is yet far outnumbered, and the Soviets' Supreme Command is still flinging in vast reinforcements. The Wehrmacht is now undergoing its supreme test under very adverse circumstances.

Winter conditions in Eastern Europe impose great handicaps on all fighting forces. But although winter is not the ideal campaigning season for the Russian as some people seem to think, still of all European nations

he is able to overcome its handicaps the most, being inured to it naturally from his infancy through the comparative low standards of his living and the lack of amenities of life to which Western Europeans are accustomed. Further the snow and ice of the intense winter of Eastern Europe considerably hamper the fast transit of arms, supplies and troops over the great chains of railroads and autobahns of Eastern Germany, whereby things are somewhat balanced in the matter of rapid troop-movements. The Luftwaffe which has some slight degree of superiority in the East also has handicaps imposed on it through low visibility and difficult flying conditions. In all the Soviets would possess a great deal of initial advantage in thus starting a vast scale offensive in winter, and they certainly have immense superiority in armament and numerical strength to balance the losses likely to occur in an assault of this determined nature under the handicaps of winter.

The eyes of the world are focussed on what might be the last scenes of the most terrible drama that Europe has as yet seen during all time in the past. The outcome seems to be certain and the finale not very far off by all the accounts given of the immense superiority of the Allied powers in the West and the East, in the matter of numbers and in the weight of armament. But as yet the fog of war is still covering the view and one has to wait till the final signs of the beginning of the end appears. Those portents are, firstly, the progressively rapid liquidation of the defending forces; secondly, the disruption of the communications and supply organisations; thirdly, the destruction—or capture—of the central armament and refitting centres; fourthly, the disintegration of organised resistance at its head and lastly, the end of the Will-to-resist, that is the collapse of the morale of the nation as a whole. The battle as it is progressing has still some way to go before the first three signs can be looked for and as regards the last two, the Wehrmacht is skilled and tough and so the fight will be grim to the end, there can be no doubt about that. So all that can be said at present is that the Soviets are maintaining their initial advantages and that the battle is still progressing in their favour, though the enemy resistance has stiffened to some extent. The nature of the Russian advance has vitally affected the whole structure of German defence in the East, but the crisis is as yet to come, though it cannot be far off, and until that has arrived the final result cannot be determined.

On the Western front the fight has again assumed its old fluctuating form. General Eisenhower is maintaining the maximum pressure that can be brought to bear on Rundstedt's army under the circumstances. The German offensive had shot its bolt earlier in the month, but it had done sufficient damage to the Allied forces and plans during the period it lasted, to relieve the German Supreme Command of a great deal of the uncertainty about the synchronized offensive in the West, as planned at Teheran and Moscow. The German gains have been whittled down by about half and the counter-offensive is on its way, but the all-out offensive has been thrown out of gear for the present. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the Allies have been able to prevent the transfer—in part at least—of the strategic reserves from the West to the Eastern front. The fact that

Rundstedt can yet initiate small-scale offensives in Alsace rather go to show that his hands are not pinned down to the defence to the extent of immobilising all his forces behind the static defence-lines of the Western front.

In Italy the battle has died down to a sporadic ding-dong struggle for positions. On that front also the Wehrmacht has been able to fight the Allies to a halt just prior to the Russian offensive. There does not seem to be any prospect of a large-scale Allied offensive in that quarter in the immediate future, as might have been possible if General Alexander's armies had been able to throw the Germans out of the defence-lines on the approaches to the plains beyond the Po. As things stand there does not seem to be any chance for the moment of a large-scale Allied drive in this region either. Here, too, the Wehrmacht does not face any necessity for the throwing in of large reserves to stem the Allied advance.

Summed up, the picture at present shows that the German Supreme Command is now facing its greatest trial of the War. But it also shows that it was on the alert long ago and has been able to stabilize for the moment the Western and the Italian fronts and that therefore, it is now in a position to devote most of its available reserves to meet the Russian offensive. So that the war in Europe now is in the main a trial of strength and skill between the Soviets and the Nazi forces. Russia is fast converting the battle into an all-out show-down, and there is now no doubt that the Soviets' Supreme Command has now determined to obtain a decision at all costs and that it will use all its strength to the very last ounce in this present struggle for the total destruction of the German defence structure. Russia possesses substantial advantages of her own in the matters of numerical superiority and weight of guns and armour, while her allies are at least in undisputed supremacy in the air. It remains to be seen how the Wehrmacht meets this supreme exigency. There can be no doubt that they have not given it up as yet, and from all available accounts the fighting is continuously mounting to new peaks of fury, and there does not seem to be any signs of the flagging of the German determination to fight to the end.

In the Pacific zone it is three weeks now since General MacArthur's forces landed in the Lingayen bay area on Luzon islands. The progress is slow as was expected and the Japanese do not seem to have made any attempt to face a decision as yet. Both sides have immense handicaps in the matters of supplies and reinforcements and therefore both have to move warily in order that wastages be kept at a commensurate level. American air-superiority has placed substantial advantages in the hands of General MacArthur, but we are warned that the Japanese challenge in the air is mounting and that there are no signs of letting-up on their part, indeed on the contrary. The battle for the Philippines will lead to a major decision either way in the Asiatic theatre of War and there are ample signs that Japan is straining every nerve for the preparations for the final show-down in this region. The Japanese High Command has made no bones about warning its peoples that the position is serious and for the first time in this war there has been open criticism in Japan about the Ministry of production of armaments, especially of that of aeroplanes. Japan's defeats in the Pacific and in the Burmese fronts have been primarily due to her inferior position in the air and although the challenge is growing, we are told, as yet they have found no answer

to the Allied air-offensive. It has been amply demonstrated, however, in this war, that air supremacy alone cannot obtain a decision, though it can be one of the most decisive factors. The struggle in the Philippines therefore has a good way to go as yet, and indeed it has not as yet started in its full intensity. As yet MacArthur's forces are manoeuvring for space to employ armour on a large scale and Japanese static defences are being hammered out of existence to clear the way. Up till now the first part of the offensive, namely, the securing and extension of the beach-heads, was being concluded while probing spearheads were doing exploratory work in testing the strength and the lie of the Japanese defence organisation. No major clash has occurred as yet beyond the stiff opposition at the beach-heads, which is still persisting, though there can be no doubt that it cannot now be very far off. Japanese defence strategy at Luzon has not revealed itself as yet clearly, though we are warned by the American spokesmen that a bitter struggle, on a far larger scale than hitherto encountered, lies ahead in the immediate future.

In China there are signs that the Japanese are again on the move in their attempt to seal off the coast-line of South China and to clear the last links of the Canton-Hankow railway of Chinese opposition. In the Battle for China the most reassuring development has been the re-opening at long last of the Burma road. The first convoys have passed through, we are told, and this is the first piece of heartening news about China that has come in the last three years and more.

On the Burmese fronts, on the Irrawaddy and in the Arakan coastal areas, minor fighting is in progress. The Japanese plan for the defence of Burma still remains obscure. What indications we have had up to the present, do not indicate any major opposition in the immediate future. Here, as in the Pacific, Japan seems to be playing for time. Only in China she seems to be in a hurry and that for obvious reasons.

There are some speculations regarding the future intentions of Japan regarding Burma. To us it seems now that the Japanese want to conserve their forces till the clearing of the Canton-Hankow Railway and the establishment of a free-running land communications system is complete. With the mounting of the U.S. offensive in the Philippines and the possibility of a landing in force on the coast of South China, Japan's maritime transport organisation has its hands full and if they have any surplus of tonnage they would certainly need all they have to keep in reserve against emergencies. In Burma, therefore, the Japanese who are in occupation would fight only when and where they have advantageous positions. That suicide defence is not a matter of course with the Japanese army is shown by the silent evacuation of Akyab. There are reasons to believe therefore that the Japanese in Burma are merely fighting delaying actions, and that only in such places as suit them. It may be remarked in this connection that the pattern of Japanese fighting in the Philippines has also changed recently. What this change in the tactical methods indicate it is difficult to say. It certainly does not indicate that Japan is at the end of her tether, for we have the statements of the U.S. authorities to prove that Japan has made considerable advances in the technical improvement of her army's equipment. And in the matter of man-power reserves, Japan is certainly nowhere near the end of her resources.

THE LAKHERI CAMPAIGN OF DE BOIGNE: A NEW STUDY

By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, KT., C.I.E., D.Litt.

NEWLY DISCOVERED DESPATCHES OF SINDHIA'S OFFICERS

SHORTLY after the publication of my account of the battle of Lakheri in the February 1944 Number of *The Modern Review*, I was put in possession of hitherto unknown sources of information on the subject. These are the letters of Sindhia's officers and MS news-sheets written from Mahadji Sindhia's Court in Poona and his generals' camps in North India, besides reports from many places in his dominions. They were sent to Lalaji Ballal Gulgule, a Saraswat Brahman of the Ratnagiri District, whose father Balaji Yashwant had been posted at Kotah about 1740 as Sindhia's representative and financial agent in Rajputana. Kotah was the central point of Sindhia's dealings with the Rajput States and a very convenient half-way station between Delhi (which the Sindhias controlled) and Poona (where they resided from 1792 to 1801). Lalaji Ballal being Sindhia's banker, the Maratha generals in the North had constantly to write to him for money and provisions, and they gave him full details of how their master's arms and diplomacy were progressing.

Lalaji became a hereditary noble of the Kotah State, holding the Sarola jagir. His present descendant, Pandit Chandra Kant Gulgule, very courteously allowed his family records to be copied, and Maharaj-Kumar Dr. Raghubir Singh (Major, Indian Observer Corps) of Sitamau has generously borne the expense of transcribing them. I thank them both.

These original and absolutely contemporary papers put an altogether different complexion on the event in question from the popular traditions on which my first account was based. Briefly put, they reveal that Mahadji Sindhia's policy was not so pacific or straightforward as hitherto believed. In the Gulgule archives we get minute details; altogether new and almost day to day, of the efforts of the peace-party in each camp. The secret instructions of Mahadji Sindhia are reported by the generals who received them. We see here the daily marches and counter-marches of the rival armies before the actual clash, as clearly as on a chess-board. The battle itself was the result of an unexpected encounter and developed piecemeal instead of following any previously formed plan. And, lastly, we find that the fighting took place in the pass north-east of the city of Lakheri and not, as I had held in my first account, six miles northwards in the Indargarh

gap. The date of the earlier battle was 29th May (and not the 27th as I wrote) and its site was *Panchulas*. The corrections thus made necessary are embodied in the following revised account of the campaign.

HOLKAR RENEWS HOSTILE PREPARATIONS

The first armed clash between the troops of Sindhia and Holkar took place at Suraoli, on the south bank of the Banas river, 5 miles south of Isarda (B. B. & C. I. Railway Station). Here on 8th October 1792, Mahadji Sindhia's generals, after a rapid march of 20 miles from Nawai (in Jaipur State), surprised and beat up Tukoji Holkar's camp after a running skirmish for an hour or two, and captured nine pieces of artillery, 400 mares, 200 loaded camels, Holkar's royal band, kettledrums and flag &c. Tukoji retreated from the field all night and day and reached Lakheri (35 miles southwards) on the 9th, and without making any halt there sought greater safety by going next day to Kesorai Patan (30 miles further south). The victorious generals, Gopal Bhau and Jiva Dada, followed him up to Rampura (better known as Aligarh-Rampura, now in the Tonk State), 10 miles south of Suraoli, while a light detachment under Jagu Bapu was pushed further south in pursuit of the Holkar army.

Holkar's power for mischief having been thus neutralised for the time being, a working compromise was effected between the two parties, and the Sindhian generals went back northwards to their own work in the Jaipur and Alwar territories. But in the April of next year (1793), the hatching of a second anti-Sindhia coalition by Tukoji Holkar and alarming reports of his armed preparations made the Sindhian generals again hurry to the south of the Banas river. During the six months that had passed since the brush at Suraoli, Ahalya Bai had been raising new levies and sending them in successive detachments to Tukoji. This chief was now encamped at Jhapait ghat, a ferry at a sharp northward re-entrant angle of the Chambal river, 12 miles south of Lakheri city. About 14th April he was reported to be collecting forces; "Gosain, Bairagi, Rangre, Rajput, Mina, Gujar, and Pathans from Bhupal, Kurwai and Sironj as *sebandi* (militia or irregulars). The Deccani horse raised in Maheshwar (the seat of Ahalya Bai) was reaching him" in a continuous stream. His lieutenants were also being called in: Kashi Rao (his eldest son) and Bapu Holkar (the guardian of Kashi) had

already reached his camp, while Malhar Holkar (a younger son) was coming up from Maheshwar via Kanad, Agar, Bhansoda, and Mehidpur.

Gopal Bhau and Jiva Dada took immediate action. Moving south through the Jaipur kingdom, by way of Chatsu and Nawai, and being joined by De Boigne's choice brigade from Koil during the march, they arrived at Tonk on 24th April, and next day advanced to Kakor, 12 miles to the south-east, seeking the enemy out.

Meantime, from his base at Jhapait ghat Tukoji Holkar had pushed one division under Kashi and Bapu Holkar, with Parashar Dadaji as diwan, to Babi, 10 miles north of Lakheri. From this place they were planning to advance 12 miles further north to Aligarh-Rampura and their vanguard under Bapu Holkar took post at Choru, five miles east of Aligarh, while Kashi Holkar lay some miles in the rear. Choru is only 11 miles south-east of Kakor. The astrologers pointed out the 27th and 29th of April as days when the stars would favour Sindhia's arms. And the decisive battle seemed imminent. But again the peace-makers intervened and tried to avert a civil war between these Maratha chiefs.

PEACE-MAKERS TRY TO PREVENT A RUPTURE, IN VAIN

The Peshwa's ministers Nana Fadnis and Hari Pant Phadke had long been trying to make up the quarrel between Sindhia and Holkar. They had made Mahadji, who was then in Poona, write to his generals in the North not to give any provocation to Holkar for the next two months and a half during which interval the two ministers were hopeful of effecting an amicable settlement between the two chiefs. Mahadji restrained his hand for four months, but no peace could be made as Tukoji persisted in replying "I will fight one battle at least to wipe off the disgrace of the defeat at Suraoli." So the Peshwa's agent gave up the attempt in despair.

On learning of the failure of the peace mission and Tukoji's open declaration in favour of war, Mahadji Sindhia at last wrote to his generals in the beginning of April to accept the challenge, and they accordingly pushed on to Tonk in search of the enemy. But on the eve of the day chosen for the battle (27th April), a letter was received from Vital Lakshman, the Holkar envoy then in Ambaji Ingle's camp, saying that he was coming to Gopal Bhau under orders of Tukoji to start fresh negotiations, and so the fight was put off. The Sindhian generals assured the envoy that they would refer the dispute to the Peshwa and were quite ready to accept his award, and the envoy left them on

the 30th, for Tukoji's camp after taking from them a promise not to advance from their halting place near Kakor, pending his return.

The envoy met Tukoji but failed to make him agree to accept the Peshwa's decision. Holkar's demand was that the Sindhians should restore to him all the parganahs in North India that they had seized since 1791, and that the tribute of every State in Rajputana should be shared between them in the old proportion observed in Peshwa Balaji Rao's time (1756). He declined the proposal to send one of his ministers to Poona to settle these questions directly with Mahadji. In this warlike mood Tukoji wrote to his field force under Bapu to seek battle.

That Holkarian general advanced to Khatauli, on the 4th of May. The Sindhians marched out to meet him, but after a little skirmish between the patrols, Holkar's men escaped at night from Choru towards Sop (six miles north of Babi) on the 5th. The Sindhian army halted at Oniara, 5 miles south-west of Aligarh-Rampura.

While the rival hosts thus separated again, a last attempt at peace was made. On 12th May Parashar Dadaji, Tukoji's chief man-of-business, rode into Gopal Bhau's camp at Oniara to renew negotiations for a reconciliation. He conducted the Sindhian envoys to Kashi Holkar and Bapu Holkar, who after discussion and adjustment of points agreed to their proposal that Parashar should next visit Tukoji and secure from that chief a ratification of the settlement made by Bapu and Kashi, and see that no term in addition to what had been mutually settled there was introduced. After this assent had been gained, Parashar was to return and conduct the Sindhian generals to Tukoji Holkar and in his presence formally confirm the understanding.

So, Parashar left Bapu's camp and went to his master at Jhapait ghat, promising to return to the Sindhian generals after four days. Peace being in the air, the two armies by mutual consent moved far away from each other, lest any friction on "incident" should arise between their foraging parties: Bapu moved back from Sop to Babi and Gopal Bhau from Oniara to Bandria, two miles south-west of Aligarh-Rampura.

Parashar Dadaji reached Tukoji's base about the 17th of May, told him of the settlement made in Bapu Holkar's presence, and asked him to name a day for confirming this agreement in the presence of Sindhia's generals.

But the fully ripened fruit of peace was destined to rot. For, by this time Malhar Holkar the younger had reached his father's camp. Fired with boundless pride and ambition, he

rebuked the aged Tukoji, crying out, "We have been maintaining an army for the last eight months at the cost of lakhs of rupees in order to recover our lost prestige in Hindustan. You have now discarded the policy of fighting and thereby saving our honour, and made peace with Sindhia. This has destroyed even the little prestige that was left to us. You remain here with your peace. I will listen to none, but deliver one battle." So saying he next day marched away to the front. Then Tukoji turned a somersault, repudiated the agreement made by Parashar and censured him. The baffled minister sulked in his tent in humiliation and grief.

Parashar Dadaji's promise of returning to the Sindhian camp on the fifth day lapsed, and no letter even came from him. On the contrary, reports arrived that Malhar had joined Bapu and Kashi, and their foraging parties once or twice looted Sindhia's camels when out at grass.

DE BOIGNE'S ADVANCE: FIRST BATTLE AT PANCHULAS

"So, they mean war," thus rightly concluded Gopal Bhau, as he wrote to Lalaji. The Holkars having torn up a treaty of their own making and appealed to the sword, Sindhia's general lost no time in taking up the challenge; leaving Bandria (2 miles south-west of Aligarh-Rampura) they went to Sawai Madhopur on 23rd May, halted there for two or three days to place their camp in safety and lighten their force, and then returned westwards to seek the enemy out (26th). Meantime, Malhar Holkar who had usurped the supreme command of Holkar's fighting forces, advanced from Babi to Panchulas village* and took post with a *nala*

before him. His army, some 15 to 20 thousand horse, besides foot, was drawn up in three cavalry divisions under Bapu Holkar, Parashar Dadaji, and himself, with the irregular infantry of Nagas and Bairagis in front and the camp behind.

The Sindhian army advanced from the north-east, marching in De Boigne's favourite column formation; his trained infantry battalions and artillery protected the front and the two flanks, the Deccani horse sheltered in the centre of the column, and a small force of musketeers and some light guns guarded the rear. Before such a compact formation, the Holkar cavalry with their Cossak tactics merely hovered round beyond the range of its fire, unable to stop its advance.

Early on the 29th May, De Boigne on sighting the enemy's position, deployed his infantry in line of battle and turning a quarter circle struck Holkar's front and opened artillery fire on their stationary masses. Bapu Holkar and Parashar Dadaji well knew the futility of Malhar's boasted charging tactics and left him alone to try them, while they kept their own divisions safe by not moving up to the attack. Malhar Holkar at the head of his own troops (the left wing) made a detour round Sindhia's army and attacked its rear. Here, instead of finding a confused crowd of servants, transport animals and baggage, he was met by a steady line of disciplined musketeers with light guns and *chevaux de frise* before them. Malhar's cavalry found it impossible to hurl itself upon its opponents in the one impetuous charge so long dreamt of by him. While the attack was thus halted by these obstacles to a cavalry sweep, De Boigne's rearguard ploughed their enemy's ranks with grape shot and bullet. Soon after Lakhwa Dada arrived with the Household Cavalry (the *huzurat*) to aid the defence. Malhar's bolt was shot, he fled away with the broken remnant of his troops.

Meanwhile in the front line, De Boigne's light guns had been working havoc among the stationary Holkarians, whose only missile weapons were erratic rockets and some rusty old firelocks. While Holkar's army was thus engaged in its front and left, Sindhia's Pindharis made a detour by their own left and encircled and plundered Kashi Rao Holkar's camp in the rear with hardly any opposition. These enveloping tactics can succeed only against primitive armies.

At the sight of Malhar's wing returning thinned and disordered from their advance, the entire army of Holkar broke and fled away, abandoning their baggage. The spoils taken by the victors included 175 horses, 50 camels, 3 *palkis*, 4 camels loaded with treasure, besides

* *Panchulas*, 4 miles S.-W. of the Rawanjna Dungar Rly. Station on the Muttra-Nagda line (next to Sawai Madhopur junction, southwards). It is in the Jaipur State and close to the S.-E. corner of the Tonk territory. In the Gulgule despatches the name of the place is spelt in Modi as *Pacholia* and *Paichol*. I do not identify it with another village *Pachala*, 3 m. east of Chori and 5 m. e. of Aligarh-Rampura, and 7 m. n.-w. of Panchulas, as it lies due westwards and is therefore off the route from Sawai Madhopur to Lakheri which runs south. We learn from Sindhian despatches that the Holkarian army had advanced from Babi to the first battle and after their defeat fell back four kos from the field to *Kurwadia* "a small fort on the spur of a hill, in a situation which it was impossible for artillery to reach." The only place on the map like it is *Karwaria*, at the end of a detached ridge, 4 miles (in a straight line) from Panchulas and 3 m. e. of Babi. This *Karwaria* is fully ten miles (in a straight line) south of the other village *Pachala*.

All doubts as to the locality can be best removed by searching in the neighbourhood of both the above villages for old hammered grape shots buried in the soil. On the battle field of Assaye the young cowherds gave us for a little reward many grape shots of Sindhia's army (1803) which they had picked up while grazing their cattle. Try that game at Panchulas and Lakheri, as the artillery was the same as at Assaye.

quantities of rockets, swivel guns mounted on camels and other arms, and the entire baggage of Kashi Holkar. Bapu Holkar's diwan, Raghupat Rao, was slain, besides many humbler people on that side.

RIVAL ARMIES REACH LAKHERI

The defeated army of Holkar fell hurriedly back and by continuous retreat reached its base camp near the town of Lakheri, about 18 miles to the south. Gopal Bhau spent the night after the victory on the enemy's abandoned camp near Panchulas and then followed them up to Babi (30th May) and Balwan (31st),—the last named place being six miles north-east of Lakheri. His problem was how to pin the enemy force down to its position and crush it there by a pitched battle, before it could slip away again by using its superior speed and lightness of equipment. It was the same problem that taxed the brain of the future Duke of Wellington before his victory at Assaye, ten years later.*

On the 1st of June, De Boigne started from the halting place of Balwan, after sending a message to his chief Gopal Bhau, saying, "The path leading to the pass of Lakheri is just wide enough for one cart, and the thick forest is unfavourable to cavalry movements. I am going alone with five battalions to cut down the jungle." They agreed to the plan of clearing a path through the forest that day, and advancing with the full force to fight a pitched battle the next day. Therefore, after detaching De Boigne with his pioneers, the Maratha army rested in its camping ground at Balwan.

TOPOGRAPHY OF THE THEATRE OF WAR

This village of Balwan lies three miles south-east of the Indargarh Railway Station; Lakheri is situated six miles south-west of Balwan, under shelter of the long range of hills running north-eastwards from Kotah to Indargarh. As the modern traveller hurries by the Nagda-Muttra Railway line from Sawai Madhopur towards Kotah, a gap in the line of hills on his right four miles south of the Indargarh station gives him a glimpse of the city of Lakheri lying under a dark cloud of smoke from the many chimneys of its modern cement factory. A mile west of the factory area the old

city of Lakheri nestles under the western hill range. In between the two cities old and new, but a little to the north of them lies the lake of Lakheri, in a fork of the hills whose lower end has been dammed up with a wall. South of these towns, the country is level down to the Chambal and this side has been utilised by the branch railway line of the cement factory. Through the gap east of Lakheri runs the modern road from that city to Indargarh in the north.

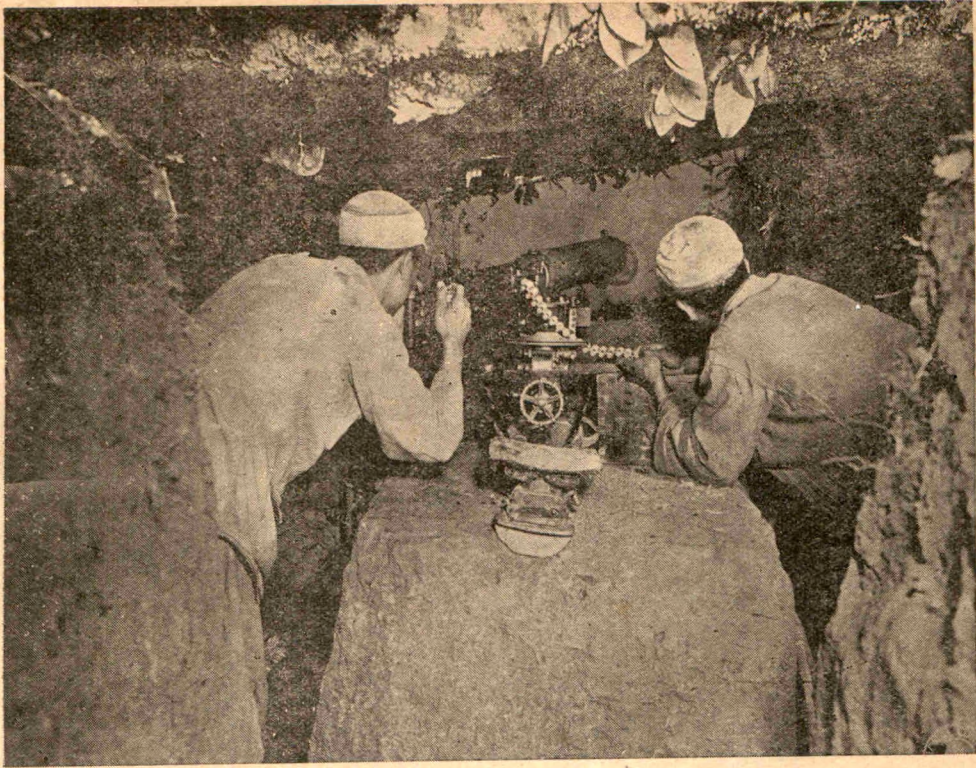
This gap, about three furlongs in width is surrounded by a jungle tract, which begins some three miles from Balwan on the east and stretches up to the outskirts of Lakheri on the west. It is a broken ravine-scored area, covered with scrub jungle and thickets, composed mostly of *babul*, *nim*, dwarf tamarind and *ber*. The hill on the (north) right hand of the pass was densely wooded up to its top.

After easily passing over three miles of open ground from Balwan, De Boigne placed his five battalions on guard and set the pioneers to work. As they advanced making a road and arrived near the mouth of pass, they were suddenly assailed by a heavy fire of rockets and guns. The General climbed a tree to reconnoitre. There lay before him the entire army of Holkar spread out on the plain behind a marsh. The mouth of the pass was entrenched and held by a crowd of irregular infantry consisting of wild Gosains and Bairagis, or married monks fighting for hire; on their left stood Chevalier Dudenec's line of the four battalions of trained infantry he had raised for Tukoji Holkar. The second line of the enemy was formed by the Deccani horse, in three large divisions (5,000 to 7,000 each) who were led by Bapu Holkar (right, with Kashi Rao's contingent), Parashar Dadaji (centre, with Tukoji's own contingent), and Malhar Holkar (left). These were formed in the open ground some distance behind the pass. The rear was made up of Holkar's Pindhari horde (about eight to ten thousand strong) who were mere looters mounted on small ponies. Still further in the rear, close to the city lay the tents and baggage of this army.

THE BATTLE OF LAKHERI HOW FOUGHT

Immediately after completing his reconnaissance with the help of a telescope, De Boigne decided to deliver his attack without waiting for the next day. Sending urgent messages to the camp to call up the rest of his battalions and artillery and to inform Gopal Bhau of this unexpected change of plan and to request the support of the Deccani cavalry, he formed his troops in line of battle. The country leading from Balwan to the Lakheri pass, after the first three miles is intersected by ravines and dry

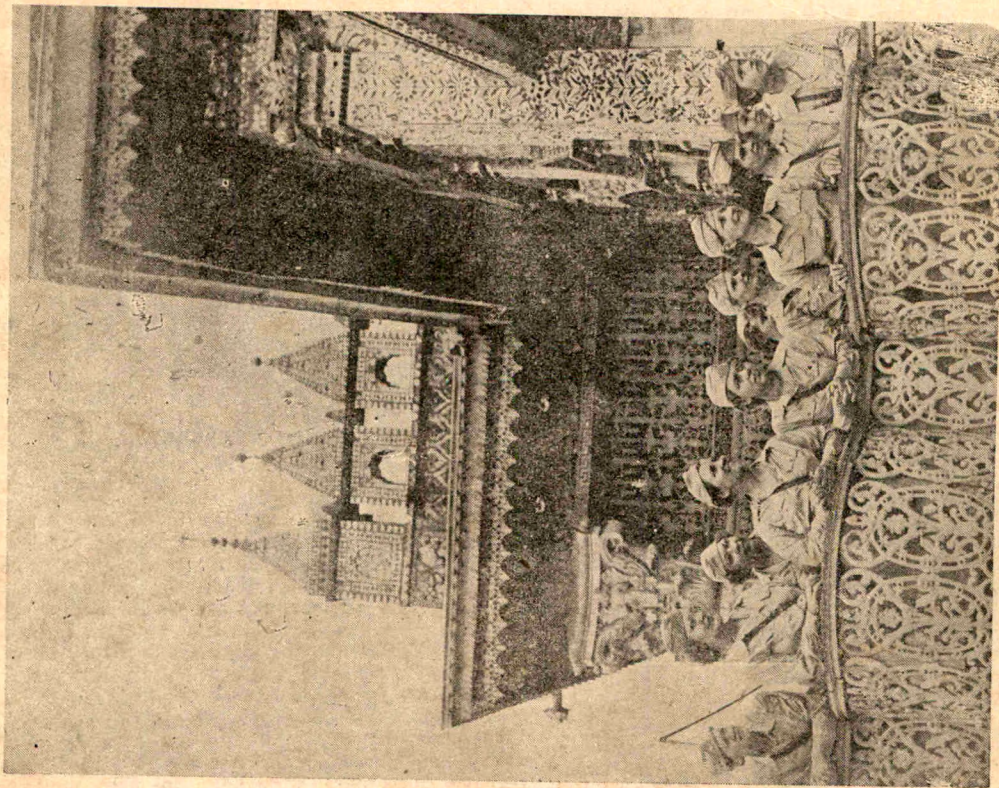
* Gopal Bhau, exasperated by the evasive strategy of Holkar, thus unburdened his soul to Lalaji: "How can I describe the rascality and lying of the opposite side? All people are urging us to crush and capture them, but they are roving round and fleeing away as a light force, while our artillery prevents us from marching more than 4 or 5 kos a day. If they only stood up to a fight, they would learn their fate in two hours," (5 May, 1793). On 30th Aug. 1803, Arthur Wellesley wrote to T. Munro, "I hope to be able to strike a blow against their myriads of horse in a few days."



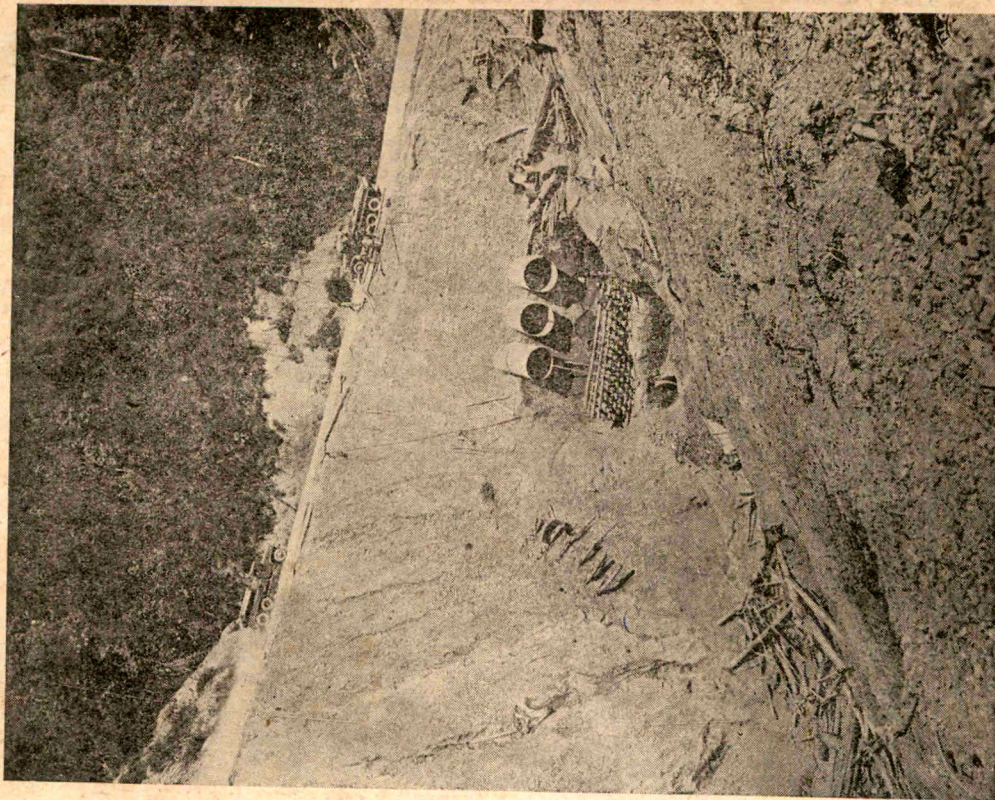
A-Chinese machine-gun crew on the alert in their emplacement overlooking Japanese positions



Volunteer labourers from nearby villages work on Burma Road to enable supplies and equipment to get through to the front



Girls of the U.S. Women's Army Corps pose on the balcony
of a Jain temple



Engineering troops are kept busy maintaining the Ledo Road
USOWI

brooks and encumbered with jungle. Therefore, Sindhia's battalions could not advance from its camp in battle order but marched in a long winding column one after another, the guns of each battalion toiling behind it in single file. De Boigne had thus to deploy his full strength gradually as his battalions and guns came up in succession.

He began the battle with the small force he had at first at hand, by sending forward three of his battalions and a body of Rohilla irregular infantry which was specially trained for storming hills, to carry the pass that led to the enemy's position. No adequate artillery support could be given to the attack for some time, and this small advance-guard was assailed by a storm of cannon-balls and rocket-fire from the defence trenches on the heights and thrown back with heavy loss. De Boigne then wisely led his men back to the shelter of the trees on the two sides, where the enemy's big "guns of position" could do them little harm. But Holkar's army by the prodigal and useless expenditure of its scanty supply of powder and shot at this initial stage, ran quite out of munitions when the real crisis of the battle came later and it could make no reply to De Boigne's massed artillery.

The enforced halt among the woods enabled the rest of De Boigne's infantry and guns to come up. He deployed his column and formed his line of battle, unlimbered his guns, and opened fire upon the enemy with a crushing superiority. Meantime the sound of the enemy's opening artillery had carried the news of the action to the Maratha generals in the camp before De Boigne's couriers, and Gopal Bhau had sent Lakhwa Dada tip with Sindhia's Household cavalry (*Paga*) to reinforce the vanguard. The infantry battalions were thus heartened by the sight of strong cavalry support behind them on the left, which guarded them against any attack from the rear. As for the rest of the Maratha Cavalry, under Gopal Bhau and Jiva Dada, they had dispersed in the morning as usual to forage, expecting no battle that day, and it took the generals two hours to recall them and lead them to the scene of the action.

After being joined by the rest of his men and guns from the base, De Boigne renewed his assault upon the pass with a furious discharge of artillery, which soon silenced the enemy's fire. Then clearing the defile he debouched on the plain below (towards the town of Lakheri) and advanced on the enemy's main force standing there. This body he utterly defeated by reason of his immense superiority in musketry

and gun fire, as has been described in my first study (February 1944 number, pages 103-104)*

MAHADJI SINDHIA'S POLICY

The story told in *Holkaranchi Kaifiyat* (p. 65) that the peace-loving Mahadji Sindhia was so shocked on hearing of his generals' battle with Holkar that he burst into tears, crying out, "My lifelong brotherhood with Holkar has been thus nullified," and that he confined Gopal Bhau as a punishment for forcing a breach with the Holkars, is proved to be pure fiction. Patil Baba was a consummate actor, and these tears if shed by him at Poona were meant to save his face at the Peshwa's Court. His real orders to his generals are given in the *Gulgule Daftar* and breathe fire. On hearing of the first battle—that of Panchulas—he wrote on 13th June to Gopal Bhau thus: "You have done very well in asserting your own predominance and bringing glory to my Government. If the Holkars halt at Kurwada, encircle and plunder them. If they slip away, pursue them without taking rest. If they go to the *Old Man* [Tukoji], you should cross the Chambal and chase them, including the *Old Man*, till they reach Maheshwar. Don't slacken in doing this. With the Cavalry and trained Brigade keep the pursuit up to Indore. If they move away from Indore to Maheshwar, do you occupy Indore and seize their mahals in Malwa. Don't listen to any proposal of peace that they may make."

In another letter (written on 14th June), his minister (probably Aba Chitnis) informs Gopal Bhau, "Our master's heart has been very much gladdened by reading your despatch of victory in the Lakheri Pass. One year has passed in the pursuit of this policy and a krór of Rupees has been spent, and [at last] our Government has gained glory; this is a great thing. . . . Despatches are being sent to you from here, ordering you not to halt anywhere on the way, but keep up chasing him till you *make him see the Narmada*!"

* Only one correction has to be made in that earlier account. When De Boigne's select cavalry (300 sabres) delivered their charge, they were followed from the left by Lakhwa Dada's Deccani cavalry (*huzari*) only and not by the entire body of the Maratha horse, as the other two Cavalry leaders had not yet arrived with their contingents; these latter took part only in the final stage of the battle.

A letter in the *Gulgule* archives gives the spoils of Lakheri as 23 guns, 400 horses, 400 camels, 4 elephants, and 22 *palkis*, besides the entire camp of the enemy, while the French memoir published from De Boigne's birth-place, Chambéry, in 1828 mentions 38 guns, on the authority of L. F. Smith's letter in the Calcutta journal *The Telegraph* of 2 Jan., 1797.

THE NEGOTIATIONS AND AFTER

The Two-nations Theory of Mr. Jinnah

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I

In this article I propose to examine the two-nations theory as enunciated by Mr. Jinnah during his negotiations with Gandhiji (and also afterwards), with special reference to the views of the latter thereon.

II

In his letter, dated 15th September, 1944, Gandhiji wrote to Mr. Jinnah, among other things:

"In the course of our discussions you have passionately pleaded that India contains two nations, *i.e.*, Hindus and Muslims, and that the latter have their homelands in India as the former have theirs.

"The more our argument progresses, the more alarming your picture appears to me. It would be alluring if it were true. But my fear is growing that it is wholly unreal. I find no parallel in history for a body of converts and their descendants claiming to be a nation apart from the parent stock. If India was one nation before the advent of Islam, it must remain one in spite of the change of faith of a very large body of her children." Gandhiji is perfectly right in maintaining this view. "A body of converts and their descendants" cannot legitimately claim "to be a nation apart from the parent stock," while living within the same geographic unity with the latter. A natural-born Britisher, for instance, who was a Christian before, does not cease to be a member of the British nation and lose his British nationality by mere conversion, say, to Islam, unless he also renounces his allegiance to the British State and transfers it to another State by the process of naturalisation. This principle also applies to his children¹ born in Great Britain. Thus we find in Hall², a great authority on International Law, "The persons as to whose nationality no room for difference of opinion exists are in the main those who have been born within a state territory of parents belonging to the (state) community³, and whose connexion with their state has not been severed through any act done by it or by themselves."

Gandhiji is also right when he says⁴ in effect that, if religion is accepted as "a new test of nationhood," it will lead to the assertion of "many more claims" in India, and that we shall have to "face an insoluble problem." Then there will be as many nations—and, therefore, as many sovereign, independent States—in India as there are religious communities⁵ in the country. Logic, equity, and reason would require it. The question is one of principle and not of number. Thus an absurd situation will be created to the total disintegration of India. This will be the inevitable consequence of the acceptance of religion as the sole basis of nationhood in this country.

I cannot fully agree, however, with Gandhiji when he says⁶ that "the only real, though awful, test of our nationhood arises out of our common political subjection." This may be one of the contributory factors; but there are other factors as well, such as common residence within a single geographic unity and consequential community of economic and political interests, community of ethnic bonds, requirements of political expediency and strategic necessity, etc. These are really fundamental, while the common political subjection is only "incidental" or "circumstantial," due to some accidents of history.

III

By way of a reply to—or rather as a protest against—the views of Gandhiji on the question of two-nations theory, Mr. Jinnah stated in his letter to the former, dated 17th September, 1944:

"We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million, and what is more, we are a nation with our distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws (*sic*) and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions. In short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law we are a nation."

I feel almost tempted to quote here the words of Burke used in another connexion⁷, and to say that "this sort of discourse does well enough with the lamp-post for its second: to men who may reason calmly, it is ridiculous." One of the difficulties with politicians is that they are generally very sweeping in their remarks and seldom care for the accuracy or the inaccuracy of their statements. They are so anxious to produce some effect upon the minds of others that they do not always think it necessary to be very cautious and scientific in their utterances. But mere *ipse dixit* declared *ex cathedra* do not in themselves constitute any valid or convincing arguments. If Mr. Jinnah had simply asserted that the Hindus and the Muslims of India differed in many respects in regard to their religion and their religious rites and ceremonies, there could be no difference of opinion with him, although it would not have, as we shall see later on, proved much so far as the future form of Government of this country was concerned. And I am quite prepared to believe that some of the things contained in his sweeping statement as quoted above, may perhaps apply to Mr. Jinnah personally, but he alone is not the Muslim community of India. It is, however, a total misreading of Indian history to say that the Muslims and the Hindus of India who have lived together for so many centuries, have not been profoundly influenced by each other in their ideas, thoughts, culture, traditions, customs, beliefs as well as in their ways of thinking, feeling, and acting.

1 The case may be different with daughters marrying foreigners. See Hall, *A Treatise on International Law*, 8th Ed., p. 280.

2 See his *Treatise on International Law*, 8th Ed., pp. 275-276.

3 *I.e.*, the people as a whole of the State in question.

4 See his letter to Mr. Jinnah, dated 15th September, 1944.

5 Such as Hindu, Jain, Buddhist, Sikh, Zoroastrian (Parsi), Muslim, Christian, Jew, Tribal, etc.

6 See his letter to Mr. Jinnah, dated 15th September, 1944.

7 See Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, Payne, Oxford, p. 61.

This is not psychologically possible, particularly when it is remembered that these two communities have not lived in absolutely water-tight compartments, and, therefore, in complete isolation from each other, and that most of the Muslims of India today are descendants of converts from Hinduism and, in some cases, such converts themselves. I may also remind Mr. Jinnah in this connexion of what he himself admitted, on behalf of the Muslim League, on 13th August, 1919, in the course of his evidence before the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, in reply to Question 3813 put to him by Major Ormsby-Gore.⁸ He said: "In India the Mohammedans have very few things really which you can call matters of special interest for them—I mean secular things."⁹ If this was the position in 1919, how there could have arisen in 1944 so many fundamental differences between the Hindus and the Muslims of India in the secular sphere, as were emphasized by Mr. Jinnah in the extract from his letter quoted before? One is naturally tempted to ask him, which of his views is really correct—his view in 1919, or his view in 1944? Further, what has happened since 1919 that has made him change his view on historical matters so fundamentally? True, the Congress High Command, or some Congress Ministers, committed, as has been admitted by me before,¹⁰ one or two errors of policy in the meanwhile. But that could not certainly have altered the facts of history. There should be some consistency, at least, in the views of our great leaders uttered from time to time.

Let me now go back to the extract from Mr. Jinnah's letter which has been given before. There are, to say the least, a number of misleading assertions in it. Considerations of space, however, do not permit me to deal with all of them here in detail, as their proper refutation would fill a large volume. I shall, therefore, confine myself to an analysis of some of his remarks and to showing how far they are correct.

In the first place, Mr. Jinnah has appealed to the "canons of international law" in support of his view. I am afraid that he has rather overshot himself thereby. I have just now before me—the reader will kindly forgive me for being a little pedantic: I cannot help it—five standard works¹¹ on International Law, and I find that they have very little to say in regard to matters—even in their general context—referred to by Mr. Jinnah in his statement, and that even when they do say anything in regard to them, they do it only incidentally. And this is natural. By its very definition, International Law means "the rules acknowledged by the general body of civilised independent states to be binding upon them in their mutual relations."¹² "States are its units. . . . States and states alone enjoy a *locus standi* in the law of nations: they are the only wearers of international personality."¹³ And "primarily," says Hall,¹⁴ "international law governs the relations of such of the

communities called independent states as voluntarily subject themselves to it." Only to a limited extent, "it may also govern the relations of certain communities of analogous character,"¹⁵ such as, for instance, a neutralised State, or a protectorate in some cases. Now the Muslims of India do not come under any of these categories: they only form a part of a subject people like the rest of the population of India. The question of the application of the canons of International Law to them cannot really arise. The things to which Mr. Jinnah has referred in his sweeping statement really come within the scope of the municipal law of a country, and not International Law. It may also be noted here that after the last Great War the Minority Treaties under the League of Nations only provided for international guarantees for the protection of certain essential rights of "racial, religious or linguistic minorities" in the newly created States of Central and Eastern Europe, in respect of their life, liberty, religion, language, etc.¹⁶ These Treaties definitely discouraged "separatism." Their object was "to counteract it by making the life of the minority tolerable."¹⁷ An authority¹⁸ on the subject quotes in this connexion the Report on the Åland Islands¹⁹ to say, "To concede to minorities, either of language or religion, or to any fractions of a population the right of withdrawing from the community²⁰ to which they belong, because it is their wish or their good pleasure, would be to destroy order and stability within States and to inaugurate anarchy in international life; it would be to uphold a theory incompatible with the very idea of the State as a territorial and political unity." It may also be noted here that the Polish Minorities Treaty which formed the model for all the rest of the Minorities Treaties, and which otherwise provided for the protection of the essential rights of minorities in Poland, did not recognise "a separate Jewish nationality" in Poland, although the Jews constituted 14 per cent of its total population.²¹ "The recognition of a separate Jewish nationality" (in Poland), writes Mair,²² "which was suggested at the Peace Conference, was out of the question."

Secondly, according to Mr. Jinnah there are pure, exclusive, and unalloyed Muslim art and architecture in India which have not been influenced by any non-Muslim, indigenous ideas of art and architecture in this country. If Mr. Jinnah cares to consult some standard works²³ on Indian architecture, he will be disillusioned to find how much of what he considers to be purely Muslim or Saracenic art and architecture have been influenced and shaped by the Buddhist-Hindu ideas and ideals of art and architecture. Referring to the "marks of their dominating creative genius which Hindu

15 *Ibid.*, Part I. Chap. I; also Smith, *International Law*, Part I, Chap. II.

16 For details see Mair, *The Protection of Minorities*, particularly Chapters I-V and Appendix.

17 See *ibid.*, p. 40.

18 L. P. Mair (*The Protection of Minorities*, pp. 40-41).

19 For the Åland Islands question, see the concluding part of my preceding article in *The Modern Review* of January, 1945.

20 The term means in the context in which it has been used the entire body of the population of a State.

21 See Mair, *The Protection of Minorities*, Chap. IV.

22 See *ibid.*, p. 43.

23 Say, for instance, E. B. Havell's (1) *Indian Architecture: Its Psychology, Structure, and History from the first Muhammadan Invasion to the Present Day*, 2nd Edition, and (2) *The Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India: A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilisation*.

8 See *Minutes of Evidence taken before the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill*, 1919, Vol. II, p. 225; also Ambedkar, *Thoughts on Pakistan*, 1941, p. 316.

Mr. Jinnah appeared before the Joint Select Committee as the representative of the All-India Muslim League.

9 The italics are mine.

10 See my first article in this series in *The Modern Review* of December, 1944.

11 By Hall, Oppenheim, Lawrence, Smith, and Stowell.

12 F. E. Smith, *International Law*, p. 1.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 1 and p. 28.

14 *A Treatise on International Law*, p. 17.

master-builders have left on the great monuments of the Indo-Muhammadan styles;²⁴ Havell—and he is not a Hindu writer—has gone so far as to say²⁵: "It is Indian art, not Arab, Persian, or European, that we must study to find whence came the inspiration of the Taj Mahall and great monuments of Bijapur. They are more Indian than St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey are English. . . . The Arabs, Tartars, Mongols, and Persians who came into India had much to learn from Hindu civilisation, and it was from what they learnt and not from what they taught that Muhammadan art in India became great. The Taj Mahall belongs to India, not to Islam. . . . The Hindu builders of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan had taken the Persian court tradition and revitalised it by joining it with their own. . . . In architecture it (the Taj) is unique, but neither Arabs, Persians, nor Moguls can claim it as their own, for it is Indian in body and in soul."

7 Again,²⁶ "The armies of Islam brought few masons and other craftsmen with them, so the Delhi Sultans and their satraps in Bengal did as Mamud (of Ghazni) had done—they impressed the Hindu builders and craftsmen into their service. . . . The Muhammadans were thoroughly practical in their methods, and, though they hated the idolater, had no scruples against using the splendid materials provided by Hindu temples, and doubtless found a grim satisfaction in compelling thousands of Hindu craftsmen to wreck their own holy shrines and to rebuild them according to the ritual of Islam."

Further,²⁷ "Indian literature and science had been eagerly studied by the scholars of Baghdad for centuries before the Muhammadan conquest of Hindustan. The skill of Indian master-builders made Mahmud of Ghazni's capital one of the finest cities of the East. . . . The "Indo-Saracenic" style of Indian architecture was purely a creation of Fergusson. The Muhammadan invasions made no decisive break in the building traditions of India, except that they brought about a reversion to the ideals of Hinayana Buddhism. The Indian master-builder continued to build for his Muhammadan rulers according to the Indo-Aryan traditions, just as he had done for Buddhist, Jain, and Hindu. The Indian mosque was the Hindu temple adapted to Muhammadan ritual²⁸ . . . Muhammadan art in India from its very beginning was, and continued to be, wholly Indian in spirit and in craftsmanship. All the symbolism of its ornament was Indo-Aryan, except that texts from the Quran are used in places where the Hindu sculptor would have put symbolic figures or animals."

This, it is hoped, is quite sufficient to prove to what extent the so-called Muslim or Saracenic art and architecture have been influenced and shaped by the indigenous Indian (Buddhist-Hindu) ideas, traditions,

and ideals of art and architecture. And, religion or religious rites or ceremonies apart, what is true of this so-called Muslim art and architecture in India is also very largely true of that compendious thing, namely, the Muslim civilization in India. And religion or religious rites and ceremonies, however, do not really constitute the whole of a man's life in society: it is only concerned with the question of his relationship with his creator. Man is much more than a religious being, and he cannot altogether escape from the influences of his environment.

Thirdly, Mr. Jinnah has referred to the question of "language and literature." Regard being had to the context in which the reference has been made, his implication is that the Muslims of India have a distinctive language and literature of their own. Even a schoolboy in India knows that this is not a fact. Often the Muslims living in a particular area in India speak the same language and have the same literature as the Hindus of that area. Of all the provinces of British India, or, for the matter of that, of all the major administrative areas of India, Bengal has the largest number of Muslims, it being, according to the last census, about 33 millions. And everybody knows that, with the exception of a very few isolated families here and there in some urban areas, the mother-tongue of these Muslims, as of the Bengali Hindus, is Bengali, and that their language and literature are also Bengali. And this is not the case, for instance, with the Muslims of Bihar, the United Provinces, the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Sind, Baluchistan, Bombay, or Madras.²⁹ Similarly, the language and literature of the South-Indian Muslims are not the language and literature of the Muslims of Northern India. And it is no refutation of our position to say that the Muslim religious books are in the Arabic language. Very few of the Muslim masses, not only in Bengal, but also elsewhere in India—and not even a large number among the educated Musalmans of India—know Arabic in the sense that they can easily read, write, and speak Arabic. More or less, this is also the case with the Hindus, so far as Sanskrit is concerned. And this is natural, as neither Arabic nor Sanskrit is, if at all, the mother-tongue of any considerable section of the indigenous population of India today. And it is the mother-tongue that really matters, it being "the medium through which the people maintain intercourse with one another and through which they can express their culture and ideals in a common literature."

24 See Havell, *Indian Architecture*, etc., p. 18.

25 See *ibid.*, pp. 14-33.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 43.

27 See Havell, *The Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India: A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilisation*, 1915, Chap. XVI.

28 And I also find in Ananda K. Coomaraswamy (*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, 1927, p. 111), another great authority on Indian art and architecture:

"The old Hindu and Jaina temples of Gujarat have been almost entirely destroyed by the Muhammadans, who nevertheless in their turn employed the Indian architects to construct the beautiful mosques of Ahmedabad, which are in a purely Hindu style, only adapted to the requirements of Musalman worshippers."

29 This reminds me of a funny incident which occurred here only the other day. I was returning home one afternoon with three Muslim colleagues of mine. Two of these Muslim colleagues had come from the United Provinces, and one from the Punjab. Happening to meet his *Chaprasi* on the way, one of my Muslim colleagues from the United Provinces wanted to say something to him. Now this *Chaprasi* was a Bengali Musalman, belonging to the district of Dacca. We found to our amusement that our colleague was trying his best to explain to his *Chaprasi* what he wanted to say to him, but that the latter could not follow him at all. Then he turned round to me and requested me to explain to his *Chaprasi* in Bengali what he had been trying to say to him in Urdu. On hearing from him in English what he had been trying to say to the *Chaprasi*, I explained to the latter what the former wanted to say to him. After thus having played the role of an interpreter, I remarked by way of a joke: "I think that this is one of the best refutations of Mr. Jinnah's contention that the Muslims of India have the same language." And they all laughed. This little incident does really refute Mr. Jinnah's contention very successfully, since it is a typical illustration.

Fourthly, Mr. Jinnah has referred in his statement to the question of Muslim culture in India as something distinct from the culture of the Hindus and of the rest of the non-Muslim population of India. The term culture is very comprehensive in its connotation. It has been defined by a distinguished sociologist³⁰ as "the total of acquired behaviour patterns transmitted by imitation or instruction." Now, apart from what we have said in connexion with the question of the so-called Muslim art and architecture in India, in so far as the culture of any people is itself a product of, and influenced by, its language, literature, and environment, the Hindus and the Muslims of Bengal, for example, have much more affinity between them in the cultural sphere than the Muslims of Bengal and the Muslims of Travancore, of Malabar, of Bombay, of Sind, of the Punjab, or of the North-West Frontier Province have. The reason is obvious: The language, literature and the environment of the Hindus and of the Muslims of Bengal today are the same.

Moreover, culture in its true sense has a higher and nobler aspect: it has an all-inclusive and universal character. As Matthew Arnold has beautifully shown in his well-known work *Culture and Anarchy*, "Culture, which is the study of perfection, leads us . . . to conceive of true human perfection as a *harmonious* perfection, developing all sides of our humanity; and as a *general* perfection, developing all parts of our society. For if one member suffer, the other members must suffer with it; and the fewer there are that follow the true way of salvation the harder that way is to find."³¹

He has also rightly pointed out that culture is opposed to blind partisanship and "fanaticism", to "fierceness," and to "addiction to an abstract system"; and that it "hates hatred." It enjoins "disinterestedness," carries us "towards sweetness and light," and makes "reason and the will of God prevail" in human affairs. It does not make a "fetish of separatism" or isolationism, but fosters "flexibility," tolerance, and increased sympathy and fellow-feeling between man and man, so that all may "live in an atmosphere of sweetness and light." Culture is particularly opposed to what he has called *Hebraism*, i.e., the tendency in us "to sacrifice all other sides of our being to the religious side." "This tendency," he says,³² "has its cause in the divine beauty and grandeur of religion, and bears affecting testimony to them; but . . . it has dangers for us" in that it "leads to a narrow and twisted growth of our religious side itself, and to a failure in perfection." The religious side in the zealot tends to predominance over his "other spiritual sides," and, as a result, "just what is not essential in religion he comes to mistake for essential, a thousand times the more readily because he has chosen it of himself; and religious activity he fancies to consist in battling for it. All this leaves him little leisure or inclination for culture."

I presume that what Mr. Jinnah has meant by Islamic culture in India is not—at least, should not be—incompatible with the noble conception of culture which Matthew Arnold has given to us, particularly when Islam professedly stands for peace and goodwill amongst men.

(To be continued)

30 See Ross, *Principles of Sociology*, 3rd Edition, p. 103.

31 See Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy*, 1869, p. XVI.

32 *Ibid.*, pp. XXII-XXIV.

THE SUN GOD OF KONARKA UNEARTHED

By PRANAKRUSHNA SAMAL

In the year 1932 a headless stone image was unearthed from a tank¹ in the town of Cuttack. It was discovered some 10 feet below the ground level due to the sliding of a bank of the tank. The image was carried away and placed before the portico of the Ravenshaw College buildings where it now lies.

The image has been carved out of a slab of clorite in a sitting posture, its left leg being placed on the right, which on the other hand hangs down. There are two female figures on both sides of the image, seated on the same lotus throne. All these three figures have lost their hands either from the elbow or a little up. There are two lotus buds engraved on the slab on both sides of the main figure which the female figures held in their hands. There is the remnant of a lotus which the image was holding in its left hand. Perhaps the right hand was in Abhaya Mudra as the position of the hand indicates and no sufficient trace of a lotus on this side is to be found. Just above the female figure on the left there is the relief of a lion carved out on the slab. The corresponding portion on the right is not there as the upper part of the slab from the neck of the main image is broken. The lower portion, however, is almost intact. The lotus throne is practically undamaged.

Below the lotus throne on the same slab are engraved four worshipping figures—two female figures on

the right side of the image and one male figure and after it a female figure on the left—just touching the right foot of the presiding figure. The female worshipper on the right, which is nearer the image, is offering a lotus bud to the deity. All other worshippers have lost their hands and the female figure on the extreme left its head also. Behind the leg that hangs down of the presiding image there is the relief of a Siva Lingam engraved on the pedestal. The lower portion of the slab is Panch Rathi in design.

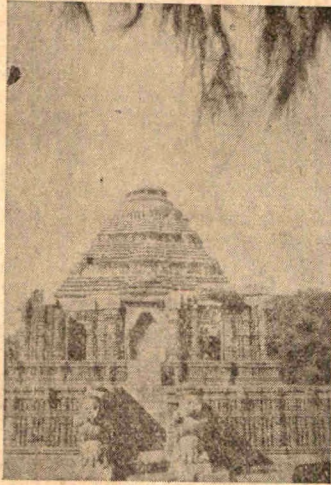
The image with the group has been carved out of a single block of stone in the most elegant manner. Although broken from the neck, in my opinion, it is the best specimen of plastic art ever produced in Orissa.

The superb beauty of the image set me thinking as to how and wherefrom it came to be buried in earth here. Cuttack was never a centre of Orissan architecture. There might at one time have been standing in this town many mighty forts or civic buildings like the nine-storied building of Gajapati Mukunda Dev. But there is not a single temple here of any great architectural value, nor are there any remains of any such shrine.

On careful study and research I find that the image belongs to the Konarka school of architecture and differs greatly from those of Lalitagiri, Jajpur, Bhubaneswar or Puri. The stone used in it is the same bluish clorite as has been used in the case of all important figures,

1 Akhada Pokhari of Qazi Bazar.

Nabagraha slab, the pillar of Aruna, the doors and the pedestal of the temple of Konarka. In the style of execution and in ornamental detail it has a strong resemblance with the sun images now in the niches of the main temple at Konarka.



The view of the temple of Konarka from the lion's gate (with Nat-mandir)

Although the head portion of the image is not there, on critical examination it has been revealed that this also is an image of the Sun. Ordinarily such an image can be recognized to be an image either of Vishnu or of Surya. But according to convention an image of Vishnu has four hands instead of two, although Vishnu also holds a lotus in his left hand and has Lakshmi and Saraswati on his side. But a still stronger proof is that the female figure which is on the right side of the main figure has on its forehead a crescent moon with the conventional star over it. This is surely the sign of Sandhya (Evening) or Chhaya, the wife of the Sun God. The artist of Konarka was conscious enough to leave this mark lest it might be mistaken as an image of Lakshmi, the wife of Vishnu. So it can safely be concluded that the central figure is Surya, the female figure on the right Sandhya and the left one Sangya.

The way in which the image has been executed suggests that it can only be a presiding deity and not an image of the niches. The point is that there are no images in the niches to any of the temples of Orissa which have been carved out in a sitting posture. They are all standing. Although there is one figure in one of the niches at Konarka which is sitting, it is sitting only on horse-back. So it can well be considered to be standing as the horse is standing. Moreover, there are no niches to any temple of importance in the province which is without an image. The temple of Lingaraj has its Kartika, Ganesh and Parbati, the temple of Jagannath its Nrishimha, Baraha and Bamana and the Konarka temple its sun images in three different forms. I am inclined to think that this is the presiding deity of Konarka.

Why I think that it may be the presiding deity of Konarka is that there are no temples of any note in Orissa excepting the temples of Konarka and Raja Rani (at Bhubaneswar) which go without a presiding deity. The Raja Rani temple and its images belong to a

different school of architecture and differ greatly from those of the Konarka school. As such the present image which is so similar to the images at Konarka bears no resemblance to any of the images at Raja Rani. The pedestal in the Raja Rani temple is also too small for this image.

The strongest point in the direction is that the stone slab on which the image has been carved out coincides with the Bedi (altar) on the Ratna Simhasana (pedestal) of the main temple at Konarka, as they both measure 3 ft. 5 inches in width. The lower portion of the slab from which the present image has been carved out is Panch Rath. The Bedi at Konarka is also Panch Rath. Both of these Panch Rath portions are plain, having no ornamental work on them. Over and above, according to S. Bishan Swarup²—the Engineer in charge of restoration of Konarka—there was a stone block along the western side of the Bedi for the direct support of the presiding deity, which was also 3 ft. 5 inches in width. The block, though short of one layer of stone, measured 5 ft. in height. The image now discovered is headless. In spite of it the stone slab measures 4 ft. 4 inches in height. From this it can well be imagined that when the head portion of the image was there the slab must have measured more than 5 ft. This coincidence along with other points cannot be taken as accidental.



The image of the Sun God with the group

According to S. Bishan Swarup, Konarka was a Shivite temple. He writes³, "... the sun is taken as one of the eight forms of Shiva. In everyday worship, while making offerings to Shiva in different directions, he is invoked in the south-east direction as the sun. It may

² Konarka by Bishan Swarup p. 27.

³ Ibid, p. 65.

be mentioned . . . that Konarka is to the south-east of Bhubaneswar, the seat of Shaivism." The presence of a Shiva Lingam behind the right foot of the present image, while confirming Sj. Swarup's presumption, proves that it is the presiding deity of Konarka.

One more point is that the male worshipper on the right side of the image, who appears to be a king, has the mark of a crescent on his forehead. If we can take him to be Purandar Kesari, the builder of the temple of Konarka, then we can take this sign as an emblem of the Somavamsi Kesari kings. His moustaches are sharp and divided as that of a Kesari or lion.

From all these points mentioned above I conclude that this image of the god, which has been so superbly fashioned, and who sits so elegantly on a lotus throne with his two consorts beside him, is the Surya Narayan of Konarka and once illuminated the Ratna Simhasana as well as the Vimana of the great great Black Pagoda.

There are a number of books on Konarka, most of them being descriptive. As sufficient data were not forthcoming many of the writers have avoided going deep into the history of the temple, especially the whereabouts of the presiding deity. Fergusson and Rajendralal saw Konarka when it was but a heap of ruins. The only two authors who examined the subject from different aspects are Messrs Bishan Swarup and Krupasindhu Misra. The late Mr. Misra wrote his book in Oriya. These two authors have tried to prove certain images to be the presiding deity of Konarka, each in a different way. At the outset it may be mentioned that the present image was not discovered when they wrote their books.

Mr. Swarup tried to prove⁴ that Konarka was originally a place of Buddhistic worship, which the Hindus adopted. So in his opinion, the presiding deity, although came to be known as the Sun God, was really an image of Buddha. He said that the image of Buddha which is now inside the temple of the Sun within the enclosures of the temple of Jagannath is the presiding deity of Konarka. The late Misra was of opinion that Konarka was a place of Hindu worship from time immemorial and he thought that the stone image of the Sun inside the temple mentioned above is the presiding deity. They thought like this because it is mentioned in the Madala Panji (palm leaf chronicle of the temple of Jagannath) that Narasimha Dev, a king of the Bhoi Dynasty, who visited Konarka in 1627, at the time of his return brought with him the images of the Sun and the Moon and placed them inside the temple of Indra at Puri (the temple which is at present called the temple of Surya).

On reference to the Madala Panji⁵ I find no specific mention that Narasimha Dev brought the presiding deity of Konarka to Puri. Rather from the language of the Panji it can be inferred that he only brought any two images of the Sun and the Moon.

I infer on two grounds that Narasimha Dev did not bring the presiding deity of Konarka to Puri. The first ground as I have already dealt with, is that the real presiding deity has now been discovered and the second is that none of the images inside the temple of the Sun at Puri is suitable to be the presiding deity of Konarka.

It is also quite reasonable to think that Narasimha Dev did not bring the presiding deity to Puri. My point is that the presiding deity was not there when he visited

Konarka. If it was still there why should Narasimha Dev remove it to Puri causing abandonment to the place? Some say that Konarka was already abandoned when he visited the temple. They say, because Konarka had been profaned by the Yavanas (Muhammedans) the worship of the Sun God was discontinued and hence the temple was abandoned. But Konarka is not the only temple which was profaned by the Muhammedans. It is a historical fact that the temple of Jagannath had been profaned by the Muhammedans times without number. When Jagannath temple could be sanctified again and Jagannath re-installed why was Konarka abandoned for good?

Konarka was also not abandoned because the temple was in a ruinous state. This is proved from the fact that the temple was standing intact up to the *Amalaka Sila* (Weight Stone) when Narasimha Dev visited Konarka in 1627. He is said to have measured the height of the temple. The fact that the upper portion of the temple



The image in one of the niches of the temple of Konarka (main temple or Vimana)

was damaged even at the time of Narasimha Dev also corroborates the local tradition and the accounts of the Madala Panji that Kalapahara tried to destroy the temple of Konarka, but being unable to do so he took away the Dhruva and Kalasa after damaging the temple. If Kalapahara ravaged Konarka it is only in 1568 and Narasimha Dev visited the place in 1627. The difference is only 60 years. When till 1837 (when Fergusson visited it) 120 ft. of a wall of the main temple could remain standing, the decay of the temple when Narasimha Dev visited it must have been not very great.

Abul Fazl says in his history that there were 28 other temples at Konarka⁶ besides the temple of the Sun. It is also mentioned in the Madala Panji⁶ that when Narasimha Dev visited Konarka there were many smaller temples there which were in good condition. Why should then Narasimha Dev remove the presiding deity of Konarka to Puri? First of all, he should have repaired the temple of the Sun. If it was so dilapidated as not to be repaired he could have at least removed the deity to any of the smaller temples instead of taking

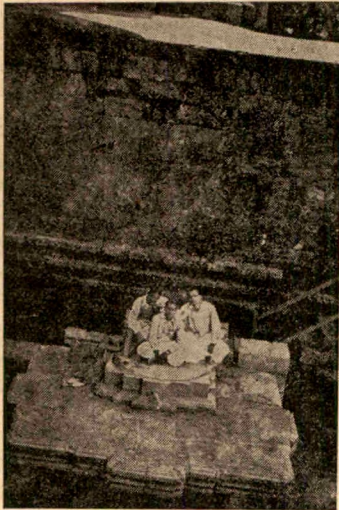
⁴ Konarka, by Bishan Swarup, chapter xi, p. 84.

⁵ Prachi, Gadgaon, p. 9. Prachi publication.

⁶ Konarka by Krupasindhu Misra, p. 397.

it to Puri and causing total abandonment to a sacred place like Konarka. So there must have been some graver reasons which compelled Narasimha Dev to remove the images of the Sun and the Moon to Puri. The reason in my opinion is that there was no presiding deity at Konarka when he visited the temple. For that reason the place was almost abandoned and Narasimha Dev removed only the metallic images (Chalanti Pratimas) to Puri.

My argument is that Kalapahara took away the Surya Narayan of Konarka, as he took away the image of Jagannath from Puri. He had a strong and malicious fancy for these presiding deities. It is a historical fact that on coming to Puri when Kalapahara learned⁷ that the image of Jagannath had been removed to the lake Chilka and hidden there, he personally went to the place and after plodding through water up to the waist took away the image. When he had been to Konarka it is quite probable that he took away the presiding deity of Konarka also, particularly when Konarka was at the time the pride of the Hindu world and Kalapahara was a renegade.



The pedestal inside the Viman with the altar (*vedi*) on which there was the presiding deity of the temple of Konarka

We have come to know the removal of Jagannath by Kalapahara because Jagannath was re-installed at Puri and there is a Madala Panji to write a sort of history of Jagannath. Even then, had it been normal times, Madala Panji would have also recorded the removal of the Sun God of Konarka: but from the history of Orissa we find that from 1568 to about 1588 Jagannath was not at Puri and the temple of Jagannath was in a state of abandonment. It is only when Ram Chandra Dev of Bhoi Dynasty became the king of Khurda that Jagannath was re-installed and His worship resumed.

Kalapahara is remembered to have damaged the images of almost all the big temples in Orissa. He took away the presiding deity of Puri. There is no image for the presiding deity of Bhubaneswar which would have

been taken away by him. Besides these two temples, the other temples of note in Orissa are those of Konarka and the Raja Rani (at Bhubaneswar). In both these places there are no presiding deities. Though Bhubaneswar has never at any time been abandoned, nobody can now say as to where the presiding deity of the Raja Rani temple has gone. It would not be unreasonable to think that the presiding deities of both these temples were taken away by Kalapahara. It may be assumed to be very probable as after the death of Mukunda Dev and all other claimants to the throne of Orissa Kalapahara got a free hand to ransack the whole territory.

Abul Fazl in his famous *Ain-i-Akbari* praised⁸ the temple of Konarka so much. I think he knew the state to which Konarka was reduced after the ruthless visit of Kalapahara. When he wrote that the walls of Konarka were 150 cubits high he perhaps meant that the walls of the temple without the *Amalaka Sila* were 150 cubits high. Because a Muhammedan had damaged such a beautiful temple as Konarka was, he cleverly avoided mentioning it.

He has given a description of the Nabagraha Slab in a very beautiful manner. He has also described the statue at the portals. The reason, perhaps, for his not giving any description of the presiding deity is that there was no presiding deity in the temple in his time. He wrote his history long before the visit of Narasimha Dev to Konarka in 1627 and certainly after the inroad of Kalapahara to Orissa.

The Muslim world of India at the time seems to have been well aware of the miserable state of Konarka and also the destruction of the presiding deity. It is evident from the fact that when Aurangzeb gave orders⁹ to destroy the image of Jagannath along with the temple and according to which order the image of Jagannath was sent to him at Bijapur, he did not give orders to destroy the image of the Sun and the temple at Konarka. Konarka was a fairly well-known place during Aurangzeb's rule.

Now I shall examine how the images inside the temple of Surya at Puri cannot be the presiding deities of Konarka.

In the temple of Surya at Puri there are at present four images. There are two metallic images of the Sun and the Moon who hold lotuses in their hands; there is an image of the Sun in stone with the conventional seven horses below, and the legless charioteer Aruna; there is a fourth image which is recognized by Sj. Bishan Swarup to be an image of Buddha, but the local priest knows it to be an image of Indra and worships it as such.

Besides the points that Narasimha Dev brought the presiding deity of Konarka to Puri and Konarka was a place of Buddhist worship Sj. Swarup says that the size of the Buddha as mentioned above approximately coincides with the size of the Bedi on the pedestal at Konarka. So he presumed the image to be the presiding deity. His presumption is no longer correct when an image of the Sun which coincides *fully* with the Bedi has been discovered.

The late Krupasindhu Misra was of opinion that Konarka was never a place of Buddhist worship. Hence the image of Indra, which Mr. Swarup calls to be that

⁷ *Journal of the B. & O. Research Society*, vol. xiii, 1927, p. 23.

⁸ *Hunter's Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 272 & 280.

⁹ *History of Orissa* by R. D. Banerjee, Vol. II, p. 60.

of Buddha, cannot be the presiding deity of Konarka. The late R. D. Banerjee agreed with him that the temple of Konarka was not dedicated to Buddha. Differing from Mr. Swarup the late Misra thought that the presiding deity of Konarka is the stone image of the Sun which is at present in the temple of Surya at Puri. As this image is of an inferior type from the point of sculpture, in comparison with the images at Konarka, he argued¹⁰ that Narasimha Dev, who built the present temple of Konarka in 1278 did not prepare a new image for the Sun God to be worshipped in his temple. He said that there was already an image of the Sun which was being worshipped from time immemorial. He pointed out that long before Narasimha Dev, Purandar Kesari of Kesari Dynasty had also built a temple for the Sun God at Konarka. He thought that Narasimha Dev only installed the old deity in the new temple. The point that the present temple of Konarka was built by Narasimha Dev of Ganga Dynasty and not Purandar Kesari of Kesari Dynasty is yet debatable.

However, his argument held good as long as it was accepted that Narasimha Dev of Bhoi Dynasty brought the presiding deity of Konarka to Puri and so long as the present image of ours was not discovered. Any way to meet his point I say that there are no presiding deities in any of the temples in Orissa which is not in keeping with the standard—both from the point of architecture and the height—of the temple. Not to speak of other temples, even in the temples of Siva, a bigger temple contains a bigger Shiva Lingam and a smaller temple a smaller one. The image of the Sun God at Puri is too small in size and not even in keeping with the pedestal of the temple of Konarka, not to speak of the temple itself.

The image at Puri is in a standing posture and there are the seven conventional horses along with the image. From the style of the temple of Konarka, which was built like a chariot (Rath) and where there were seven horses at the gate as if drawing the Rath, this image cannot be considered to be a suitable presiding deity. The image in the temple of the Sun at Konarka should be in a sitting posture as in the case of the image now discovered and it can never stand. There should not be the seven horses below the image. As there was a pillar for Aruna outside the temple at Konarka he (Aruna) cannot be again below the image of the sun as in the case of the image at Puri.

To support my point that the Sun God at Konarka cannot stand I mentioned that there is a relief of the Sun God in a cave at Khandagiri. The Sun God is depicted as being driven by his horses in a car. There he sits on the pedestal of the car with his two wives¹¹ beside him. So also, the relief in the temple of Biraja at Jajpur¹² shows that the Sun God sits in his car and does not stand.

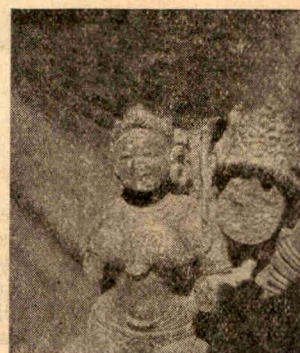
Above all, the stone block for the direct support of the presiding deity at Konarka was rectangular in shape and would coincide with the size of the image now discovered. It does not coincide with the image at Puri. Had this stone block been constructed for the support or even decoration of a presiding deity smaller in size as the image of Puri is, it would have been smaller in size or if bigger it must have been either semi-circular or of any other shape which would have added to the beauty of the deity as well as the pedestal.

Another and the most psychological point is that Narasimha Dev having constructed (if at all he built) such a magnificent temple as the Konarka temple is should not have been content with an image of the type now at Puri. If there was already Sun worship at Konarka before the present temple was built the builder must have at least carved out a new image quite befitting the temple and would have invited with all the ceremonies the Sun God from the old image to the new one. This practice of *abahana* of gods from old images to new ones is followed even up till now.

If the image at Puri is at all the presiding deity of Konarka then it may be the image of the older temple and which the priests were worshipping in the present temple after the removal of the real presiding deity by Kalapahara.



The image of Sangya on the left side of the main image



The image of Sandhya or Chhaya on the right side of the main image (mark the crescent on the forehead)

One more point is that in every other temple in Orissa the Sun God is worshipped. At Jajpur it is worshipped. At Bhubaneswar also the Sun God is worshipped¹³ in a separate temple. So it is quite natural that the temple of Jagannath, which is an assembly of all gods, should have a sun god and a temple intended for it. This might have been especially so when the temple of Jagannath was built at a time when sun-worship was quite popular in Orissa. So I think that the Sun image which is at present in the temple of Surya at Puri is an image originally intended for the temple of Puri.

The other two images in the temple of Surya at Puri are the metallic images of the Sun and the Moon. In my opinion these two images only were brought by Narasimha Dev from Konarka to Puri. The point is, if Narasimha Dev brought the stone image of the Sun from Konarka, wherefrom these metallic images came? They were certainly not there: why should the metallic images be there if previous to that date there were no presiding deities of the Sun or the Moon in that temple? On the other hand, if Narasimha Dev brought the metallic images along with the presiding deities where is the presiding deity of the Moon which he brought with him? So I conclude that Narasimha Dev brought from Konarka only these two metallic images (Chalanti Pratimas) from Konarka because there were no presiding deities there and placed them in the temple at Puri which was dedicated to the Sun God.

¹⁰ Konarka by K. Misra, p. 272.

¹¹ Konarka Mandir by Birendranath Roy, p. 5.

¹² Hunter's Orissa, Vol. 1, p. 285.

¹³ History of Orissa by R. D. Banerjee, Vol. II, p. 363.

From all these points examined above I consider that the image discovered is the real presiding deity of the temple of Konarka which was removed to Cuttack by Kalapahara.



The worshipper Purandar Keshari (?) (mark the crescent on his forehead, also the Siva Lingam beside the leg of the image)

Another reason why I conclude that the image was brought to Cuttack by Kalapahara is that the place wherefrom it was discovered is a place within the biggest Muhammedan locality of the town. There is just near the place the office building of Kadam Rassul (the most important Muslim memorial at Cuttack) ever since the mosque was built. It is said that the mosque was built during the reign of Jehangir. Moreover, the spot from which the image was dug out is just below a place where the Muhammedans of the locality hold their Akhada (training in wrestling etc). From the word

Akhada the pond from which the image was discovered derived its name "Akhada Pokhari." There is on the spot a *Pir*. Even now a red flag having the crescent on it always flies over a tree there.

As this has long been a Muslim area, it may be that the army of Kalapahara camped here, and in this locality, considering the importance of the place, the Muhammedans have settled. They might have been settling there since then as after Kalapahara's inroad, Cuttack all along remained in the hands of the Muhammedans. Since 1563 it has never come to be ruled by any Oriya king of the place again.

I imagine that Kalapahara brought the images of Jagannath, Surya Narayan, etc. to Cuttack first. As there were water-ways a country boat might have served his purpose. There were no direct inland water-ways from Cuttack to Bengal. The image of the Sun God is so heavy that it cannot be carried away by bullock carts or elephants. So when Kalapahara saw that it was quite impossible to carry the image as far as the Muslim capital in Bengal to display his vandalism there he broke the image into pieces and buried it in the place wherefrom it has now accidentally been found out after a lapse of almost four centuries. He carried away the image of Jagannath to make bonfire on the Ganges because it was a wooden one and accordingly lighter.

I invite the attention of all concerned and desire that the place wherefrom the image was discovered should be thoroughly excavated. It may be, we may get the head portion of the image out of the place. We may also get something more which will contribute substantially to the history of Orissa.

I also desire that the image as it is now should be removed to Konarka to be placed on the pedestal there. When the temple itself is broken we do not mind having a broken image in it.

BRITAIN'S WOOL TEXTILE INDUSTRY

By A. JOHNSON

Department of Textiles, Leeds University

For centuries Britain's pasture lands have supported countless flocks of sheep which, in turn, have furnished the people of Britain with mutton for food and wool for clothing. The value of wool was recognised very early in history, although in those early days its full advantages, such as strength, elasticity, ability to absorb moisture and resistance to burning, were little appreciated.

The supply of wool was more than sufficient to meet the needs of the people of Britain, while its quality was so superior to that of other countries that it soon became a valuable export. Even in those early days the natural skill of the British spinner and weaver were evident in the cloths they made. After a period of development, it was cloth that became the major export.

Cloth, however, was difficult to produce in sufficiently large quantities owing to the inability of the domestic spinner to supply the weaver with sufficient yarn. Hand-spinning was then still a primitive craft, employing few mechanical aids and relying upon a technique originated before the dawn of recorded history.

All this was changed however, when a poor Lancashire spinner invented a spinning machine which revolutionised the woollen industry. The British wool textile trade immediately expanded the quantity of the cloth improved, and British woollen cloths were exported to almost every country of the world. That invention also laid the foundations of a British textile machinery industry which has supplied spinning machines of the highest grade to every country in the world.

This early lead of the British textile machinist enabled him to specialise on the production of yarn from every type of wool, and his ingeniously constructed frames are being used in Commonwealth countries.

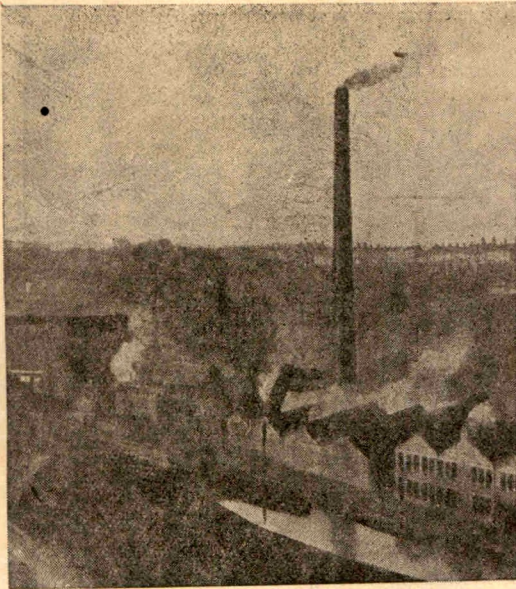
The principles of weaving, originated countless years ago, are still incorporated in the modern power loom. Many generations of British loom builders have devoted their lives to improving this important process and have evolved a machine which, within a shock-absorbing, long-lived frame, incorporates mechanisms sensitive enough to manipulate into cloth the finest woollen threads.

From this infinite variety of yarns, the designer of

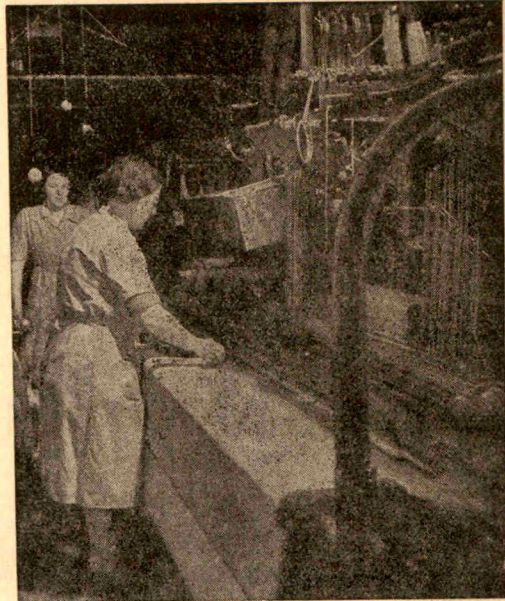
fabrics makes a selection which he uses as a palette in the creation of styles which have made British fabrics world-famous. His function is to co-ordinate the skill

of spinner, weaver, dyer and finisher, so that the resultant fabric justifies its reputation of being of the finest quality in the world.

So far, attention has been directed to processes and products rather than to operatives, but the importance of the latter must not be overlooked. They handle a



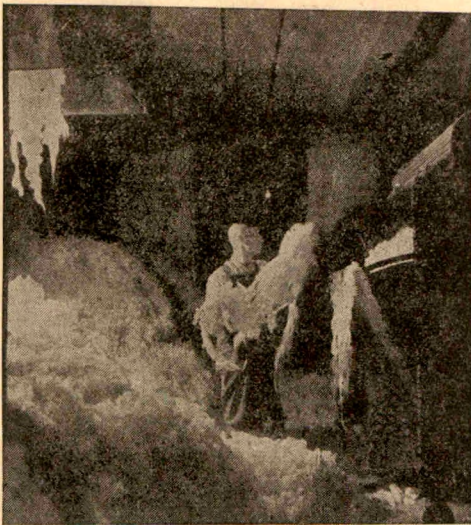
A typical layout of a wool factory in Yorkshire



An operative re-filling shuttles in the loom

raw material which is very easily affected during growth, and each batch of wool has peculiarities apparent only to the expert. Highly developed faculties enable the

of spinner, weaver, dyer and finisher, so that the resultant fabric justifies its reputation of being of the finest quality in the world.



The operative is feeding the cleansed wool into the carding machine which prepares the yarn for spinning



A typical girl weaver

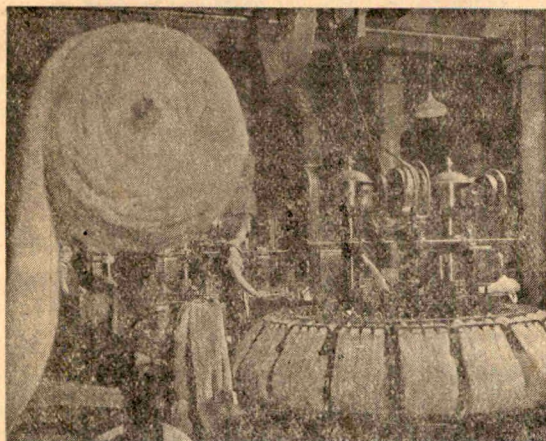
The researches of the colour chemist and the expertness of the dyer have brought about revolutionary changes in the colour and durability of effects produced on the woven fabric, and have in addition, made great economies in processing. A similar development has taken place in cloth finishing and nowadays British finishes have obtained world-wide recognition.

wool-sorter unerringly to select areas of a fleece in which the fibres differ by only a few thousandths of an inch diameter from those in neighbouring areas, and, in a similar way, the spinner can assess the maximum strain that a wool yarn can bear without breaking.

The spinner and weaver handle the most delicate threads with rapid dexterity, and the dyer and finisher readily perceive differences in colour so slight as to be

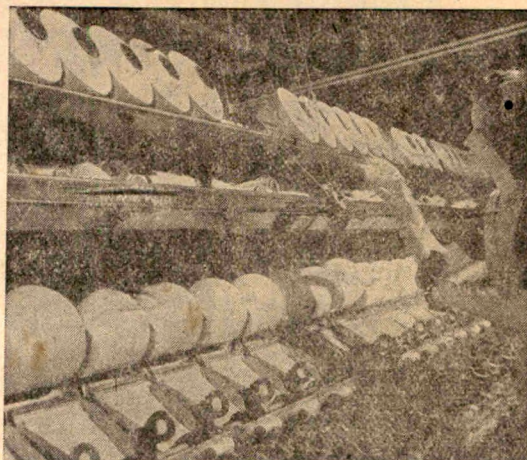
incomprehensible to the layman. The reputation of a product rarely becomes world-wide in one generation; thus such renowned fabrics as Scottish Tweeds, West of

tion can be even more widely spread. British textile machine manufacturers have improved the quality of their products by encouraging textile operatives to



The "noble comb," a complex machine which unerringly separates the long and short fibres of the yarn

England Woollens, and Huddersfield Suitings reflect the attention to detail of successive generations of British textile craftsmen.



The machine which winds the yarn on to "cones" for the knitting machines, used in the manufacture of hosiery

suggest mechanical refinements which can be incorporated in future machines.

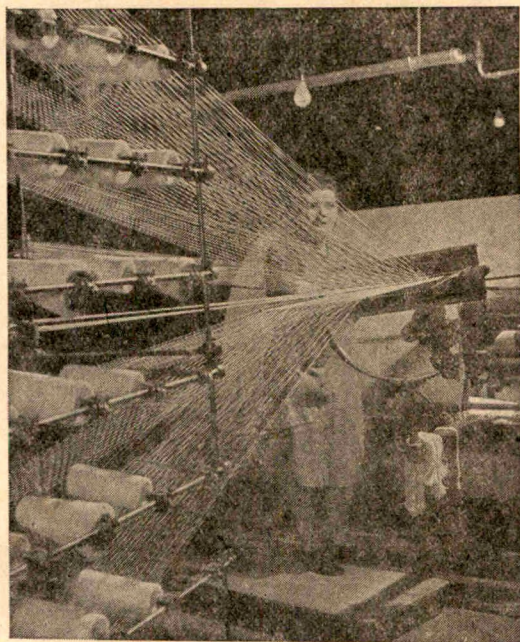
Vast reserves of best wool, equal to the production



This picture shows yarn on a doubling machine, a process often necessary in the manufacture of worsted yarns

The British wool trade is alive to the importance of fundamental research on the growth and structure of the wool fibre, the Dominions, Colonies and the mother country contributing great sums annually for this purpose. Many far-reaching discoveries have been made by this original British research; for example, wool can now be made unshrinkable without damaging its other desirable properties, thereby making a highly suitable material for knitted underwear, and, on other lines, the relationship of wool clothing to health has been definitely and firmly established.

Plans for post-war development are being worked out by the trade, and many firms are arranging for the rebuilding of their factories and their reorganisation on modern lines, so that, by reducing costs, wool consump-



The machine is spinning warp threads and the operative is watching it carefully for any breakages in the thread

of two or three normal years, have been accumulated, and will eventually be available for export to the world. The ranks of a quarter of a million pre-war British wool textile workers are depleted by war service, but experience has shown that young operatives trained in textiles gain a lasting affection for the trade which will obviate the risks of a labour shortage.

STRANGE BUT TRUE

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

Once upon a time, from 54 to 68 A.D. to be precise, reigned an Emperor in Rome, Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus by name, who has immortalised himself by his taste for music emanating from a particular class of stringed instruments. Whether he was himself the artist who raised this music or that he had a musician who swelled the raptures for him that could make him oblivious of worldly affairs of great import, is not definitely known. In any case, hearsay attributes to him the credit of being able to drown himself in ecstasy when events that would have driven monarchs with weaker nerves to madness were taking place around the Royal Court. This great Emperor is said to have been fiddling when a great fire broke out on the night of July 18, 64, in the capital of the Roman Empire and spread in all directions, north, south, east, and west and furiously raged for six days and nights. According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*:

"In Christian tradition Nero even appears as the mystic Anti-Christ, who was destined to come once again to trouble the saints. Even in the middle ages, he was still the very incarnation of splendid iniquity, while the belief lingered that he had only disappeared for a time, and as late as the 11th century his restless spirit was supposed to haunt the slopes of the Pincian Hill."

II

The causes of the last famine have been discussed in the pages of *The Modern Review* in the course of a series of articles on the subject, but it seems that they have not been exhaustive because proper assessment of the gravity of each of the causes could not have been made for want of a comprehensive knowledge about them. Much light is needed for this purpose. Proper scanning of Government correspondence and confidential notes, when published, will be necessary for judging facts in all their implication.

Reports are almost daily appearing in the press of huge stocks of foodgrains having been rendered unfit for human consumption, in *Government godowns*, due to bad storage, want of care for their timely use and a lot of other causes. These foodstuffs were secured through Government agents who had the discretion of fixing the maximum price all to themselves. Some of these foodstuffs had been purchased at controlled rates under Government order from agriculturists who subsequently died for want of food, or grains sold by the Central and/or the other Provincial governments on which every Shylock had his share of the pound of flesh. These transactions over grains, according to the Auditor-General to the Government of India and the Accountant-General, Bengal, are in at least some cases, of doubtful value and they do not satisfy even the minimum requirements of financial scrutiny. It is not unlikely that many other disclosures of a more startling nature might be forthcoming on some future date. In support of my contention I quote a passage from the report of the Officer on Special Duty, Mr. Butler (d. 16. 12. 44.), which runs as follows:—

"In no food administration is there complete absence of any bribery and corruption" and that "another aspect, more serious perhaps than bribery and corruption, is that of petty harassment by minor officials. That it goes on to a fairly extensive degree there is no doubt That Provincial and State Governments do not, generally speaking, take sufficient specific steps in this direction, is, I am afraid, a fact."

"And why is this?" we ask.

Leaving aside for the present moment consideration of the audit notes or other aspects of the case, we are more concerned with actual loss of foodgrains which when properly utilised might have saved thousands of human lives, firstly, by keeping down the price of

marketed foodgrains and secondly, by being available for direct consumption to those that have died of starvation.

On February 1, 1944, serious allegations were made in the Bengal Legislative Assembly about wastage of rice in the Botanical Gardens and at several station platforms in the Jessore District. The Hon'ble Mr. Suhrawardy, the Bengal Civil Supplies Minister, referring to the "stacks of paddy that had been lying on the Jessore railway platforms" said that "they had been trying to move them but they did not succeed because they could not get wagons." Sir Edward Benthall, the Transport Member to the Government of India, replied to this veiled attack on him on February 28, 1944, in the Central Legislative Assembly in these words:

"Movements of foodgrains in Bengal are arranged in accordance with programmes prepared by the Bengal Government and this paddy was not included in these programmes."

How the Hon'ble Mr. Suhrawardy reacted to this statement I am not in a position to state.

The now famous Botanical Gardens stock had a more chequered career. That the stock had been deteriorating was mentioned by non-official members of the Bengal Assembly on Feb. 1, 1944. On the 14th idem, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, in moving an adjournment motion, supported his arguments "by physical demonstration of some samples which he proposed to present to the members of the Assembly and to the Hon'ble Ministers." He said, "There are worms and insects moving about inside the box" which he held aloft in his hand. He had with him reports of eminent food analysts of Calcutta, including Dr. J. B. Grant, to the effect that the foodgrains had been emitting foul stench, were full of worms, vermins and insects and had become completely decomposed and in consequence, absolutely unfit for human consumption. Regarding "the stench of the rice stored at Botanical Gardens," on the 10th of March, 1944, the P.S. to the Chief Minister, wrote in reply to a letter on the subject of S. J. Mrinal Kanti Bose, Associate Editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* "that a similar complaint was made by Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, and the Hon'ble Chief Minister on a personal inspection of the place found the complaint baseless." (Italics mine).

On Sept. 4, 1944, several newspapers of Calcutta published photographs of fully loaded lorries with such captions as:

"Thousands of bags of half-decomposed foodstuffs have been removed by about 200 motor lorries and thrown into marshy lands in the Howrah-Belgachia dumping ground, five miles from Howrah Station . . . the foodstuffs were being removed from the Botanical Gardens."

Some of the Famine Commissioners visited the place in the middle of September 1944 and witnessed things for themselves.

As regards the quantity, I have to depend on the statement of the Hon'ble the Food Member made on Nov. 15, 1944, in the Central Assembly to the effect that

"Out of 120,000 tons of foodgrains that passed through the depot, 3,000 tons or 2½ p.c. were damaged in the Sibpur Botanical Gardens."

Let the readers judge if 3,000 tons of decomposing foodstuffs do emit any stench or not and let them draw their own inference as to who was right: Dr. Mookerjee or Sir Nazimuddin? And about the quantity itself, there is room for holding different views.

On Sept. 19, 1944, the *Associated Press* reported that

"Over 75,000 mds. of 'atta' and 71,000 mds. of flour, which are considered unfit for human consumption, are now lying with Government stockists in Calcutta."

I shall not try to gauge what consolation the relatives of those that are gone will receive from the comforting news that 146,000 mds. of sizing materials, were available for use, from the decomposed foodstuffs mentioned above.

A message from Khulna, dated the 16th September and published on the 19th idem, disclosed that the Provincial headquarters of the Hindu Mahasabha had received news that

"Hundreds of bags of rice and 'atta' belonging to the Supply Department of the Bengal Government are lying in some parts of the Khulna Railway Colony."

The *United Press* reported on Oct. 21, 1944, to the press on the strength of information supplied by Mr. Monoranjan Chowdhury, Secretary, Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, that

"80,000 mds. of foodstuffs including wheat, atta, rice and gram are lying decomposed in the Government godowns at Hajiganj, Godnyle and Sitalakya in Narayanganj in the district of Dacca."

On Oct. 24, 1944, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* published the following as a news item:

"A curious case of wheat transaction, it is understood, has come to the notice of the Anti-hoarding and Anti-profiteering Branch of the Detective Department of the Calcutta Police.

"It is said the Civil Supplies Department sold 3,000 mds. of rejected wheat to a Marwari merchant at Rs. 4 per md. The Marwari, it appears, resold the whole quantity to certain Government food purchasing agents at Rs. 20 per md., making a net profit of Rs. 48,000."

The irate Civil Supplies Department came out with a contradiction (Press Note: Nov. 7, 1944) saying that it was true that 3,000 mds. of "deteriorated wheat, unsuitable for human consumption," were sold to a Marwari merchant," but not at Rs. 4 per md. but at Rs. 3-4, "for manufacture of starch." And about the quality of the disposed-of wheat, the Cereals Adviser to the Government of Bengal reported

"that the wheat was very old, damaged and musty with a heavy percentage of burnt grains." and "that even if the undamaged grains were specially treated there was danger that any flour or 'atta' manufactured from them would be tainted." (Italics mine).

(Please mark the words "specially treated," Dear Reader, because the present Bengal Government have devised means for specially treating or reconditioning of grains, a momentous discovery indeed (!), through which the grains, which are already devoid of food value and a fruitful source of disease, assume a deceptive appearance and are sold to the public).

The Press Note substantially confirmed the news item with the only difference that

"The story that Dataram Beniram (the merchant in question) resold the wheat to a Government food purchasing agent at Rs. 20 a md. is entirely fictitious."

(Still the question remains: "Did Dataram sell it at a lower price?")

Nevertheless, it is admitted that 3,000 mds of grains were allowed to become old, damaged and musty and quite unfit for human consumption.

The Hindu Mahasabha was also responsible for the news published on Oct. 25, 1944, that

"About 20 merchants . . . were ordered from the office of the Dy. Director of Civil Supplies, Region VI Dacca, by Memo No. 2793 (R. VI) to show cause why their license should not be cancelled for inability to deposit price of 10,000 mds. of rice each from Narayanganj stock which was allotted to them by Order 34(8)." The quantity of rice in stock at Narayanganj was estimated at about two lakh mds. of the "Sibpore Botanical Garden Quality" i.e., either removed from that place or as bad as the deteriorated rice found at the Botanical Gardens. There was feeble attempt by the Food Member in the Central Assembly to contradict

this report, but a rejoinder by the Secretary, Hindu Mahasabha, issued in the *Nationalist* on the 23rd Nov. 1944, containing full text of the government orders put the matter at rest.

On Oct. 31, 1944 (published in the *Hindusthan Standard* on the 5th November) the *Associated Press* reported that

"1,230 mds. of atta were seized from a local shop by the Hooghly-Chinsurah Municipality and subsequently destroyed as it was found unfit for human consumption."

On Nov. 7, 1944, (vide the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 10th idem) the *United Press* reported from Jalpaiguri that the Dy. Commissioner of that place invited tenders for sale of about 2,000 mds of deteriorated foodstuffs . . . lying in Government godowns. On the 11th November the Calcutta newspapers printed advertisements of the Civil Supplies Department for disposal of 100,000 mds. of gram. According to the *Associated Press* correspondent at Rangpur (published on the 15th Nov.) the Asst. Director of Civil Supplies advertised for disposal of 11,777 mds. of wheat, etc., of "a deteriorated quality" and a Burdwan news of the 14th November, supplied by the *United Press*, disclosed that the Municipal authorities had seized 700 bags of atta "said to be totally unfit for human consumption" on the previous morning and had posted police before the sealed doors of godowns to prevent any chance of smuggling.

On Nov. 30, 1944, the Hon'ble the Food Member stated that out of the rice purchased by the Central Government, in keen competition with the provincial governments, not less than 30,000 mds. were lost. The most profitable use that could be made, according to the Director General of Food, of the stuff was that a portion of this was "buried as they could not be used for any purpose" and another portion was "disposed of for brewing local beer as it was not fit for consumption as food."

"On Dec. 2, 1944, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* published a news despatched from Munshiganj (Dacca) on Nov. 30, to the effect that

"About 8,000 mds. of atta valued at Rs. 80,000 is lying in a decomposed condition in the Government godowns at Kamalaghat and has become quite unfit for human consumption."

The *Associated Press* reported from Noakhali on Dec. 7, 1944, (published on the 11th idem) that about 850 mds. of decomposed atta was sold at four annas a maund "on the distinct understanding" that the same should be used "as manure or fodder only." It further reported that

"Several thousand maunds of decomposed atta have similarly been rotting in the Government godowns at Choumohani and other places."

The vernacular weekly of Noakhali, *Desh Vani* in a recent issue wrote that it was alleged that the said atta, sold at four annas a maund, had been selling at Rs. 2-4 at Choumuhani and at Rs. 5 in the interior villages. It states that the law is helpless if the shopkeeper sells the atta at a price lower than Rs. 12-8. It was further alleged that the said atta was being sold for mixing it with atta selling at Rs. 12-8 and used in making pudding, *nimki* and other *khabars* (prepared edibles).

So late as Dec. 20, 1944, (published on the 23rd) the *Hindusthan Standard* correspondent wrote from Naogaon (Rajshahi) that

"About 2,833 mds. of atta are lying here decomposed and tenders have been invited by the S.D.O. for purchasing the entire stock. It is stated that the stock purchased should be sold by the purchasers as fodder and not for human consumption.

"Of the stocks of 1,393 bags of atta (93 bags contain 2½ mds. each and the rest 2 mds.) 83 bags are lying at Atrai godown and 1,300 bags at Naogaon."

These are some of the many instances of wastage of foodstuffs and there may be many more which have not yet seen the light of publicity. It is to be remembered that long before the instances here related, were known to the public, the Calcutta newspapers, particularly the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* had been publishing from time to time, short notes on sale of "damaged" grains since October 1943. It was natural to expect that the Bengal Government had taken ample steps to prevent deterioration of the stored foodstuffs any further but the present disclosures surely make a painful reading.

III

In addition to huge waste of foodgrains, there is the story of deteriorated stocks being brought to the markets and "rammed down the throats" of unwilling purchasers in Bengal. It is known on the authority of members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly for Dinajpur and Bankura and a prominent rice merchant of Calcutta that huge Government stocks remained undisturbed till March 1944, i.e., even a few months after the famine had ravaged Bengal. These stocks are in evidence everywhere and are being sold through the device of rationing where the Government hold the monopoly of selling foodstuffs at a price as high as Rs. 16-4 in Calcutta. Left to themselves the people would not touch it at Re. 1 per md. The rice sold in rationed stores in many cases is of a "shockingly poor quality" and some specimens bear a high percentage of pebbles with dirt as much. The stench that the rice emits, when it is boiled, bears testimony to bad storage and a considerable deterioration in quality verging on complete decomposition. After an elaborate tour of the Chittagong, Chandpur, Munshiganj, Narayanganj, Dacca, Barisal and Khulna districts, Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, M.L.C. (Central) issued a statement to the Press on Sept. 17, 1944, extracts from which read as follows:

"There is a general complaint with regard to the quality of the rice and atta sent by the Government to the deficit districts. I was shown ample samples of rice which contained an appreciable quantity of grit and husk. This is not the only grievance of the people. They complain that on many occasions they have had to buy rice which had obviously deteriorated considerably. . . . The general view is that 1942 rice is being distributed now. People bitterly remarked to me that the food supplied by Government was as serious a danger to public health as the mosquito.

"The complaint is almost universal that it (atta) is very old and actually contains worms. The samples shown to me seem to justify the complaints of the consumers, . . . In view of the public dissatisfaction

with the quality of the atta supplied in Calcutta and the large quantity of rotten foodgrains recently thrown away by Government the complaints in the deficit districts cause no surprise."

Further comment is superfluous.

IV

According to the Government of Bengal (vide *Famine and the Government*) "23.9 million people were most severely affected by the distress, 4.5 millions were badly affected and 12 millions were affected to some extent." These give a total of 40.4 millions of people affected by the distress in varying degrees. We are also told that 1,500,000 mds. of foodgrains were distributed free and 110,000,000 number of meals were given to the sufferers from the free kitchens. It is not likely that all the 23.9 million people most severely affected resorted to free doles or to free meals; but it is also quite likely that sufferers from the other two categories filled up the number that did not turn up for free help from the first category. In any case the number cannot be less than 23.9 millions who were in need of help from the Government and for whom, the benign Government of Bengal made such elaborate arrangements for relief. We find on calculation that the 1,500,000 mds. of rice provided five chittaks per capita per month during the period of seven months when the famine raged furiously in Bengal. It further provided 4.1 meals of special menu, containing more than 80 per cent of water, 3 per cent of rice, 7 per cent of jowar or bajri, and the rest vegetables of all kinds (except potato) during a whole month for each person during the same period. Over (i) medical relief, (ii) water supply and (iii) other matters, the Government spent a sum of Rs. 75,00,000 during 1943 for all classes of sufferers. It means that a magnificent sum of 4.5 pies per capita per month was spent by the Government, which the Government in its magnanimity consider it to be a "striking figure." In a sense, it was so!

The estimated death due to famine alone is over fifty lakhs and it is no wonder that it was not higher. On Nov. 8, 1944, Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutt, the Deputy Speaker, in the Central Assembly could not understand "why food must be stored up when thousands were starving; nor could he understand how decomposition of food was not detected early enough. Decomposition did not take place in the twinkling of an eye."

He characterised the administration as "indifferent, irresponsible, callous and as rotten as the food supplied by them."

Justice demands that there should be sifting enquiry into the matter and the culprits publicly impeached, charged with if not for murder itself, at least, for culpable homicide not amounting to murder.

THE LATE HANS MAGHRAJH OF NATAL

By SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL

It was a painful surprise and an unexpected shock flung on me when I received a cable from Shri B. A. Maghrajh of Durban announcing the news of the premature death of his beloved son, Hans Maghrajh, the former Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress. People in this country cannot easily realise how sorely Hans will be missed by the Indians in Natal. In the demise of this energetic young man the parents have lost one of their noblest sons, the Indian community one of their shining jewels and all those who knew him, a friend warm-hearted, honest and genuine. With me, it is a personal loss. It is sad to think that at a time when the richness of his experience, the keenness of his intellect and above

all his singleminded devotion to duty promised to give the community his best, we should have been deprived of the benefit of his great qualities. Although recently I strongly disapproved of his resignation from the secretaryship of the Natal Indian Congress and his subsequent statement explaining the cause of his hasty action, that unfortunate incident did not affect our personal relation.

The second of the five sons of Shri B. A. Maghrajh, an Indian leader of Natal, Hans was born at Durban in 1909 and breathed the atmosphere of Arya Samaj in his family. He received his primary education in the Higher Grade Government Indian School of Durban. After leaving school he entered the estate agency

business and soon after established his own firm under the name of Hans Maghraj and Company. He was the estate, financial, insurance, and general agent and also the Government licensed appraiser, and was the first and only Indian land-auctioneer in Natal.

His public activities were varied and manifold. He was the secretary of the Natal Indian Congress for more than two years; assistant secretary of the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha; general secretary of the Durban Arya Samaj and the Young Men's Arya Samaj; secretary of the first Natal Division of the St. John Ambulance Association; treasurer of the Indian Hospital Advisory Committee, secretary of the Ward 5 Indian Ratepayers Association and the Institute of Natal Indian Real Estate Agents; member of the Durban Town Planning Association; vice-president of the Avondale Football Club and donor of the Hans Maghraj Christian Stamp Fund in aid of Tuberculosis Hospital. In short, he was interested in many public affairs of Natal.

The blow to me is too fresh to let me realize its full significance. In his premature death we have lost an ardent political worker and a capable social reformer. A successful business man of notable acumen, he brought his common sense to bear on all problems that

came up for consideration before public organisations. His passionate patriotism, his liberty of outlook and tenderness of heart, his tenacity and industry, earnestness and persuasive powers, and above all, his selfless services were the remarkable features of his character. When occasion required it, as at the time of the unprecedented commotion among our people created by the formation of a new association to supersede the Natal Indian Congress, he showed his powers of courageous leadership and firm determination.

What more can I say of Hans? Both as a business man and a public worker, he made his mark even in these days of racial discrimination in South Africa. At the age of thirty-five Hans had already passed through a glorious life. If only he had been spared longer, what a great boon he should have proved to be to the Indians of Natal!

Who knows, the Divine Architect, in His great design may have assigned him a still more important role to play which we may not even comprehend! Therefore, in offering my heartfelt sympathy to his parents and family, I commend these comforting lines to them from the holy Gita:—"As a man, casting off worn-out garments, taketh new ones, so the dweller in the body, casting off worn-out bodies, entereth into others that are new."

INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

By MANILAL GANDHI

THE Residential Property Regulation Draft Ordinance which is being rushed through the Natal Provincial Council post-haste ere India has an opportunity to discuss it in the Central Legislative Assembly now sitting in New Delhi has created a great deal of consternation among Indians in South Africa and indignation throughout India. This new Draft Ordinance is to replace the Natal Occupation Control Ordinance which had resulted from the so-called Pretoria Agreement. So we had first the "Pegging" Act, passed by the Union Parliament, which aimed at establishing separate areas for Indians outside which they may neither reside nor occupy nor acquire ownership of landed property. This Act was condemned and rejected *in toto* by the Indian community as establishing the principle of statutory segregation thereby committing a flagrant breach of the Cape Town Agreement both in the letter and in spirit. Later certain leaders of the Natal Indian Congress succumbed to the temptation of safeguarding vested interests and showed their preparedness to sacrifice a long-cherished principle for a few paltry material gains and entered into the so-called Pretoria Agreement with General Smuts, the Prime Minister of the Union, just on the eve of the latter's departure for England to attend the Conference of the Dominion Prime Ministers. I call this Agreement so, because it was entered into without the knowledge and consent of the Indian community whose rights were being sacrificed. Under the Pretoria Agreement the destiny of two hundred thousand Natal Indians was placed in the hands of the Natal Provincial Council, though they were supposed to be Union nationals. In reality, however, they are not accepted as such. Aliens such as the Jews, the Greeks, the Syrians, the French Creoles and even Germans are full-fledged Union nationals enjoying full rights of citizenship and an equal voice in the democratic Government of the country but not Indians though they are British subjects. They are being sat upon today in Natal particularly, not by the Boers but by the British who have always evinced more respect for the Union Jack than for the Union Flag. This is the tragedy of the whole thing. This is, however, by the way.

Coming to the point at issue, the Draft Occupation Control Ordinance which was the outcome of the Pretoria Agreement was to be a provincial legislation aimed at putting into effect the segregation part of the Pegging Act and restoring to the Indian community the right of acquiring ownership of landed property outside segregated areas for investment purposes only. This concession purchased by Indians at a very heavy price did not satisfy the anti-Indian Europeans who carried on a strong agitation and the Present Residential Property Regulation Draft Ordinance is the outcome of that agitation.

The new features introduced in this Ordinance are (1) that even for investment purposes Indians will have only restricted rights to own landed property outside segregated areas and (2) that the Ordinance will apply not only to Durban but to the whole province. There was provision, however, in the Draft Occupation Control Ordinance for it too is to be applied to other parts of the Province if found necessary. So the difference in the Present Ordinance is one of degree, which has led the Indian community to take exception to it and to declare it as constituting a breach of the Pretoria Agreement. There is no doubt that if there were no unscrupulous Europeans to sell to Indians there would have been no greedy Indians to purchase properties in European localities and the introduction in the new Ordinance of the intervention of the Housing Board in the transactions of such properties is to afford protection against such unscrupulous European sellers.

The point that India has to consider, however, is not whether the present Ordinance is better or worse than the one drafted under the Pretoria Agreement. It is the principle underlying it—establishing of the policy of statutory segregation. The "Pegging" Act is the root evil and it should be clearly understood that it is to remain on the Statute Book for emergency purposes. Its application will be withdrawn to the extent that the proposed Ordinance succeeds in achieving the object desired. No sooner does it fail to do so than the "Pegging" Act may at any moment be put into force. The position today is that the principle has been

sacrificed and in our over-anxiety to grab whatever material interests we possess we are losing ground inch by inch. In my humble opinion and I have no doubt it is the opinion of all those Indians in South Africa who are viewing this question not from the narrow materialistic point, but from the point of view of national self-respect, it is the duty of the Government of India and it is the duty of the people of India to bring pressure upon the Government of India to view the question from the broader point of view of India's national honour. If Indian nationals in South Africa are not willing to view the question from that standpoint and are prepared to sacrifice their souls for petty material gains, then they have no right to look to India for any help. They are spoiling the fair name of their motherland and they should be allowed to look after themselves as best as they can, India can and should look after the needs of Indians outside India, consistently with her national honour. She cannot under any circumstances sacrifice that.

What India has to consider, therefore, is whether the 1927 Cape Town Agreement has any meaning at all. Recent history of Indians in South Africa tells us that it has been treated as a scrap of paper by the Union Government. Its very basis was that India was opposed to the principle of statutory segregation and that those Indians born and domiciled in South Africa who are prepared to adopt the western standard of life shall be treated as nationals, allowed to stay there as self-respecting citizens and afforded every opportunity for their upliftment. That was the spirit of the Cape Town Agreement. It is now being said that it is not the labouring class but the more affluent section of the community that is a menace and that separate areas for them should be established where they could reside, trade and expand. In other words, as long as Indians remain 'hewers of wood and drawers of water,' they can be tolerated but not if they stand equal with the South African Whites. Speaking to the Transvaal Provincial Congress United Party in Johannesburg, General Smuts is reported to have said: "White South Africa is big, strong and honest enough to do justice to all races and all colours and we shall do so taking into consideration our known attitude of separatism in housing work circles and associations." This clearly means that the Prime Minister supports residential and industrial segregation which is entirely contrary to the spirit and the letter of the Cape Town Agreement. The recent reports from South Africa go to show that the Union authorities are determined to establish the policy of

segregation by means of a series of Ordinances and under the cloak of Town Planning Scheme not only in Natal but throughout South Africa. The Commissioner for Immigration and Asiatic Affairs is reported to have stated recently that, "Asiatics will not have segregation but we have to achieve the same end by laying out land for their occupation and not calling it segregation." It has also been reported that several miles away from Johannesburg city it is proposed to establish an Indian township. This is a serious matter and it should be tackled by India at its very root. It needs to be remembered that these things are being done just when a Judicial Commission is still engaged in inquiring into the whole Indian question in Natal in all its aspects.

What does all this mean if not utter disregard for the feelings and sentiments not only of the voteless and voiceless two hundred and fifty thousand Indians of South Africa but also of the four hundred million people of India. Something more than indulging in empty talk of applying sanctions against the wrong-doer is needed. Such talk without effective action only makes matters worse for the Indian settlers in South Africa. Immediate steps should be taken to review the Cape Town Agreement and if it is proved that it is, as it appears to be, but a scrap of paper there is no purpose in maintaining the Indian High Commissioner's Office in that country. The ten thousand odd pounds wasted in maintaining it could be put to much better use. The High Commissioner should be forthwith recalled as a protest against this wanton insult to the national honour of India. The Indian Congress in South Africa had unanimously passed a resolution calling upon the Indian Government to recall the High Commissioner but the Indian Government has ignored the voice of the Congress. Apart from being a lucrative post for the Government's favoured ones the High Commissioner's Office serves no purpose at all. India is under a foreign Government, and until she gets her freedom, the position of Indians settled in other parts of the British Empire will continue to deteriorate. The Japanese who are Asiatics—and the racial laws of the Union of South Africa apply equally to all Asiatics—were given preferential treatment prior to the war and the Chinese are given preferential treatment at present, on the ground that China is a powerful ally of the British Empire. The British Government is vocal enough in praising India's war efforts but where her rights and self-respect are concerned, India is made to understand that she is but a handmaid of the Empire and that Britain cannot be expected to stand by her against a self-governing Dominion.

THE CONQUERING WILL

By THE NAWAB BAHADUR OF MURSHIDABAD

Abandoned joy for sorrow's sake,
Think lightly or never mind,
Its return is not at stake,
Revive it must you will find.

None ever in anguish remain,
A lesson learnt through despair,
Disconcerting thoughts disdain,
Of ill-fated probe beware.

Things are not as they appear,
Deception leads the mind to grief,
False hope creates always fear,
Misleading to a righteous belief.

To everchanging times on earth
The lot of man is prescribed;
Face this he must from his birth,
Patience may be sorely tried.

Any footprints of happenings past,
Which flight of ages has not left,
Ever their undying impression last
Tho' of their inspiration bereft.

When seeking the height of truthfulness
With redoubled energy to acquire;
To overcome greed's hollowness,
If solace of mind you require.

To danger leads the path to evil,
From its participation forbear,
Jeopardise not your life in peril,
Followed by many a silent tear.

Misfortune's sure sign of reinstallation,
In expectation speed ahead,
However bent by care's agitation
Evoke His blessings instead.

ROMAIN ROLLAND

By Prof. SUNIL KUMAR BOSE, M.A.

GEOGRAPHICALLY there is only one France, but intellectually, there are two; the France of Racine and other litterateurs, and the France of Rousseau. Romain Rolland belonged to the latter. He represents that unique idealistic urge which made France the meet nurse for some of the greatest revolutions of history. His early worship of great men was characterised by a passionate fondness for the protagonists of the French Revolution, who remain embalmed in his immortal love, in his early plays. The ideas of the Revolution never left him, and with the ripening of his mind, he imbibed them with greater passion.

As a literary artist, he represents a break with the tradition of the 19th century French literature, that of an aimless, vagrant naturalism that subsisted in vacuum. He cultivated closer contact with life than could the easy-going, literary photography ensure. He sought for life in its rudiments, in its eternal quest for what is permanent. The naturalism which only touches the fringe of life, is born in the marsh, and betrays, with illusory illumination. Rolland wanted to discover the light that never fails, radiating from the inmost depth of soul. The delicate shades of thought, the suppleness and refinement of intelligence, qualities which are typical of French genius, were neither his forte nor his goal. Literary finesse had, from his youth, become a non-conductor of his imagination. It is the flow of soul, whether in life or in literature, which has always kindled his genius. He never cared, as did Gustav Flaubert, "to sit out the entire day with head between your hands beating your unfortunate brains for a word." For words came to him naturally and spontaneously, charged with the deepest spiritual force and profound passion. He was more affiliated to the spirit of Russian literature than to that of the French, and Russia is the country, and her cause the cause, which fired his imagination with prophetic expectation and hope of glorious fulfilment, and to which he never tired of reverting afterwards.

As a man of literature, his position is undisputed and universal. His *John Christopher* has aptly been characterised by Edmund Gosse, as "the noblest work of fiction of the 20th century." In the above work he has re-introduced the vogue of biographical novel, as popularised by Butler and Dickens. Here also, the deliberate formlessness and want of cohesion are un-French, from the literary point of view. The influence of this kind of novel had been very extensive in modern literature, and I shall mention only one of its kind, a worthy successor of *John Christopher*, namely, the "Thibaults" series of R. M. DuGard. Christopher, like his creator, is an unhappy idealist, vowed to a life of truth and sincerity, of which he finds a complete deficit in his environments. The story is a veiled discussion of the moral and intellectual activities of modern times, and is autobiographical also, to some extent. The hero, like the author himself, was an exile from his own country and sojourned in Switzerland, the Mecca of internationalism. The ideas on force, militarism and war, are Rolland's own ideas. "Think with courage" is the motto of the group of truth-seekers whose rendezvous was the salon of the Italian lady Grazia, in whom the hero found the Shelleyan shadow of the idol of his thought. That was the motto of Rolland also.

The Soul Enchanted is another of his gigantic novels. Here also we have the same search for truth and sincerity through a confusing maze of errors and hypocrisy. Rolland's novels are epical in scale like the life they portray. He does not see life in detached fragments, but life in its epic comprehensiveness is his subject-matter; he sees it steady and sees it whole.

The two persons who utilised the doctrines of Tolstoy with profit were Gandhi and Rolland; and the latter recaptured their essence in literature also. His

early experiments in drama were inspired by Tolstoy, and his hero, John Christopher, leads a life according to Tolstoyan principles, as it were. From Tolstoy again, like Gandhi, he derived his tenets of pacifism, his belief in non-resistance. Next to Gandhi, Rolland is the greatest force for the moral regeneration of the world, and next to him again, he is the greatest example of living sincerity. "The moral force which Rolland possesses is a courage unexampled in the history of modern literature,"—says his admiring biographer Zeweig. And this courage had been stubbornly manifest in life as well as in literature. His bold departure from the tradition of his country was as typical of him as his prophetic utterances for the moral regeneration of the world. The poet and the prophet have shaken hands in him and Rolland the man is as truly himself as is Rolland the writer. The result is that the artist has been liberated from the cramp and confinement of literary ambition and merged in the *Weltschmerz*. He has ceased to be a mere literary figure; he belongs to history and his life is a dynamic fragment in the universal chronicle of human progress.

Romain Rolland then is much more than a mere novelist. Even in his early days, when he was still busy courting the Muse in Parnassian haunts, he had already developed that moral stamina which was to become his blessing and his bane. Dream of the great men, not of the soft-eyed belles, was the dream, in which he spent his youth and from which he never really awakened. One of his characters in his *Triumph of Reason* says, "Our first duty is to be great and to defend greatness on earth." With this solemn vow he prepared for his life's crusade in which he failed but failed with singular success.

1914. "John Christopher" had already been born in a world of chaos and spiritual unrest. Now more than ever Europe seemed to be unfit for a spirit like Rolland's. A self-exile in Geneva, he looked, with intense pain, at Europe mad with blood thirst, burning incense at the altar of force. Intellectuals and writers were enslaving themselves to the fond idea of victory and men using the all-atoning name of nationalism to justify the greatest blunders. Even socialists had deserted to the opposite camp. "Force is always hateful to me," wrote Rolland to Jouve. "I dread war so great, I have dreaded it for so long." This is what is said by Oliver, one of the characters in his famous novel, and Rolland himself never said less. To Hauptmann he wrote denouncing German aggression and to his own countrymen he revealed the error implied in a too-narrow patriotism. He exhorted the Frenchmen "to build both broader and higher, dominating injustice and national hatred, the walls of the town where the free and fraternal souls of the world should assemble." When Huns were at the very gate of France, this lonely spirit from Geneva spoke in a voice of thunder and denounced the nationalism which was sending the world to rack and ruin. But he spoke Cassandra-like, not to be relieved. His own men dubbed him a traitor to his country's cause and his voluntary exile was confirmed as a necessary one. Yet undaunted by desertion and admonition, he went on preaching his gospel of internationalism, localised the cause of the war in Imperialism and administered a sharp rebuke to Austria, Prussia and the Czar. In a Swiss newspaper he published an appeal, "The worst enemy of each country is not without but within its frontiers, and none has the courage to fight against it. It is the monster of a hundred heads, the monster named Imperialism . . ." He was not anti-national, as he was commonly supposed to be, for a time at least. But his conception of nationalism was marked by his own intellectual originality. A man, in his opinion, can best serve his fatherland by serving all mankind and by launching a

relentless campaign against war. It has rightly been pointed out by the French critic R. Lalou that internationalism was with him the very article of the faith of moralist. Of force, militarism and victory in the popular sense of the term, he was an uncompromising enemy. The treaty of Versailles, when the teeming millions of the world were hailing it as the great charter of the world's future security, failed to inspire any confidence in him, being based as it was on force and repression. He foresaw its failure and the disillusionment which was to follow in its wake. "Victory in arms is disastrous to ideal of an unselfish humanity." He cried in the wilderness but every word he spoke proved prophetic of the future. As a man, he found his responsibilities heavy on his shoulder, as an artist he found them no less so. He repudiated the idea of an artist's aloofness from the world which he considered to be a crime even for intellectuals and men of thought. He found his duty clear and straight before him and unhesitatingly joined the Red Cross society in Geneva, the only international organisation working for the common good.

Since 1914, Rolland has been an intrepid fighter on behalf of the highest ideals of man, liberty, equality and peace. He ceased to be a solitary recluse mentally and took an unshaken stand on the terra firma of hard realities. His famous appeal to President Wilson is regarded as an immortal vindication of human liberty. His exhortation to the President to convene a parliament of man, for the establishment of a permanent fraternity of mankind, is an idea beside which the highest conceptions ever forged by the world's spiritual and intellectual consciousness, pales away into insignificance. In 1919 he published the *Declaration of Independence of Thought*. "Thought is the slave of none. It is we who are the slaves of thought. We have no other masters." Again he says, "Freedom of thought takes no orders from Paris, Rome or Moscow." Being accused of intellectualism and pacifism, which were alleged to be only other names for escapism, Rolland, in no uncertain terms, declared himself an enemy of escape in any form, and would not forgive those persons who in the name of freedom of thought, evade responsibilities. In his famous controversy with Henri Barbusse he cleared his position with regard to this contentious issue.

The last chapter of his life is still more glorious. It contains his second spiritual renaissance, a rekindling of his soul from Russian fires. Soviet communism had been an acid test for Rolland's sincerity and intellectual honesty. Ordinarily a man of mystic temperament, he had always been a champion of freedom of thought, of which Russian communism was supposed to be the very antithesis. To some communists he openly declared that he considered it the sacred duty of intellectuals and men of thought to defend themselves against any state domination. Soviet Russia, in her early days, represented to the world a complete negation of individual freedom, a fact which even an honest and impartial thinker like Bertrand Russell had not had the catholicity to overlook, having regard to her positive contribution to human progress. But the case was different with Rolland. He found in Soviet Russia the chance of the fulfilment of the most cherished ideals of his life and gave her a sincere welcome. While he did not deny the partial suppression of liberty in Russia, he still congratulated the Reds in various articles, addresses and

appeals, explaining the harshness of their social pattern away as necessary evil, which, not being of the essence of it, will pass away, leaving what is permanently good for man. The Russian experiment appeared to him clothed in the transcendent glory of a religious crusade against sham oppression and inequality. For whatever is done with a fearless search of truth at all costs with single-minded sincerity prepared for any sacrifice, he would call religious. "... For it presupposes faith in an end to human effort higher than the life of the individual, at times higher than the life of existing society, and even higher than the life of humanity as a whole." The banished litterateurs of Russia like Bounine, Balmont and others, who saw the Russia they loved crumble to dust, were shocked to find Rolland, the relentless seeker of truth and warm champion of freedom of thought, send message of congratulation to Soviet Russia on the occasion of its anniversary. Rolland



Romain Rolland and Ramananda Chatterjee (1927)

in his letter to them offered them consolation for the loss of the Russia they loved but asked them not to grieve. For in Russia the hope of humanity was henceforward to be concentrated. "It is the hope, the wretched hope of humanity's future. It is yours: in despite of you, it is of your blood, Bounine and Balmont."

India owes him a deep debt of gratitude, for Rolland was one of those few westerners who understood and admired Indian culture and interpreted it to the rest of the world. "Defend the great," he said in his youth, and he defended with indomitable zeal, the great sons of India, with whom he realised his own spiritual kinship. Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, Gandhi, Arabinla and Tagore,—these were the great men who symbolised to him India's undying soul, her hoary tradition. No westerner has better understood these sons of our mystic land and no one has served India better by interpreting their life and philosophy to the rest of the world. In Gandhi he read the gospel of action, in Ramakrishna, that of mystic devotion. He calls the latter "the younger brother of our Christ" and gives him the homage of "a Universal Soul." Vivekananda is to him "the most intellectual, the most imperious, the most justly proud of all the great religious spirits of modern India." He was the St. Paul of the Messiah of Bengal that Ramakrishna was. Regarding Gandhi he says, "This is the man who has stirred to action three thousand millions of men, shaken the British empire, and inaugurated in human politics, the most powerful moral movement

since nearly two thousand years." With Gandhi he had a spiritual affinity, both having common ancestry in Tolstoy. Both believed equally passionately in the ideas of non-violence and non-resistance. Both are cosmopolitan in the true sense of the term and believed in the essential unity of man. "The whole humanity is one," says Gandhi. Rolland echoes him when he says, "There is neither East nor West for the naked soul; such things are its trappings. The whole world is its home."

And Romain Rolland has not rested. The title of his *I Will Not Rest* is an epitome of his own character. It contains a brief resume of his own spiritual history and innumerable correspondences, articles, appeals, written by him from time to time, his peaceful weapons in the war of soul. The true Rolland may be sought for in this book undisguised and in bare, naked majesty. Herein it will be evident that from 1914, right down to the last moment of his life, he had been carrying on an unceasing, restless struggle for liberty, equality and peace.

Theory and practice, idea and execution, never found a perfecter union in the personality of a single individual. Never was there an artist who was so much of a prophet, never an idealist so much conscious of the real. He viewed with apprehension the crumbling edifice of European civilisation. He warned the people of the world that in order that a permanent security may be built, the restrictive barriers of nationalism must be shattered, that the soul-killing industrialism and speedy mechanisation of life must be checked, that sincerity and honesty must be made the bedrock of future organisations and that peace should be made the *summum bonum* of all political aspirations. "I have dedicated my whole life to the reconciliation of man." He had tried to achieve a harmony of European nations; then, of the East and the West. Lastly, he tried to accomplish,—what is even more difficult,—the union of the scientific and the visionary in man. An example of courage, sincerity and of soul-force, Rolland's life remains an ideal for us to strive after.



Meeting of Mahatma Gandhi with Romain Rolland at Villeneuve, Dec. 1931

"La Vérité et Dieu."
 (Gandhi)

Romain Rolland
 octobre 1933



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—
Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

RUSSIA AT WAR: By Ilya Ehrenburg. Indian Edition by the Educational Publishing Company, Karachi, 1944. Pages 247. Price Rs. 7-8.

Ilya Ehrenburg, a Russian Jew, is the most talked-of war correspondent of Soviet Russia. This book contains fragments from the flaming pages of his war diary based on the dual themes of German aggression and Russian resistance. The story takes us up to Stalingrad and the disastrous German retreat from the Volga in defeat and humiliation. On the pages of this chronicle are recorded some of the most realistic pictures of the Russo-German war—its glory and heroism, its brutality and ugliness. There is a special quality in Ehrenburg's reporting: he writes as fighting soldiers and sailors talk; he revels in satire, bitter and cynical; he excels in wit, biting and ruthless. He also represents the psychological make-up of every Soviet citizen, whether fighting at the front or working behind it. Ehrenburg's diary is not mere war propaganda, it projects the entire nation's impatient indignation and bitterness against the Germans on the broad canvas of human suffering. "Now, every Russian soldier is a judge, who inscribes his verdict in black German blood on white snow. We have drunk the chill water of hatred from the soldier's flask—draughts more searing than spirits," is a characteristic entry. Hatred and revenge are the two dominating sources of Ehrenburg's inspired reportage. Here is a specimen: "The moon sheds its venomous green light on the snow, on Germans, thousands and thousands of them, some shell-torn, some tank-squashed, others resembling waxwork figures, mowed down by merciful bullets. The blowing snow buries some corpses; the wind exposes others beside them. They are beyond counting. Here they met their end—those conquerors who dreamed of sables, gold, and the sceptre of the world. A colonel shows his old rat's yellowed fangs: a sergeant-major clutches a flask to his breast. A pair of pince-nez, by some miracle, still survives, quivering on a lieutenant's nose, but the lieutenant has no body; a tank passed here. Germans are trampled, minced, chopped. They dreamed of a 'kolossal' victory. Instead we provided them with a colossal necropolis. Here Russia met justice—it was a long-awaited meeting. For eighteen months our country has been thirsting for this sight. . . . Life arose against them like a tempest of old: death took them and they froze in a last convulsive spasm, pitiful enough amidst an alien land. Lumps of flesh resembling crushed machine parts." This paragraph epitomizes the entire spirit of the book and perhaps of the Russian people at war with a ruthless enemy. Ehrenburg, however, suffers from an excess of emotion, almost pagan in its limitless exuberance. In dramatizing the present and visualizing the future, the author makes such magnificent use of his vitriolic language and sadistic imageries that the reader is sometimes left with a stink in his nostrils—the stink of rotten human flesh; whether the flesh is German or Russian does not really matter much to those who do not share the same deeply

racial animosities and political antagonisms of these two seemingly irreconcilable peoples. Apart from this blemish, Ehrenburg's diary is an unrivalled piece of war commentary and gives a remarkably vivid, though somewhat grim, picture of "Russia at War."

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

ECONOMIC RESOURCES OF INDIA: By Kali Charan Ghosh. Published by the Indian Associated Publishing Co., Ltd., 8-C, Ramanath Mazumdar Street, Calcutta. Pages 240. Price Rs. 3-12.

The handy volume contains various information regarding raw materials—agricultural and mineral, land and forest, livestock, ploughs and tractors, trade and commerce, industries, man-power, etc., about India. The *Dictionary of Economic Products of India* by Sir George Watt was published about fifty years ago and the *Dictionary of Economic Products* which is now under compilation by the Government of India will take sometime to see the light and as such Mr. Ghosh's book as a book of reference will be of great help to the teachers and students of Economics and Commerce and also to public-men and Legislators and the general public interested in the economic development of the country. Vernacular names have been given for identifying materials scattered all over the country and figures given are up-to-date. When post-war planning has been taken up seriously both by the Government and the Industrialists of the country, the publication of this volume is a welcome addition to our Economic literature.

A. B. DUTTA

CAPITAL: By Karl Marx. Published by the Saraswati Library, C 13-19 Collège Street Market, Calcutta. Price Rs. 15.

This is the first Indian edition of the greatest work of modern times, Marx's *Capital*. This book since its publication 1867, has shaken the world to its very foundation. It commands an influence which no other book, besides a scripture or epic, has ever done. The publishers deserve congratulation for bringing out an Indian edition of this monumental work specially at a time when the need for this book is the greatest and the difficulties in the way of its publication are the heaviest. The editor of this work, L. G. Ardnicas, in his Introduction, has pointed out, this is the English rendering, from the third German Edition of *Das Kapital* edited by Engels, by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling. Substantive additions and alterations made in the fourth German edition have been appended to the text in the form of foot-notes. This edition will provide an opportunity to those who desire a first-hand and complete acquaintance with the writings of Marx.

D. BURMAN

FIFTY YEARS' PILGRIMAGE OF A CONVERT: By A. S. Appasamy. Published by the Christian Literature Society for India, Post Box 501, Park

It is an autobiographical sketch of a Hindu who was converted to Christianity. The author was a successful lawyer and at the same time a devout Christian. He earned heaps of money, built large and comfortable houses in different places and received distinguished guests and visitors. He lived in affluence and yet held his communion with God. He had his sons highly educated and well-placed in life but yet he never forgot his Maker. Worldly success did not lure him away from the Author of his life.

It is an interesting—and we might even say, a remarkable—book in several ways. One remarkable thing is that, in spite of his conversion, the author continued his love and respect for whatever was great and good, in Hinduism. His regard for Yoga practices is an example to the point. Another remarkable thing about him is his naive faith. One of his regrets in this life was that he could not convert his parents to the faith he had adopted. But he believed that he would perhaps be more successful in the next life. "I shall meet them in the other world," says he, "and continue the good offices which I tried to do to them in this life" (p. 86).

Space forbids us to enter into a discussion of the value of ceremonial conversion and of the belief that spiritual truth belongs exclusively to any one kind of worship or creed. We concede that it takes all sorts to make a world and that there are those who will not agree with us.

The book before us, however, is an informing biographical document and will be read with interest by many.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

BENGALI

BANGLA PUTHIR BIBARAN (Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat) Part I: *Compiled by Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti. Published by Ramkamal Sinha, Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.*

We accord a hearty welcome to this latest publication of Prof. Chakravarti in the domain of study of manuscripts in which he has earned a well-deserved reputation. In it he describes in a tabular form 1553 manuscripts or about half the collection of Bengali manuscripts belonging to the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat. The manuscripts arranged according to subjects and authors cover three major branches of old Bengali literature—Ramayana, Mahabharata and Bhagavata. Besides giving formal details, e.g., subject number, serial number, title, author, extent, date and place of copying, the learned compiler has made it a point in the footnotes to draw attention of scholars to special features of particular manuscripts and to previous notices, descriptions and discussions thereon made by others. The method followed is the same as that in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat* published several years back. The labours of Prof. Chakravarti in thus throwing light on the hidden treasures of the manuscripts of the Parishat will be highly appreciated by the world of scholars. The volume under review will be specially useful to scholars dealing with the literature of medieval Bengal.

S.

KONGRESS SANGATHANE BANGALA: *By Chapalakanta Bhattacharya. Bengal Publishers, 14, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-4.*

This is a welcome addition to the existing Congress literature, written from time to time by well-known writers. Bengal's pioneering efforts for the awakening of political consciousness amongst Indians cannot be forgotten. Its contribution to the formation and growth

of the Congress is immense and many-sided. In this book of eighty-six pages, the author has tried to touch on most of this contribution, as for instance, the starting of political organisations on an all-India basis, industrial exhibitions, organisation of volunteer corps, and propounding the ideal of Indian independence. Space being limited, the author's treatment of the subject has been necessarily scrappy. We hope he will be able to do sufficient justice to the subject when normal conditions will set in. Some minor omissions and commissions are noticeable. The Chaitra or Hindu Mela was founded in 1867 and *not* in 1867-68. The Indian Association was founded on the 26th July 1876, and *not* on 1st July 1876. In the section on "The Nationalist Newspapers," not to mention *Sambad Courmudi* of Raja Rammohan Roy, *Samachar Chandrika* of Bhowanicharan Banerjee, *Sambad Bhaskar* of Gaurisankar Tarkabagis, *Somprakas* of Pandit Dwarkanath Vidyabhusan, *The Bengalee* of Girish Chandra Ghose, and last but not the least, *The National Paper* of Nabagopal Mitra, is a glaring omission.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

HINDI

DOSHI KAUN? *By Shambhuratna Dube. Delhi Pustaka Bhandar, Bazar Sitaram, Delhi. Pp. 247. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Here is a novel, the story in which is packed with intellectual and emotional complexes and clashes. The hero-husband is a professor of science, devoted to the pursuit of his particular subject of study; the heroine-wife is a product of modern educational system with its bias for the flashy pleasures of society. The result is a growing discontent, leading to domestic discord against which the hero finds shelter for some time in his laboratory and the heroine in clubs and cocktails and extra-marital contacts. But it is finally resolved by the realization, on the part of the heroine, of what is the secret of basic harmony and happiness, followed by repentance and reconciliation. There is a lot of thrill in the story and also of the "sensationalism," the swiftness and sweep of the screen. As one finishes reading the novel, he is confronted with the question: who was to blame for the rift in the lute of love? The author leans on the side of defective educational idealism and instruction, as is evident from the alternative title to the book: *Vidya-Mandir*. The resolution of the domestic discord is rather too quick and at one or two places the episodes appear to be like "excrescences" on the body of the plot.

G. M.

GUJARATI

GUJARAT SAHITYA SABHA, KARYAVALI, 1942-43: *Printed at the Aditya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pp. 208 + 15. Price Rs. 3.*

Alone amongst the few Sahitya Sabhas in the Province, the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha of Ahmedabad, has chalked out a line of work, which contributes not only to the addition of diverseness and wideness of its literature but to the attainment of valuable work for all time to come. It deserves the pre-eminent position it has obtained by the genuinely solid work it has been pulling in. It has published about 28 useful books. It has encouraged scholars, year after year, to trace out review, the literary output of each year and evaluate it. It presents gold medals to deserving scholars, it arranges for speeches, discussions and meetings, all connected with literary questions and we are glad to notice that it meets with a hearty response from writers and scholars in all its efforts. We have nothing but admiration and praise for the Sabha and its work.

K. M. T.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Chinese Womanhood

The womanhood of China is very similar to the womanhood of India. Prof. Tan Yunshan writes in *The Twentieth Century* :

From the Chinese legends, Chinese ancient records, Chinese philology and linguistics, we can see that once upon a time there was a matriarchal system of society in China.

At that time women in China had naturally occupied a higher position than men. But that has substantially changed during the ages passed.

According to the old classics 'Li-Chi' or 'Records of Official Rites', the woman is expected to fulfil three obligations, called "San-Tsung" and she is to be endowed with four virtues, called "Szu-Teh". Her three obligations are : (1) subjection to the father when a maiden, (2) subjection to the husband when a wife, and (3) subjection to the son when widowed. Her four virtues are : (1) chastity and piety, (2) refined and restrained speech and power of pleasant conversation, (3) graceful manners and politeness, and (4) efficiency in domestic duties, like cooking, weaving, sewing and general housewifery.

But in spite of these rules and restrictions, the Chinese women still have maintained their great powers over men at home. The women are the centre of authority at home and their powers are really great,—even more than that of the emancipated women in the West.

Although the purdah system is unknown in China and women go about unveiled, strict decorum is maintained in ordinary social intercourse between the two sexes. Since the establishment of the Chinese Republic, perfect legal equality has been brought about between man and woman.

One important fact which is connected with womanhood is the family system. The Chinese people, like the people of India, lay great stress upon filial piety and personal love and affection, and emphasize brotherhood and friendship. Therefore, they like to live together and form a large family. An ideal family in China is a large home which consists of parents and grand-parents, brothers and their wives, children and grand-children. Such a family is usually called "Wu Tai Tung Tang," which means 'five generations living together in the same hall.' The beauty of such big-family system is the spirit of unity, love, affection, mutual help and co-operation which permeates the family members.

Marriage in China, as in India, is regarded as the most important event in life, so it is also the heaviest burden. In the old days of China marriage was wholly arranged by the parents and go-betweens, both the boy and the girl themselves not being consulted. But in modern times, the young men and young women mostly like to be free from their parents and marry themselves out of mutual love.

The Chinese woman has performed no small task in history and great personalities of Chinese womanhood are not lacking. In ancient times, the wife of the Yellow Emperor, the first emperor who united and ruled the whole country of China nearly five thousand years ago, named 'Tai-Tsu' was the inventor of sericulture.

Eddington

The death of Sir Arthur Eddington will be mourned by the scientific and the non-scientific world equally. N. R. Sen observes in *Science and Culture* :

The latest of the sad news that *Reuter* have brought us is the rather unexpected one of the death of Sir Arthur Stanley Eddington, the world-renowned Astrophysicist, and the greatest Natural Philosopher of England of the present age. We say *unexpected*, as Sir Arthur was only sixty-two, and was not also known to be ailing beforehand. Sir Arthur Eddington's name was not only known to specialists, but was also a familiar one among laymen in all countries. To the ordinary man he was the philosopher who spoke about the mysteries of the universe. He (along with Jeans) has brought modern scientific thought almost to the door of every person by his exquisitely written popular books on modern science and astronomy.

Eddington was born at Kendal on the 28th of December, 1882, and was educated at Owen's College, the nucleus of the present Manchester University, and at Trinity College, Cambridge. He was senior Wrangler (1904), the Smith's Prizeman of the year 1907, and a Fellow of the Trinity College, Cambridge. He started his career as Chief Assistant at the Royal Observatory at Greenwich in 1906, where he continued till 1913. In the same year he was called to Cambridge as the Plumian Professor of Astronomy, and in 1914 he became the Director of the Cambridge Observatory. He worked in these capacities till his death.

Eddington was a member of many British and foreign scientific societies and was awarded the Hopkins Prize of the Cambridge Philosophical Society (1918-21), the gold medal of the Royal Astronomical Society of the Pacific (1924), and the Henry Draper Medal of the National Academy of Sciences. He was knighted in 1930.

Nearly the whole domain of theoretical astrophysics was the field of his researches, and every branch of this science bears the impress of his Roman hand. In 1919 he led the Solar Expedition to test if the straight path of a ray of light sent out by a star is curved while passing the neighbourhood of a massive body like the

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Sun, as was predicted by Einstein. The announcement of the positive result which he found rang through the world as a discovery of profound significance, and at once brought Einstein's Generalized Theory of Relativity to fame.

Eddington's *debut* in scientific life was made by his analysis of the *double star streams*. Stars in the sky were long known to have motion in space. The Dutch astronomer, Kapteyn, from a deep study of stellar motions, suggested that the stars have a general motion, and there are two fixed directions in which the stars are streaming. Thus the stellar motion may be considered as a general motion along these streams, plus a haphazard motion like that of the molecules of a gas. Eddington analyzed this double stream mathematically. His researches in this line are embodied in his book *Stellar Movement and Structure of the Universe*, which was published in 1914. This pioneer work helped the construction of the present theory of Shapley, Oort and Lindblad, according to which the so-called Milky Way is a spiral nebula about 100,000 light years broad, and about 10,000 light years in thickness, rotating about an axis directed towards the star cloud of Sagittarius.

The theory of the internal constitution of stars, as we understand it at present, is a creation of Eddington.

The equilibrium of gas spheres was previously discussed by Ritter, Lane and very fully by Emden. The real contribution of Eddington to this problem was twofold. He first realized clearly by bringing in his calculations the part which the pressure of radiation plays in this problem. The combined gas and radiation pressure in any part of the gas mass has to contend against the weight of this mass to keep the whole material in equilibrium. The next question which Eddington had to answer was: "How does the pent up radiant energy flow outwards?" Realising the fact that under stellar conditions the energy flows mainly by radiation and not by the usual processes of conduction and convection, Eddington first worked out the equation of Radiative Transfer of Energy in the equilibrium state which obtains in stars. His mathematical theory enabled him to deduce in 1924 a relation between mass and luminosity of stars, which has been entirely supported by observational results. This is known as Mass-Luminosity relation in astrophysical literature. From this it is possible to predict approximately the mass of a star when its luminosity has been measured.⁴

In his study of the internal constitution of stars Eddington came to the conclusion that the atoms within the star are stripped of almost all of their electrons, and move about almost naked devoid of their outer coverings of electrons. This reduces the size of the atoms enormously, so that the stellar material should be

capable of showing extremely high compressibility. The theory of dense matter in stars, technically called matter in degenerate state, has subsequently been worked out in fuller details by many workers amongst whom are three Indian astrophysicists Chandrasekhar, Kothari and Majumdar.

The heat and light we receive from the Sun and the stars directly come from their outer envelope. In the case of the Sun it is called the *photosphere*. The radiation from the deep interior of the Sun slowly finds its way into the photosphere in which, specially in its upper part, the characteristic dark line spectrum of the Sun known as Fraunhofer lines is formed. The astrophysical problem is to explain the intensity distribution in the lines and in the background. Eddington worked at this problem and has made substantial contributions towards its solution.

Eddington played a great part in spreading the doctrine of Generalized Relativity in the English-speaking countries.

The internal beauty of the theory and the observational confirmations it received from time to time brought complete conviction in the mind of Eddington about the correctness of the theory, so much so that it entirely determined his subsequent outlook regarding the universe and the cosmos. He was a firm believer in Lemaitre's Cosmology, popularly known as the theory of the Expanding Universe, which he himself developed considerably. In December 1937, Eddington came out to India with other British scientists on the occasion of the Jubilee Celebration of the Indian Science Congress.

Eddington did not stop with the Relativity theory of the gravitational phenomena. He endeavoured to extend it to the theory of electrons and protons. His latest idea was the square of the ratio of the electric and gravitational forces between the electron and the proton is of the order of the number of particles in the universe, which he put down at about 10^{79} .

For his grand attempt at a complete understanding of the universe we should call Eddington a philosopher. But his contribution to positive knowledge is not in any way meagre. By his "analytical boring machine" he has opened up the bowels of the stars, from which we have gained definite knowledge about their interior in several respects. He has raised mere speculations into the higher rank of mathematical theories through which contact with observational data has been made possible. He has disseminated the knowledge of the physical world which modern science has gained, among ordinary men through his charming English style and refreshing humour.

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Einstein's Spartan Simplicity

The Indian Readers' Digest observes:

Professor Albert Einstein's life is marked by Spartan simplicity. That is certainly remarkable of a lordly dweller in the remote, cool, abstract world of mathematics. His modest study at Princeton, from which even his family is sternly barred, is furnished only with an unpainted table, a few unpainted shelves, a pencil and paper for his mathematical calculations. Though his salary from the Institute for Advanced Study is 20,000 dollars a year he has never owned a car, fights off his family's efforts to make him buy a new suit, stops only at cheap hotels when he travels.

Such is the intimate pen-picture given in the biography, *Einstein—An Intimate Study of A Great Man*, just published in New York.

Einstein, whose love of music and sailing is well known, also likes to visit 5 and 10 cent stores, admiring their glittering gadgets. When a friend gave him a zipper bag, Einstein delightedly zipped and unzipped it again and again. He hates strenuous exercise and pretentious people. The usual conversational approach of dowagers when introduced to him is to ask him to explain his relatively theory. Einstein sometimes obliges, but reduces them to stunned silence.

At home, Einstein is almost unvaryingly gentle, even-tempered, meekly obedient—and impersonal. He has never tried to explain relativity to his family. His scientific life is strictly solitary. When as often happens even at meal times, he falls into long mathematical reveries, his family is careful not to disturb him.

The Force of Creative Ideas

A regenerate world is a world of regenerate men. Randolphe Louis Megroz writes in *The*

It should not require a world war to bring home to people the value of the simple enduring things, or the inexhaustible excitement and beauty of life when we do not thwart it. But there was, long before the war again broke out, a strong stream of vital ideas coursing through the strained social fabrics of the world, and the character of post-war climax to so much conflict and destruction is going to be the fateful consequence of the mental fight that has gone on ceaselessly all the time. Not only the cloistered poet but also the more accessible fiction writer as well as the philosophical essayist is willynilly in this world-wide movement, helping or hindering the spreading light. I can think of no better example of a good novelist who is consciously and artistically something more than the story-teller in this sense than the late L. H. Myers. His group of stories set in sixteenth-century India, *The Near and the Far* (including "The Root and the Flower" and "The Pool of Vishnu"), show that he was none-the-less master of the novelist's art by exercising also a noble and intense mind on the problems of human destiny. The means for disseminating ideas are so plentiful and effective today that their influence in even the most secular books must be enhanced.

False ideas also can circulate easily today but that should be a stimulus to those who realise the superior potency of truth. We need, all of us, to go to school again but in a new sense, for after all education is, in respect of the individual, the removal of obstacles to full development, and, in respect of the nation, the improvement of each generation over the preceding one. *In respect of the human race as a whole the most urgent educational step is to realise the brotherhood of man.* Certainly no League of Nations or other great Council alone can establish peace until the spirit of kindness lives in the intelligence as well as in the universal heart of common men. The morality of every institution is always lower than that of the private individual, and if governments are to be spiritually purged, as they must

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Symbol of Japanese Jingoism Passes Away

Theodore D. Walser who spent many years in Tokyo as a missionary-educator writes in the *Worldover Press* about Mitsuru Toyama under the above caption :

Mitsuru Toyama, head of the "Kokuru Kai" (Black Dragon Society) of Japan, died early last month (October, 1944). His death symbolizes the passing of an old order that cannot survive the coming peace.

Toyama never held a government office, seldom made addresses and wrote no newspaper articles. Ignorance of facts about him led to mystery, and mystery led to fear of him. One of his many "Boswells" writes of him, "One is at a loss to know of what his greatness really consists."

This man, influential in Japan among certain classes, was born in 1855 in Fukuoka of a poverty-stricken Samurai ("ancient warrior") family. It is variously reported that the boy, Mitsuru, sold sweet potatoes and mended wooden clogs in his youth. Nothing certain is known about his education.

While yet in his 'teens,' he joined one of the many societies agitating for the conquest of Korea. These several societies finally succeeded in their propaganda. In about 1876, Takamori Saigo, often called "The Great Saigo," fomented the Satsuma Rebellion, was defeated and later killed himself, but the youthful Toyama was arrested and later released, as having been indefinitely related to the plot.

Soon afterwards, Toyama consulted with Itagaki (later Count), who was reportedly a progressive and who advised Toyama that modern technique required developing the minds of the great "hoi polloi" by education, propaganda and speech-making. As a result, "Aikokusha" (the "Love Country Association") was established. One of its objectives was a demand for parliamentarianism. In 1891, the government yielded, and a constitution providing for a parliament was granted. Whereupon, perhaps characteristically, Toyama refused to run for a seat in the new House of Representatives, but instead founded his own "Dojo" (seminary for the training of youth).

There is much evidence that Toyama was active in the coalition between the "Genyosha," of which he was a member, and the government, in their joint opposition to the parties in the election of 1892, when terrorism was utilized to secure votes.

In the early 1890's, there was a demand for increased armaments (did this help to foment the war with China that came five years later?) and for a stiffer foreign policy. The ultimate goal was the abolition of the inequitable extra-territoriality that had been fastened upon Japan at the time her ports were opened and against which all Japanese chafed. Prince Ito, the Premier, and Count Okuma, the Foreign Minister, were visited by Toyama, who objected to their negotiations with the treaty powers and demanded action. Later, an attempt was made to assassinate Okuma. It failed. Who perpetrated this outrage, no one knew. But Toyama was arrested and then released for lack of evidence.

Rumour has it (unproven, of course, like many rumours about this mysterious figure) that he was unscrupulous in the acquisition of wealth and generous in the dispensing of it. Near the turn of the century, Toyama organized an anti-Russian society and when

score or so of his henchmen positions in the War Office of the government. There his influence was felt.

In 1911, Toyama founded the "Union of the Friends of the Chinese Revolution," but Yuan Shih Kai accused this union of plotting to seize Manchuria. When Sun Yat Sen's final revolt crashed, Sun fled to Japan, and, in spite of governmental opposition, he found asylum in Toyama's home.

Of the proletariat and a friend of the proletariat, Toyama again showed his power when, during World War I, Rash Behari Bose, an agitator for Indian independence and a fugitive from British justice, fled to Japan. The Japanese Government, at the request of the British Government, ordered him to leave the country. Bose sought and secured safety in Toyama's house. Today Bose is working, through Toyama's "Friends of India" group, some meetings of which I attended while in Japan, for freedom of India and the release of all Asiatics from Western domination.

In 1932, supposedly at the instigation of General Araki, Toyama's house was raided and searched by the police. Toyama's son was arrested, but Toyama himself was not molested. Was this a warning to him?

Until death, Toyama's venerable and bearded figure could be seen at almost every patriotic gathering. At these meetings, he would preside over the important function of giving three "Banzai" for the Empire. One of his biographers records Toyama's opinions as follows: "Each state has the right to display its national glory and splendor and work out its own destiny. Each state must therefore have the armaments necessary for the realization of this supreme object. No power can check the westward march of our civilization. China and Japan must be like brothers."

Toyama's sun has set, and in the future there will be no Toyamas in Japan. If the war results in a just and righteous peace, with Japan and all nations in Asia provided the essentials of material prosperity, with Japan and all nations in Asia enjoying the effects of self-determination, having a place in the family of nations, and with responsibility for maintaining peace and order. In such an atmosphere, the Toyamas of Japan would languish and die.—*Worldover Press*.

African Art

In the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* H. Clarence Whaithe writes under the above caption :

Contact with the early and varied forms of children's art has enlarged my interest and appreciation of the art of the African, who seems to have succeeded to a remarkable degree in maintaining the spirit, vitality, and sensibility of a child-like vision in his work even as an adult and mature craftsman.

He has amazing sensibility and feeling and equally amazing skill in creative expression.

There is also a parallel of the wholeness of the arts in the life of the African, and in the life of the young child. The arts in Africa were not kept in watertight compartments, but were an essential force in life itself. The African found delight in many forms of artistic expression including carving, modelling, weaving, pottery, painting, music, singing and dancing; all of which were intimately linked up with his everyday life.

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His Highness The Maharaja of Athgarh says:—"I have been astonished at the superhuman power of Panditji. He is a great Tantrik." Her Highness The Dowager 6th Maharani Saheba of Tripura State says:—"I am feeling wonder at the marvellous Tantrik work and excellent efficacy of his Kavachas. He is no doubt a great personage with miraculous power. The Hon'ble Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherji, Kt., says:—"The wonderful power of calculation and talent of Sriman Ramesh Chandra is the only possible outcome of a great father to a like son."...The Hon'ble Maharaja of Santosh & Ex-President of the Bengal Legislative Council, Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Choudhury, Kt., says:—"On seeing my son, his prophecy about my future is true to words. He is really a great Astrologer with extraordinary power." The Hon'ble Mr. B. K. Roy, Advocate General of Orissa, says:—"At a glance on me, he began to disclose my mental thoughts and he predicted marvellously about the marriage of my daughter and certain mishap of my son which came true to the word. He is really a great personage with super-natural power." The Hon'ble Minister Govt. of Bengal Raja Prasanna Deb Raikot says:—"The wonderful power of calculation and Tantrik activities of Panditji on several occasions have struck me with greatest astonishment. Really he is unique in his line." Hon'ble Sreejutta Sarala Devi, Congress Leader and Member of The Orissa Assembly, says:—"He told some past incidents of my life correctly. I have never come across such an wonderful and learned Astrologer in my life." The Hon'ble Rai Saheb Surjyamani Das, Judge of Keonjhar State High Court, says:—"Panditji has bestowed the life of my dead son. I have never seen in my life such a great Tantrik Yogi."

Persons who have lost all hopes are strongly advised to test the powers of the Panditji.

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for whom the imaginative life is of real and absorbing interest.

Nor must we make the mistake of regarding these African peoples as savages without any history or civilisation. The researches of Frobenius and the Meyorowitzs, among others, have traced their history and contacts back to Byzantine times.

Let us turn to look at the background of experience of the African whose work we are considering.

He lived very close to nature, lived simply, and had ample time for long and continuous application to his creative work. It is probably very difficult for us to conceive any idea of his fear of the unknown, or how much fear entered into the occupation of his mind.

The African lived side by side with the jungle in all its density and in which grew some magnificent trees. And what must the jungle have meant to the childlike mind of the African! Camouflaged creatures of the jungle, hovering insects, and all the patterned reptiles. In addition, the recurring catastrophes of drought and fire, and loss of his crops. Europe has experienced something of the same terror in another form during these war years.

The African felt the need of a faith, something stable, gods to whom he could turn with hope of help. This took, among other things, the form of the worship of the fetish, the representation of the spirit to be appeased or placated.

Like the Greek and the Christian the African conceived his gods in semblance of human form with this main difference that he was far less concerned with the correct anatomical proportions of his statues. For the African the idea, the design, was the important consideration.

He was aware of the richness and variety of pattern in the world around him, in the tracery of bough and foliage, in shells, feathers and skins. He loved to cicatrise his own skin in rich arrangement of pattern.

All the experiences of nature through all his senses found expression in his art, in the pattern and structure and thatching of his hut, his ceremonial masks, hair dressing and the making of many objects of everyday use.

Sex, and the maintenance of the race against the many destructive elements, occupied his mind and there seems little doubt that the African believed in the continued spiritual existence of his ancestors.

It has been stated that he believed he had two souls, one which left the body in dreams, the other at death.

This belief in spirits finds expression in the spiritual quality of much of the African statues.

In addition to his experience of pattern in nature, he had unique opportunity for observing, unself-consciously, the bronzed forms of his fellow-creatures.

He was surrounded by magnificent trees, whose tall column-like boles must have impressed themselves on his mind.

Stone was scarce and it was in these boles that the African conceived his statues. Wood was his staple building material too, and he must have felt its shapes and surfaces as well as seen them during the turning of it into many articles for which it was used.

In this way he experienced something vital of the third dimension. Through a developed sense of touch he came to understand and grasp the significance of elemental forms in nature.

The African, like the child, is not in the least concerned with imitating the world around him, but rather with creating a real world of his own. In the process of doing this his mind selects for emphasis from the vast

and infinite variety of inspiration in nature those aspects which impressed themselves upon him.

This emphasis naturally leads to distortion of his figures from the camera-like point of view.

Like a child, the African is able to transcribe his ideas into the material used. He sees boundless possibilities for creative work in materials and directions of which people living in the complex and conventional surroundings of modern civilisation are quite unaware. We have much to learn from the African in this respect. Indeed, it is only as a result of the awakened perception of a few of our greatest artists that the genius of the African has been recognised during the last half century.

New Synthetic Rubber Can Withstand Extreme Temperatures

The General Electrical Company demonstrates silicon rubber, a radically new type of synthetic in which silicon, the main component of sand glass, replaces carbon as the keystone of the rubber molecule.

The company said the new rubber is superior to natural and other synthetic rubber in its ability to withstand extreme temperatures. It loses none of its elastic qualities at temperatures as low as 60 degrees Fahrenheit below zero and as high as 575 degrees above zero.

At present the entire supply is going to the U.S. Army and Navy, where it is used, among other things as supercharger gaskets and gaskets for battleship searchlights.—USOWI.



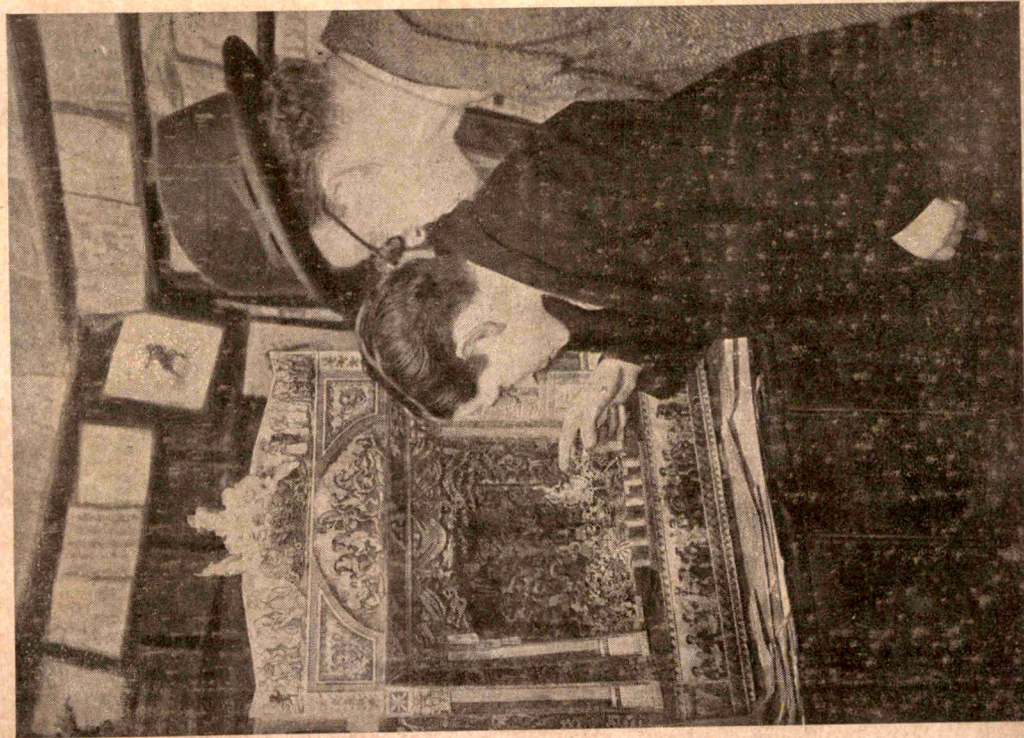
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KALIGHAT CALCUTTA





THE HOLI FESTIVAL
By Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

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NOTES

American Exposure of British Propaganda

A revealing report of an interesting radio discussion by four persons arranged by the American Forum of the Air on "What's holding back India's Freedom?" has been received. How tendentious British propaganda fails before the arguments of knowing Americans can be seen in the course of the debate. Sir Frederick Puckle, Adviser on Indian Affairs to the British Embassy having to face the truth, got into temper on some occasions and was promptly rebuked. The Indian case was well presented by American Socialists. There were four speakers, Sir Frederick Puckle; Mr. Norman Thomas, a Socialist leader; Congressman Emanuel Celler of New York and Mr. S. M. Ahmad, Indian trade consultant and American correspondent of the Orient Press.

Sir Frederick, in a characteristic imperialist way, boiled down his question to this: "Who is going to take delivery of India's freedom from the British and under what arrangements? A problem in practical politics for Indians to solve."

Mr. Thomas followed him and said: "In the imagination of the world India long has been the crown and symbol of Empire. It is Imperialism which holds back not only the freedom of India but the peace of the world. Divided as India may seem to be, all parties are agreed in demanding freedom. The failure of the British Government to use Indian mercenaries in the invasion of Burma is further objective proof of its fear of the people."

The third man to speak was Mr. Ahmad. In the Muslim League propagandist style, he made the most unjustified flings at the Congress, Gandhiji and Pandit Nehru. Finally he said: "The Moslems, the orthodox Hindus, the princes, the untouchables, labour, farmers, socialists, communists and various other minorities have arranged themselves against the Gandhi-Nehru Congress party. I make this bold statement that Hindu Brahmins and upper castes with the help of the British are holding back freedom for all India."

Congressman Celler, the fourth speaker, made a direct hit. He said: "Yes, there are poverty and disease in India. Agriculture and industry have not reached the highest point of development. There are divisions of

class and caste. I point these out because these are the very arguments that are advanced for keeping India a subject nation. This is how India has fared, ruled from above and from outside. An absentee-landlord sends its overseers—who must somehow manage to keep their jobs—to attend to the needs not of the inhabitants but of the employer, exact tribute, divide the interest, keep the level of living low, but remember to tell them that it is for their own good. No unbridgable chasm exists in India to keep the people divided and render them unfit for self-government. There are more minorities, more unrelated languages spoken in the United States, more variance in custom and belief in the United States than there is in India and yet out of the amalgam a mighty nation was forged."

Churchill on India's Future

Following the statements, the debate opened, Sir Frederick Puckle and Mr. Ahmad were both put to tight corners. Quoting Churchill, Congressman Celler asked a straight question:

"I want to ask our distinguished visitor from British Embassy this question: You try to distinguish between the Cripps offer and the statement made by Mr. Churchill at Mansion House. I will give you another statement. Mr. Churchill said, 'Except as an ultimate visionary goal, dominion status for India would not then happen in any now foreseeable period. The loss of India would consummate the downfall of the Empire. If we lost India, two million bread-winners in Britain would be tramping the streets and queuing up at the Labour Exchange.'"

Sir Frederick Puckle: Will you give me the date and place of that last sentence?

Congressman Celler: 1935 and 1940.

Sir Frederick Puckle: No the last one about the two million people in the breadlines.

Congressman Celler: 1935, and the other one—

Sir Frederick Puckle: I have looked for it and I can't find it, and I don't believe it.

Congressman Celler: But Mr. Churchill still believes that India is the subject of Barracks Room Ballads, and that is why we have no faith whatever in the Cripps offer, just as we could have no faith whatever in the offer made by Lord Montagu.

twenty-five years ago or in the offer made about ten years ago. They all have the same situation. It is always around the corner in India. Try to get it!

One of Mr. Ahmad's categorical statement, that the Moslems and other minority sects constituted together a majority of the population, was sternly challenged by Mr. Thomas to which Mr. Ahmad could not reply. He said: "I have not read anything anywhere to support Mr. Ahmad's figures, for instance, as to the size of the respective populations in India." He also pointed out that Mr. Ahmad had not been in India for twenty years and that "he has sources of information that no one else has."

Pakistan and Mercenary Troops

Replying to a question whether the demand of the Moslems for a separate State was the stumbling block to independence, Congressman Celler said: "There is no doubt it was a stumbling block, and that was in the Cripps offer. To my mind, the Cripps offer was naught but a gold brick. It was deliberately fashioned so as to receive a negative vote from all parties. Even your Moslem League rejected it. All parties in India rejected the Cripps offer. It was like a green apple that agreed with no one. The Cripps offer contained a provision for independence in future. Now we know offers of that sort have been made many times before. When the Indians want to grasp their independence, they always find it around the corner and they know the promises made by Imperialistic Britain are like pie cast, they break readily."

Addressing Sir Frederick, Mr. Thomas said: "It is precisely in this war that something big was needed to show you trust the Indian people, who are certainly not supporting the War. You don't use your mercenary troops on any large scale aggressively but only in defence." Sir Frederic said: "There is one thing I do want to take up at once. I can hardly sit here and hear Indian troops called mercenaries." Congressman Celler retorted: "General Stilwell said they were mercenaries." Mr. Thomas then continued: "That is what your *Hindustan Times* said. Mercenaries can be brave. The Swiss mercenaries were brave for the Bourbon kings. No one in India enlists out of patriotism. He enlists out of bitter poverty. Some say to get military training. I can quote you Indian papers that use the word 'mercenary.' There was a time when that was not considered so disgraceful and if they were not mercenaries, why was General Wavell, before he became Viceroy, so exceedingly opposed to even an attempt to invade Burma and why did General Stilwell while he was in this country say if the Indian question could be settled, Burma could be rapidly conquered?"

Sir Frederick could not reply.

Anti-Indian Propaganda among British Troops

The latest sample of anti-Indian propaganda carried on among British troops by specially selected army officers is furnished by the *Fighting Forces*, a British army journal. In its December issue just received in India is published *Lecture on India* by Lt.-Col. Crocker who writes what he lectures to troops on India.

The following gems from the lecture have been quoted by the *National Call*:

"Hindus are the most undemocratic people in the world and are directly opposed to the Muslims."

"Indians themselves are descended from alien races who invaded the country many centuries ago and have little more right to be there than the British."

"War has affected India in many ways and almost entirely for her good and her history tells us that she has never been able to defend herself against outside invasion until the arrival of the British."

"How will Indian government deal with internal strife without impartial British troops?"

Another question which he asks his audience is "How will they deal with inroads by wild Pathan tribes from the North-West Frontier who would regard the withdrawal of British as a direct invitation to repeat their national pastime of looting."

"I leave my audience with consideration of these problems to think over for themselves and I tell them once more that they personally will be responsible for the future of India."

More tell-tale quotations from this lecture could be reproduced showing what sort of propaganda is being carried on against India and her political future since the lecturer mentions the Cripps offer and why it was turned down. The lecture also details blessings of the British Raj and how it eradicated famine, poverty, disease and universal ignorance which were the natural order of things and nothing was done for the people.

When it is noted that this propaganda is being carried on among troops who are reminded that they are "the men who are thus ignorant of one of the greatest countries of the British Empire and are responsible for its well-being and govern it through men whom they sent to Parliament to represent them," its obvious purpose becomes clearer. Comments are needless.

Cost of Anti-Indian Propaganda in America

In our February number, an account of the nature of anti-Indian propaganda carried on in America has been given. In reply to a question put by Mr. Abdul Qaiyum the cost of such propaganda has been revealed. Mr. Qaiyum asked if it was a fact that Rs. 25 lakhs were being spent annually on propaganda there. Sir Olaf Caroe gave the figure as Rs. 4,51,245 for the current year. Mr. K. C. Neogy asked if in addition to such allowances, the Agent-General had an allotment for secret service funds at his disposal. Sir Olaf denied it. But the full value of such propaganda may not be ascertained from this interpellation. The share that the India Office bears has not yet been published.

Mahasabha and the League to Send Propagandist in America?

The foregoing summary of the debate conclusively shows that the Indian case has been very ably presented in the U.S.A. and responsible and leading Americans are coming forward to defend India's demand for freedom. Any communal propaganda done there will greatly harm India's cause and will only strengthen the losing case of the British Imperialists. The Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League have both decided to send propagandists across the Atlantic. Even this short summary of the debate shows that the League has no case

there, even the figures presented by the League champion were carefully scrutinised and challenged. The Americans themselves have voiced against the Pakistan idea. It will, therefore, not only be needless but positively harmful to India's cause if our communal bickerings are transferred on American soil. Sardar J. J. Singh, the devoted President of the India League of America who has achieved eminent success in presenting the true case for India on that hemisphere, has very strongly opposed the idea of sending Mahasabha and League publicists to America. We quote his opinion below and hope that the Mahasabha at least will have the wisdom to refrain from any such action. Mr. J. J. Singh, the President of the India League of America, told *Reuter* that the reported plan of the Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha representatives to come to the United States and present two viewpoints would be a 'Tragic Move'.

He said, "Such a move would harm the cause of freedom. It would be playing into the hands of British propagandists in this country. The propaganda line of British here is that it is differences between Hindus and Muslims that are in the way of India's freedom and not British Imperialism.

The presentation of communal views in America will weaken India's case and strengthen the British case.

My countrymen must realise that India is a pawn in the game of world politics. India's fate and future is being decided in conferences like Teheran and Yalta, and not in New Delhi.

India's case is very strong because India's right is the inherent right of men to be free. Let us not spoil it with narrow communal or party considerations."

Bertrand Russell Demands Release of Indian Leaders

Mr. Bertrand Russell, in an exclusive interview with the *United Press of America* correspondent, in answer to a question as to what the British Government should do now to solve the Indian deadlock, stated: "I should say that the British Government should state quite unequivocally in a declaration that India should be given independence, at a definite date—after the war against Japan was over—say, twelve months after that.

"Moreover, I say that all the people in prison should be let out now, if they don't hamper war effort. I have great affection for Nehru but I found him in the time of crisis always siding with Gandhi when he ought to take a definite stand. Additionally, negotiations should be reopened and kept open until a settlement was achieved."

Asked whether he is in favour of a new approach to India, whereby India's confidence in Britain could be won and which could destroy the 'notion' that the Cripps proposals were made because of the reverses in Malaya and Burma, Mr. Russell answered: "The Cripps proposals, with a plain clarification, must be made known unequivocally and emphatically and America should be invited to support such clarified proposals.

"Many people do not believe that the Cripps proposals are still open as they have not been reiterated very much more emphatically which would carry conviction. We can find some way out of it so that there will be no doubts of genuineness of the offer.

Asked what friends of Indian independence in America and Britain could do and should do to bring about a settlement with India, Mr. Russell said that they should make a political agitation of the present facts to the people and explain India's case and educate public opinion.

He expressed the belief that a change in the Government of Britain would be necessary in order to achieve a settlement. People in India also hold the same view that so long as the present Cabinet remains in power in the U.K., no solution of the Indian problem is likely to be reached.

Congress-League Talks Again

With unabated zeal, the Congress pursues its erroneous policy of placating the Muslim League. The failure of C. R. propaganda and the Gandhi-Jinnah talks have not discouraged the Congress. In spite of occasional snubs, Mr. Desai continues to strive for appeasing the League, this time through its Secretary, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. In pursuing this policy of appeasement of the reactionary forces, the Congress has let the progressive Muslims badly down. A strong distrust of this one and only anti-Imperialist body is taking root among the progressive Muslims due to the faulty leadership of the Congress. The Muslim supporters of the Congress have been practically thrown to the wolves. The Congress may forgive the Muslim Leaguer, but it is certain that the League is not going to forgive their opponents just because of the fact that they are brothers-in-faith. It is now plain knowledge that the League maintains its power in Bengal and Assam through the political black-market in jobs and contracts. When normal conditions are restored and ration shops, the A.R.P., the Civil Supplies Department, war contracts and government purchases are no longer in existence, the League will soon begin to crumble. Victory in some bye-elections is no indication of popularity, it can be easily achieved by a party in power which has very large scope for the distribution of favours. The latest voting in the Bengal Assembly on the cloth famine adjournment motion shows that the Opposition still holds an almost 40 per cent strength which is no mean achievement in the midst of a deluge of jobs, favours and even hard-cash in the shape of contracts.

The Congress has made the initial blunder in their communal policy by not studying the conditions of the masses. The present-day communal rivalry and antagonism is not the whole truth, it is a mere passing phase of a dangerous policy played in the interests of British Imperialism. This antagonism is fomented and maintained with the help of the self-seeking henchmen of the Imperialist. An intensive and thorough study of the Hindu-Muslim relations during the past centuries would certainly have debarred the Congress from its policy of appeasement and surrender to the protagonists of the very power which it seeks to displace.

The Two-Nation Theory Exploded

Dr. Kalikinkar Dutt, in his *Studies in the History of the Bengal Subah* has given a good account of how the Hindu and the Muslim communities had lived side by side for centuries together and had borrowed each other's ideas and customs. Hinduism had patiently with-

losing its assimilative power and as soon as the storm had subsided, it cast its influence on the followers of Islam. Similarly, the influence of Islam also affected the Hindu society to some extent. With the gradual increase in the number of Hindu converts and with the disappearance of the feelings of bigotry from the minds of the masses, this process of assimilation and interchange of customs and thoughts drew the two communities closer. Dr. Dutt has cited some illustrations of this mutual assimilation of customs and thought even in the age of the great orthodox Emperor Aurangzeb. Alawal, a Muslim poet, translated into Bengali the Hindi poem *Padmavat* and wrote several poems on Radha and Krishna in the 17th century. Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen writes in his *History of Bengali Language and Literature*: "The manuscripts of *Padmavat* hitherto obtained, all belong to the border lands of Aracan in the backwoods of Chittagong, copied in Persian characters and preserved by the rural Muhammadan folk of those localities." This certainly indicates how far the taste of the Muslims was imbued with Hindu culture. Dr. Sen tells us that this book with lengthy disquisitions on Hindu theology and Sanskrit rhetoric has been strangely preserved, ever since Aurangzeb's time, by Muslims who copied, read and admired this poem. In Kshemananda's *Manasamangala*, written towards the latter part of the 17th century, there is a passage which tells us that in the steel chamber prepared for Lakshinder, a copy of the holy Koran was kept along with other sacred charms to avert Manasa Devi's wrath. Dr. Dutt shows that this process of mutual assimilation had greatly advanced by the middle of the 18th century when the British came and began their attempt to establish political supremacy in Bengal. The *Holi* festival was enjoyed by Nawab Sirajuddowla and other princes. In the *Seir-ul-Mutakkarin* it has been recorded that on one occasion Nawab Mirjafar crossed the Ganges with all the gentry of the town and engaged himself in enjoying the *Holi*. Again, on his death-bed, Mirjafar drank a few drops of water poured in libation over the idol of Kiriteswari. The Muslims offered *pauja* in Hindu temples, and the Hindus offered *sirni* at Mahomedan mosques and dargahs. Dr. Sen has pointed out that "in Chittagong this fusion of ideas and interchange of customs and usages seem to have reached its highest point. In a Bengali poem called the *Behula Sundari*, written by Hamidullah of Chittagong, we read that the Brahmins who had assembled to find out an auspicious day for the hero's journey abroad consulted the Koran for the purpose. . . . Aptabuddin, another Muhammadan poet of Chittagong, who wrote a poem called *Jamil Dilaram* in 1750, writes that his hero, who was a Muhammadan, went to the nether worlds to seek a boon from Saptarishi or the seven sages of the Hindus." The numerous poems on *Satya Pira* illustrate how this interchange of ideas and customs had long ago led to the evolution of a common god.

This fusion of ideas and cultures continued undisturbed among the Hindu and Muslim masses even at the time when bitter relations prevailed in the Court circles. In the sphere of ordinary life, the two communities were living side by side in harmony and mutual attachment. This fusion continued not in Bengal alone, but it extended all over India. Prince Dara translated the *Upanishads* into Persian. This Persian translation of the *Upanishads* opened a new vista of Indian philosophy in Europe through an Italian translation. This Italian

celebrated German philosopher Schopenhauer whose writings since then were imbued with Indian philosophical ideas. Faizi, a poet in the Moghul Court, translated the *Mahabharata* into Persian. The *Bhagavad-gita* was also translated into Persian. Malik Muhammad Jaisi, a Muslim poet of the United Provinces, wrote an epic poem on the Rajput princess *Padmini*, in Hindi written in Persian characters. It was this poem which, as stated before, had been translated into Bengali by the Muslim poet Alawal.

This condition of mutual trust and confidence continued till the opening of the twentieth century. The masses had their differences in religion and sects no doubt, but that did not stand in the way of the enjoyment of a peaceful and friendly common life. They had the same language and the same script. Urduisation of the Bengali language in the name of the protection of Muslim culture is of a very recent growth, a development of the twentieth century Imperialist need. In the economic field, the masses, in spite of their apparent differences in religion, found that conditions for the earning of their livelihood were the same. Mutual assistance between the two communities in the pursuit of their vocations were necessary and did in fact prevail. An unbiased and intensive study of the masses would, therefore, convince anybody with an open mind that the two-nation theory is a myth, a dangerous cancer imported from outside and injected into our body politic and social structure.

First Breach in the British Period

It was the British Imperialist policy of divide and rule that created the first effective breach between the two communities. Cow-slaughter and music before mosque came as the first slogans of division. When these two lost their force, they were replaced by two more—representation on public bodies and in the services. Although these slogans were raised in the name of Muslim interests, in reality they served the ends of the Muslim Leaguers alone. Since 1937, the Muslim League had nursed a party grievance which they were quick to turn into a communal grievance. The Congress Governments were the first targets, Congress provinces being largely Hindu in colour most of the appointments naturally went to the Hindus. Muslim members of the Congress got their share, but members of the Muslim League got little or nothing. This party grievance was quickly turned into a communal one. They did not say, "Why don't you give appointments to Muslim Leaguers?" but "why don't you appoint Muslims?"—a far more effective battle cry. Impartial political observers like Horace Alexander have seen through this political game of the League. In the Muslim majority provinces, this battle cry has now practically lost its force as the public bodies and services have already been surcharged with the supporters of the party in power, which just for the present happens to be the League. The last battle cry of despair had therefore to be raised, the cry of the Pakistan—an undefined mirage. The Muslim League, a creation of British Imperialism with Government support, continues to serve the ends of British Imperialism.

India a Vast Prison-house

Mr. Amery voiced Imperialist sentiments when he expressed disagreement with Mrs. Pandit's statement

that India was a vast prison-house and that religious differences did not substantially exist in India. The Imperialist idea of a paradise may not always be in keeping with the common people's view-point. The Andamans were once described by an astute Home Member of the Government of India as an "earthly paradise" when there were claims for the repatriation of political prisoners from that penal island. Mrs. Pandit was more than justified in describing India as a vast concentration camp. It was an English poet who wrote "Stone walls do not a prison make" and it needed an English Government to prove the bitter truth of this poetic statement. In a concentration camp, a prisoner has no freedom of person, no right of property and no liberty of communication. In India, all over the country to-day, freedom of person is completely non-existent,—anybody and everybody may be arrested and imprisoned at the sweet will of the authorities on the report of a police spy. Not even the semblance of a trial is needed to deprive a person of his liberty and nobody knows when he is going to be so deprived. Hundreds of innocent people are being trampled to death by special types of lorries and even the Indian Legislative Assembly is helpless to stop this slaughter. Freedom of movement, an essential corollary of the freedom of person, is now an impossibility owing to the acquisition of the means of transport by the agents of an absentee landlord. Right to property has been blown to pieces. Villages are asked to quit their ancestral homes on a few hours' notice. Thousands and lakhs of small traders like boat-men and fisher-men are deprived of the only means of their livelihood at the orders of a panicky Governor. Defence of India Rules prevent new entrants in trade and industry in most of the fields thus depriving the coming generation of their means of livelihood. Privacy of correspondence has been completely taken away. The concentration camp type of censorship has been imposed practically all over the country. The recent debate in the Central Assembly on the sale of Savings Certificates shows that concentration camp brand of torture is widely in application in many of the provinces. Just as in a concentration camp the prisoners' supplies are at the mercy of the official contractors, similarly people all over India are completely at the mercy of black marketeers thriving under the wings of the Government.

Mrs. Pandit's second assertion that no religious differences existed in India is also equally true. We have already shown that Hindu and Muslim masses lived side by side for centuries together in peace and unity. Neither the Hindu nor the Muslim Governments had ever imposed any political or educational disability on members of the different religion as England had done on her Catholic population. It required an Act of Parliament to emancipate the Catholics. No crusade of the Christian type has ever been fought in India. Hindus and Muslims differed from each other in religion but not as human beings dubbing each other as heretics.

Cloth Famine in Bengal

With the continuous expansion in the cost and establishment of the Civil Supplies Department of Bengal, miseries of the people continue to grow. Price of rice rules at a level four to five times higher than the normal, while thousands of tons of valuable food-stuff rot in Government godowns under the supervision of highly paid officials. Drug famine, coal famine and

cloth famine continue with unabated fury. Cloth and coal are not obtainable at the open counter. Black-marketeteers continue to thrive under the protecting wings of the Government.

An adjournment motion brought in the Bengal Legislative Assembly to discuss the cloth famine has been defeated. The Opposition mustered by votes which shows that in the midst of the political black marketing there are at least five dozen honest men in the Bengal Legislature who had the honesty and courage to record their votes against a Ministry which thrives on jobbery, black-marketeteering and corruption. The Civil Supplies Minister miserably failed to convince the House or the public outside that the famine was not due to their fault. The fact remains unchallenged that this Ministry failed to secure adequate quota for clothing in Bengal which falls far short of other provinces. It is certain that Bengal's case was not pressed home. Distribution through novices and a favoured class has proved an absolute curse. At every step of distribution of essential commodities, the present Ministry has interfered with the normal channels of trade and transport. Special types of distributors have been created only to prey upon the people of this no-man's land like so many special types of lorries crushing the Calcutta pedestrians to death. It is high time that these blood-sucking leeches on Bengal's body politic should be torn away.

The Bengal Budget

The Bengal Budget has been presented with a huge deficit. Rs. 13½ crores alone account for loss in food transactions. Rs. 5 crores have been budgeted for the construction of boats under two careerist Hungarian Jews who have had no experience or knowledge of boat construction or boat trade.

Had the boat constructions been made by the village carpenters with some financial aid from the Government, there would surely have been much less wastage and better work would certainly have been done.

Rs. 4 crores have been provided for the A.R.P. while the masters of the Ministry, the European Group, have expressed the belief that the blackout in Calcutta should immediately go.

Confusion of accounts in regard to Government transactions in foodstuff is apparent. Great pains have been taken to make them as vague as possible. In the original budget estimate for rice transactions we find an estimated surplus of Rs. 13 crores but in a Revised Estimate for the same year this surplus has been converted into a loss of more than Rs. 30 crores! Sale-proceeds of rice have not been clearly shown; a vague item 'other receipts' cover the receipt side. Such gross discrepancy between the original and the revised estimates indicates that either the persons in charge of preparing the estimates are completely unworthy of the job allotted to them or that there is reason for a grave suspicion of a cooking of accounts. The revelations recently made by the Auditor-General of India about the keeping of Accounts in Bengal under the direct superintendence of the Governor must give the public cause for suspicion. The tendency to evade original budgets by placing a supplementary at suitable moments is highly condemnable and thoroughly undemocratic.

The Finance Minister has waxed eloquent on rehabilitation expenditure but has remained completely silent about the detailing of any programme. Of a total of Rs. 169 lakhs for rehabilitation, Rs. 155 lakhs have

been left completely undefined under the head Famine. In the famine expenditure itself one finds that Rs. 90 lakhs have been provided towards meeting salaries and expenditures of the establishment which will distribute only Rs. 50 lakhs as gratuitous relief. One wonders what portion of Rs. 155 lakhs will go to the actual needy if it is spent on the same proportion, i.e., if 65 per cent of the total is reserved for salaries and establishments.

An impartial scrutiny of the budget taking into account its receipts and the normal heads of expenditure will convince any sensible man that this budget could be immensely improved only if the reins of Government are taken out from the present set of incapables—and worse—and handed over to a set of honest men with drive and imagination.

Yalta

As the war drags on to the end of its orbit, the veiled under-currents of Power Politics are slowly eddying on to the surface. The "Big Three" have met and held conclave beyond the range of the public's eye. As on previous occasions, this time too we have been told that the conclusions arrived at, were settled in mutual harmonious accord, and for all we know that may be the truth. For the ways of the Great, like that of an eagle in the air or a serpent on a rock, are beyond the ken of the average mind. Our own ancients advised us not to put any faith on the words of kings, and now it seems to kings we should add dictators and presidents. A poem, addressed "To the Leaders of the Allied Nations," by Edna St. Vincent Millay that has appeared in *The New York Times Magazine* of January 21, 1945, seems so cogent that we make no apologies to our readers for quoting it substantially in these columns:

Do you deceive us? Do you? Yes? No?
Speak. It is time to speak. You have talked enough.

This was a war for Freedom; so we thought it;
And so we fought it.
You knew this, all of you.
You promised us a new
World—a decent one this time, a world a man
might live in without shame.
How is it going forward, this great enterprise,
this plot
To outwit Evil?—Are the blueprints done?
And may we see them? No? Why not?

"The time is not yet ripe," you state.
We say: "The time is ripening fast."
We say: "Before the time is ripe, the time will
rot

At the core, too late
For harvesting, the proper moment passed."—

What do you plot
In camera, behind closed doors?—
Something that we,
Your loyal citizens and subjects, doing our
distasteful chores,
Not without, here and there, some bravery,
Would work, would die (for so you have con-
cluded) more contentedly
If we do not,
Than if we should know?

For I have heard soft footfalls here and there
Running along beside the deeds you do,

Of some most furtive thing.
What can this creature be?—
Expediency?
Steel? Iron? Oil-Wells?
Intrigue? Cartels?
Come, fetch us forth its name!
We have a mighty, nagging wish to know.

* * * *

But you have said soft words, to put to sleep
The minds of people that were thinking deep
Of what great issues This War must decide
If it, in any way, be justified.
Have you some pattern, you,
Our private sacrifice, our love, to halt, or to
undo?—

We who at this war's end
Not only hope, but yes; by God, intend
To see our dreams come true!
Do you deceive us? Do you? If you do,
The more incautious you.
Come gentlemen, the plan!—
Produce it. Spread it out before us. Show,
Though it be intricate, its prime simplicity:
Namely, that men and nations, shall be free.

* * * *

Out with it now. We have the right to know
What you are up to—we
Who placed you where you are, and pay your
salary;
Who, for your waste, your blunders—broken
crockery
By truck-loads carted off—do dearly pay;
And for vast ovens, in their size and number
every day increased,
Where sits and sulks a bread that does not rise,
for you forget the yeast.

Unfold it, spread it out, the plan:
We have the right to see,
To bend above in study, question, scan;
Yes, we the people; we, the undistinguished man;
The Demos in the word Democracy.

We say the poem is appropriate because we do believe that the sowing of the Dragon's teeth is being proceeded with in silence, while brave words are being uttered by those in power to lull the suspicions of this war-weary world. Indeed the words do not sound so brave now, since some parts of the real blue-print have been exposed to the public eye for a fluttering moment. But the glance has sufficed us to appraise the plans for the future which these Autocrats have been formulating in disjointed and self-contradictory fashion. The Atlantic Charter, the Four Freedoms, the U.N.R.R.A., these were real great plans and they brought comfort and hope and promise for the future in the hearts of hundreds of millions of the silently suffering. Bengal and Madras, and now France, Italy and Greece, have shown what the U.N.R.R.A. is worth and now with Yalta the scrapping of the Atlantic Charter is complete. As for the Four Freedoms, they seem to us to be in reality a huge, though rather cruel, joke. With the complete Balkanisation of the whole of the Continent of Europe between the borders of France and Russia and the virtual enslavement of all Asia, the only freedoms that the Nations of the Earth will possess would be to plot and to prepare for the Third World War, which by all signs would be due about 1960, by which time fresh harvests of cannon-fodder would have been garnered and fresh shibboleths formulated.

The Gandhian Plan

All Post-War plans have certain points of similarity specially in their conditions-*precedent*. It is self-evident that for a Post-War Plan to succeed, there must be a Post-War period, that is to say there must be a period of peace with no strife of any kind to divert the energies or the resources of a nation to war or the immediate possibilities of war. Even if the people concerned are not aggression-minded, that is even if they are inclined to observe the Ten Commandments where other nations and peoples are concerned, this favourable condition may not exist. For if they are surrounded or subjected to the action of predatory nations, then with all their eagerness to keep their energies confined to their own work and their desires to their own possessions, they are more than likely to be obliged to divert their time, treasure and energies to the purposes of war—which means destruction—to a much more degree than to that of construction of a national life based on Peace. Even though there be no actual hostilities with arms, there might be economic warfare, which is equally destructive of a weaker nation's national economic structure as India has experienced to her bitter cost during a hundred and fifty years of British Rule.

To a war-weary world, bleeding at every pore through the results of the terrible strifes and stresses that this mechanized civilisation has caused, the Gandhian Plan gives real glimpses of Heaven, with peace, contentment and *above all leisure*. Leisure for contemplation and for enjoyment of the blessings of a life of easy self-sufficiency. The Plan as formulated is self-contradictory in places as the planner has had perforce to provide for certain incompatibles which happen to be indispensable in the event of war and strife. The planner does not seem to realise that those incompatibles—namely, mechanisation, key industries, etc.—are prone to induce conditions that lead to alteration of the economic structure to the whole gamut. Industrialisation to an extreme degree is the inevitable corollary to the establishment of Key Industries and large-scale Power-Projects, if they are to stand up to foreign and bounty-fed competition, and under such conditions it is difficult to visualize the success of a plan of decentralization on the basis of village economy. If such a compromise were possible, that would indeed be ideal, despite all that Economics Pandits might say about setting the Wheel of Time back. Indeed it is about time that such Pandits realize that their theories have proved to be the greatest failures of all time, and that the proof has been given in strife and suffering and in the destruction of all that is held as being of any value in Life. This latest plan contains really much that is of the essence, but all the same there is that atmosphere of Utopia about it, which will remain until it be proved that the incompatibles can be made into constructive—or at least not destructive—factors in the scheme. The crux of the problem therein is, can Ahimsa act as a shield against aggression, economic or war-like?

A Plea for More Astronomical Observatories

Immense possibilities exist in India for Astronomical Observatories. Virtually for nine months in the year the sky is clear and very suitable for telescopic observations and photography of heavenly bodies. But

unfortunately there are only two observatories worth-mentioning, *viz.*, the Solar Observatory at Kodaikanal and the Nizamiah Observatory at Hyderabad. Great Britain has at least 17 observatories maintained by Government, Universities and private endowments. In the United States of America and in Russia the number of observatories is much larger. On the same scale as that of Great Britain, India should have at least 130 observatories.

Popular exposition of the functions of Astronomy on an extensive scale and wide publication of the results of Astronomy are two important problems which should be satisfactorily tackled in our scheme of post-war reconstruction on Education. In Britain, due partly to war conditions, a keen popular interest in Astronomy has been awakened recently. Mr. D. S. Evans writes in the *Observatory*, October, 1944: "The present time is most propitious for the consideration of plans for the popularisation of Astronomy. The black-out and military, air force, homeguard, observer corps and fire-watching duties have stimulated an extraordinary increase in popular interest in Astronomy. There is a considerable demand for good books on the subject. Over ninety per cent of the scientific questions sent in from the Forces to the B.B.C. are either definitely Astronomical or closely related to Astronomy and there are other evidences of a lively popular interest."

In Sargent's Report we have a comprehensive scheme for Post-War Reconstruction of Education in India. In any such scheme the need for the establishment and planning of a number of Observatories in India should also be considered. As mentioned before, we have at present only two Observatories worth the name. India is a vast country, and to begin with, we should have at least ten more Observatories at suitable places in this country. In Northern India there is no modern Astronomical Observatory as yet.

In Delhi, Allahabad, and Calcutta, valuable research work has been done in Astrophysics during the last few years, which has received recognition outside. But the research work and teaching in Astronomy have been purely theoretical, on account of lack of suitable observational material and equipment. So properly equipped Observatories attached to these Universities are very necessary. In these Universities, effective collaboration of observational astronomers, theoretical workers, and laboratory physicists would be possible.

A fairly well-equipped Observatory with research facilities will cost about 5 lakhs of rupees. Ten such observatories would cost about half a crore of rupees, which is a small fraction of the total amount proposed to be spent on items of education in the Post-War period.

A. C. B.

A Plea for Teaching Aerodynamics in Indian Universities

The knowledge of aerodynamics is essential for a proper appreciation of the fundamental principles of the Sciences of Aviation and Meteorology. A thorough grasp of these principles is a *sine qua non* for any original work in the theory and practice of these sciences. In post-war India aviation is bound to become one of the chief means of transport. For proper designs of machines and their handling a good grounding in Aerodynamics is necessary. It is an acknowledged fact that theory has helped a lot in finding out devices

for giving stability to the machines and overcoming the resistance of air while flying. In fact every step in the rapid development which has recently taken place in aviation has been the result of close collaboration between the theoretical and practical workers in the field.

In the domain of Meteorology, knowledge of weather conditions is very necessary for agriculture, aviation and shipping. Weather forecasting has been very helpful in minimising loss to life and property by giving timely warnings of impending storms, floods, etc. The United States Weather Bureau has done signal service by predicting times of occurrences of devastating floods in the Mississippi valley and the dreadful American tornadoes. The Indian Meteorological Department has also been very helpful in making timely forecasts of tropical cyclones. As the science of forecasting is still in its infancy there is much scope here for theoretical work in aerodynamics, to collate the observational data, to indicate the lines of further research and to make proper deductions.

It is expected that there will be considerable expansion of the Departments of Aviation and Meteorology in Post-War India. A band of fully-trained young men with special knowledge of Aerodynamics would be required by these Departments. So Aerodynamics should be introduced as a special subject in the Mathematics curriculum of our Universities which are evidently the proper places for imparting instruction to our young men in the theory of the subject.

A. C. B.

An Australian for the Taxila School of Archaeology

Mr. Dermont Casey, brother of the Governor of Bengal, has been appointed head of the Taxila School of Archaeology. At the time of his appointment Mr. Richard Casey is reported to have expressed the hope that more big posts should go to the Australians. So, one more big job goes not only to Australia but to the Casey family itself. We are opposed to the import of Australians in our administrative posts at least so long as Australia does not lift the ban on Indians for entry into their land. So far as the department of Archaeology is concerned, we disapprove the appointment of any foreigner on it who has not demonstrated his knowledge and love for the traditions and culture of this country as Cunningham or Sir John Marshall did. There is no dearth of archaeological talents in India, but they have not been encouraged. Indeed if the truth were to be stated the greatest names in Indology are predominantly Indian and so at least in this sphere there is no call whatsoever for imported talent, which at the best has been of doubtful quality of late.

Exactions by Provincial Officers

A censure motion has been passed in the Central Legislative Assembly which was initiated by a back-bencher of the Muslim League concerning unfair and illegal exactions in the National Savings campaign spread over the United Provinces, Punjab, Bombay, Bihar and other provinces. The mover Mr. Abdul Ghani concentrated his charge against the officials of Bihar. But Mr. K. C. Neogy lifted the debate to an all-India level by fastening the responsibility on the Finance Member. He instanced cases in the U. P. and

suggested a "Mudie touch" behind them. From the Punjab Sardar Sant Singh gave his own personal experience. Mr. Jampadas Mehta and Sir Cowasjee Jahangir spoke about exactions in Bombay. The Assembly refused to admit Sir Jeremy Raisman's claim that there had been no use of force. The Finance Member gave a lecture on benefits of anti-inflationary measures which, he suggested, were based on "high degree of perfection," to which the Assembly retorted with a cry "third degree methods." All sorts of third degree methods employed in the sale of Savings Certificates were instanced on the floor of the House. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League, brought home the truth to the Finance Member by mentioning the case of an orphanage in Delhi which was denied ration cards for three days in an effort to compel the manager to contribute. He declared that the allegations made in the motion were true throughout the country. The Home Member had given reasons why the scheme put forward by the Finance Department was not acceptable to the provinces. Sir Francis had said it would have been difficult for Provincial Governments to exercise supervision over Central Government agents if the latter started monkeying with the business. But in fact the main consideration that agitated those concerned amongst these provincial officers was that any perquisites that might be there should go into their pockets and not in the pockets of central officers. That was the reason for rejecting the central scheme.

The Nawabzada voiced the opinion of the country when he asserted that "75 per cent of the inflated money was with contractors, bribe-takers and black-marketers working under the protection of the Government of India." Those were the three sources which should have been tapped for getting money and only then could a large portion of inflated money have been got at.

War Allowance Claim by the I. C. S.

It took five long years for the I.C.S. to overcome their delicacy and to apply for a war allowance. The Chief Secretary of the Punjab Government had been to Delhi pleading for the proposals of his Government that the I.C.S. men should be given war allowances. The I.C.S. is the highest paid service in the world and if any reconsideration about its salary be made it ought to be the other way. The present high scale had been proposed first by Lord Clive in order to make the Civil Service bribe-proof. His proposal was accepted but his hopes have not been quite fulfilled. The Congress had acted up to its claim, during its tenure in office, that the highest salary for administrative posts need not be more than Rs. 500. In a poor country of cheap living, this amount ought to be sufficient.

The present I.C.S. enjoys, besides salary, a number of allowances. During the depression of 1930 when there was a salary cut in all the services, the I.C.S. was spared from the cut. Now at the close of the war when prices are wavering towards a fall, their claim for war allowances should certainly be judged carefully. The I.C.S. men have not starved on account of the War. As an Indian contemporary puts it, their margin of expenditure on luxuries might have been reduced as it should be because in a war in which others have sacrificed their lives it is not a great sacrifice for the steel frame "to do without genuine Scotch."

Draft Hindu Code and Sacramental Marriage

Recluse, the writer of the *Bandra Diary* in the *Indian Social Reformer*, has very ably discussed the case for and against sacramental marriage. The Rau Committee has concluded its sittings in Bombay and is now in Calcutta. In view of the importance of the subject and the sanity of the argument, we quote his views at some length :

The part of Hindu Code relating to marriage reform bulked more largely in the Committee's proceedings than the part relating to intestate succession. This is natural as the latter is only of academic interest to the vast majority of the population. Monogamy and divorce were opposed by the representative of the All-India Varnashrama Swarajya Sangh, which is an Association standing for the autonomy of Hindu castes. *Mr. Jayakar whom the Committee co-opted for the Bombay province, asked the spokesman of the Caste Association whether he knew that hundreds of Hindu women, either young widows or those not happily married, changed their faith every year, and that depletion of the Hindus in that way amounted to about two per cent in ten years. A Hindu wife could obtain divorce by changing her religion. As a Hindu trying to consolidate Hinduism would not the witness rather prefer the woman to remain in the fold? Would he not provide for a straight and honest method of divorce rather than the circuitous method of conversion?*

The witness replied that he would certainly detest the idea of any Hindu woman leaving the fold, but he would not under any circumstances give up the high ideal of sacramental marriage referred to in Manu Smriti. A few women were likely to suffer in the process but it could not be helped.

The witness wants the sacramental character of the Hindu marriage to be preserved. But is it preserved when husband and wife are unable to get on together and when the wife in a desperate effort to free herself from the sacrament becomes a convert to Christianity or Islam without in the least believing in any religion? In a recent case which obtained much publicity, a Hindu woman had become a Muslim and back again a Hindu all within a few months. It is true that she could not have secured divorce even if the Hindu law provided for it. But there are genuine cases of hardship, cruel hardship, driving women to insanity and suicide and, surely, the sacramental marriage does not contemplate such a catastrophic state of things. This particular witness and others of his view are no doubt influenced by a fervent regard for the letter of the law. But they are honest in their fanaticism. Quite recently I came to know, to my intense surprise, of another reason which some opponents of the reform who by no stretch of language can be called orthodox, have in mind though they do not openly state it. It is that *they do not wish to marry under a law which gives their wives the right to claim divorce, while themselves retaining the freedom to marry a second wife in the lifetime of the first.* These men also profess to be anxious about the sacramental marriage though the word sacrament on their lips is a sacrilege. There are persons of the highest moral calibre who want marriage to be irrevocable but they want this not only of women but also of men. If the sacramentalists are honest they should strongly support the monogamous principle which the witness opposed on grounds which run counter

to commonsense. The representative of women's organisations supported the provisions both for monogamy and divorce in the draft code.

What is actually the case is that all idea of the sacrament has vanished except such as are detrimental to women. To that extent, there is no real sacrament. Polyandry is a criminal offence but polygamy is not. Those who believe in the sacramental marriage should make Hindu marriage monogamous to both men and women. The draft Code does this and nothing more.

The Rau Committee

The Hindu Law Committee popularly known as the Rau Committee has begun to take evidence in Calcutta. It is very unfortunate that the committee has not been provided with short-hand writers with the consequence that the very valuable oral evidence offered either in support or against the Code goes unrecorded. The members of the Committee are no doubt taking notes, but such notes can hardly replace the questions put to and answers elicited from the witnesses.

J. M. D.

Increment in Governors' Allowances

Soon after the I.C.S. men's claim for war allowances, Mr. Amery has pleaded in the House of Commons for a 25 per cent increase in Governors' allowances, all except three of whom are members of the I.C.S. This news did not have a savoury taste even in British members whose spokesman in Calcutta has voiced disagreement. In Bengal, the Governor's salary is Rs. 1,20,000 and his allowances this year have been budgeted for Rs. 8,43,100. His allowances actually spent in the famine year 1943-44 was Rs. 6,57,312. In the budget estimate for 1944-45 it was increased to Rs. 8,22,000 which again was reduced to Rs. 7,57,400 in the Revised Estimate for that year.

Expenses for gubernatorial austerity have always been considered in this country as unnecessarily high. Governors' salary and allowances are charged on the public revenues, not subject to the vote of the Legislature like the Civil List of the British King. Even a discussion in this head of public expenditure is forbidden under the Indian "constitution."

Mechanisation of Agriculture

Attention is now being directed to the dehumanising effect of the machine, especially on farm populations; the destruction of the soil by chemical fertilisers, power implements and commercialised methods, and the disappearance of folk art and a sound rural culture as the result of industrialisation. Among the unwholesome tendencies resulting from these trends are firstly over specialisation and monoculture. The one crop farmer is more at the mercy of weather and the market than the more diversified farmer. Monoculture has also a destructive effect upon the soil. Secondly, the farmer's foods are often processed at great distances from his farm to the detriment of his family's health. In the western countries with mechanised agriculture, the farmer sells his wheat on the open market and buys it back in the form of flour. He does not realise that on so doing he is paying the carriage charges to the granary or mill, paying the expenses of processing the wheat into flour, and then paying the carrying charges back

again. The quality of mill-made white flour cannot be equal to the whole meal flour he can have ground at home. In India, with our primitive agriculture, both the rice-eating and wheat-eating people retain food crops needed for their own consumption and have them processed at home. Thirdly, the problems of lessening soil fertility, of soil erosion and of diseases in plants and animals have greatly increased since the advent of farm industrialisation. Sir Albert Howard writes: "In 1937 the conditions and needs of the U.S.A. were appraised. No less than 25,30,00,000 acres or 61 per cent of the total area under crops, had either been completely destroyed or had lost most of its fertility. Only 16,10,00,000 acres or 39 per cent of the cultivated area could be safely farmed by the present methods. In less than a century the United States has therefore lost nearly three-fifths of its agricultural capital. The roof of this soil erosion trouble is misuse of the land." Comparing the crop yields in wheat and corn in highly mechanised Russia for the years 1930-34, it has been shown to be lower than in *any other* European country. Holland with very little mechanisation had the highest yields. These experiences ought to be considered before mechanised agriculture in India is put forward as the only panacea. The possible evil consequences have to be guarded against first.

Restoration of Burma, Malaya and Hongkong

The *New York Daily News* editorially demands "clarification of the extent of support to defeat Japan which America can expect from Russia and Britain." The paper says that the capture of the Philippines will wind up all the Pacific War that strictly concerns U.S.A. as a nation and which affects American national honour and pride.

The paper observes that the American factories are producing more synthetic rubber than its consumption during peace time. Therefore Malaya is not important to the United States. It writes: "If the British feel that that area must be restored to the British Empire, it is difficult to see why we should furnish all the blood and material which such a restoration of Malaya will cost. The time seems to be ripe to request the British to begin doing their share of work."

The same holds true in regard to the restoration of Burma to the Empire and Hongkong, adds the paper.

Asia will be the acid test of the 'Three Powers' declarations about freedom and democracy. With the end of the War drawing nearer the frequency of professions for human rights and liberties is lessening and the century-old Imperialist land-grabbing tactics is growing more and more pronounced.

Fifty Years of the Lee Memorial

The Lee Memorial Mission has completed in 1944 fifty years of its service to suffering humanity in India. The Mission was founded in 1894 by Dr. and Mrs. Lee of America. At a grave disaster in Darjeeling, they lost six of their lovely children, this terrible calamity became a stepping stone to nobler and more self-sacrificing

service. Work in Calcutta was opened with three Bengali girls, two of whom were destitutes. The work continued to grow and by 1899, there were over a hundred girls in the school founded by the Mission. The present buildings at the Wellington Square, Calcutta, were erected and the plant finally completed in 1909. The Lee Memorial has always been active in times of need and want. It has rendered sterling services during years of finance and pestilence. During the past five months almost one thousand children have been receiving a daily glass of milk. This has come from America, the powdered and canned types, provided by the American people for the poor of India. Over 100,000 M-Vitamin perles have gone to children through the Lee Memorial centres.

Banks for Human Spare Parts

The *Readers' Digest* has given an account of how banks for human spare parts are developing in the modern world. Inspired by the life-saving feats of the blood banks, medical science has begun developing banks in which to store other "spare parts" of the human body for surgical use in emergencies.

Thousands of persons—estimates run as high as 100,000—whose sight has been dimmed or lost through damage to the cornea, the clear, transparent membrane that covers the iris of the eye, have been waiting patiently for the promised operation that will enable them to see again. This operation is extremely delicate; there are perhaps 20 surgeons in the United States qualified to perform it. A clear piece of cornea taken from another eye is skilfully stitched in place of the damaged membrane.

The difficulty has been to obtain eyes. Rarely; an eye would be sacrificed by a living donor; occasionally some person would execute a will leaving his eyes to science. But there never have been enough eyes to supply the demand; surgeons could perform the operation only occasionally.

Now the hospitals of New York City have established the world's first eye bank. Nineteen hospitals have agreed to supply eyes. They deal with would-be donors, furnish the necessary legal papers to be signed (in New York State the consent of the next of kin must be obtained), and remove the eye from the donor's body immediately after death.

The American Red Cross Motor Corps rushes the eye to the New York Hospital where it is stored in the plasma bank at proper temperature until needed.

The eyes of stillborn babies can be used, but the chief source of supply is expected to be adult donors.

Similar banks have been developed for storing dehydrated nerves. Dr. R. M. Klemme and his associates of the St. Louis University School of Medicine have done outstanding pioneer work in nerve grafting to replace missing sections. The Russians have used preserved nerve fragments, removed from the bodies of their own battle casualties, for repair surgery. According to Russian reports, war-torn arms and legs are thus restored to complete usefulness.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

ON the Eastern front in Europe the battle for Germany is fast approaching its climax. After the blitz advance over the frozen fields and marshes the Soviets' spearheads were halted by a sudden thaw that overtook them when they were within forty miles of Berlin at one point. The enforced halt gave the Germans the first breathing space after nearly three weeks of strenuous but fruitless efforts at stopping the rapid advance of the Soviets' armour corps. Indeed the assault was of such momentum that the infantry divisions of the Soviets were left far behind as were the heavy artillery, while the mechanized divisions, and the brigades of self-propelled artillery barely kept up with fast-moving panzer spearheads that had torn gaps in the German defence lines and had thrust far into the rear of the enemy formations that had been bye-passed. The halt caused by the thaw held up the Russian advance approximately along the line of the Oder and the Lower Vistula. Several strong German fortifications had been bye-passed and very large groups of German defending forces were also left in the rear. During its rapid drive into the home-land of the Reich the Soviets' armour and mechanized formations had kept up their spear-head formations, the Fanning-out and the Cauldron manœuvres being left for a later date when the thrust had travelled deep enough into the vitals of the German defenders. So when the check, due to climatic change, occurred the Germans were enabled to envelop the spearheads with large masses of anti-tank artillery supported by small groups of mechanized forces which were accompanied by hurriedly organized volunteer groups. This was followed by the moving up of Soviets' infantry divisions and heavy artillery but the German defenders in the rear started fighting their way back to the new battle-line too and in the meanwhile large reserves drawn from the central pool started moving into position to defend vulnerable sectors and a hurried re-arrangement of the defence-plan was started.

The Wehrmacht had been out-manœuvred at the first assault. Its defences had been breached and extremely powerful thrusts delivered deep into the main territory which contained the central reservoirs of man-power and material. But evidently they were prepared for such eventualities, for directly the pace, weight and direction of the thrusts were ascertained a new structure of defence began to take shape all along the line from the Baltic to the Carpathians and into Hungary and the Balkans. The threat to the Baltic ports, to Berlin and to the great armament production centres of Upper Silesia were assessed and rapid counter-moves were started, firstly to show down the Soviets' penetrating moves, and secondly, to stabilize the defences along the line that provided the most favourable terrain for the defence. The first part of this manœuvre was successful in the main, as the Soviets' advance lost its blitz character, and the Wehrmacht is now attempting to achieve the second part.

The Soviets' Supreme Command on its part, having been balked of its main objectives of its blitz assault, through the sudden change in the weather, has now

thrown in vast masses of infantry, artillery and air forces, and started a gigantic assault on a front extending from Libau to the Slovakian border. Over three hundred Soviets' divisions with colossal artillery formations in support are now battering at the newly organised German defence structure. That the change-over in the strategy has not been rapid enough to take advantage of the disorganisation subsequent on the blitz campaign is apparent. The Wehrmacht still moves rapidly and is quick at taking decisions and in carrying them out in detail. But the Soviets have a tremendous advantage in numbers and in the weight of armour and artillery, almost five to one. And so in the battle that is now raging in full fury the handicaps on the defenders are tremendous. The battles that are now in progress with extreme violence are rapidly approaching a climax and great decisions may be attained within the course of a few weeks, if not days, on which will depend the whole course of the War, not only in Europe but Asia as well.

If the German defence structure be disrupted within the next few weeks, then the war in Europe may indeed be over before the year has progressed beyond the summer. Germany cannot have much reserves to spare even now, though the quantity as it is seems to be far in excess of what Mr. Churchill estimated it to be, and these battles that are now assuming the form of a 400-mile long and miles deep blaze must be draining the life-blood of the German army fast. The Germans are staking all to prevent another wide break-through in great force, as occurred near Warsaw, and the vital centres threatened are many. If the break-through occurs in spite of all the efforts of the Wehrmacht then there would be little to stop the Russian tidal wave from engulfing the main regions of armament production and re-fitting. If that happens then the defence plan of Germany will crumble up in the East which will be rapidly followed by the break-up of all organised resistance inside Germany proper. Indeed the morale of the people may well crack up even before the Wehrmacht loses its grip on the Nazi War-machine and in that eventuality the end may come close. If, on the other hand, the new defence structure stands together till the Spring thaws have set in all over the front, even if instead of being shattered it is merely pushed back yard by yard by tremendous blows with great masses of men, guns and armour—as it is being now—then the position might well change towards a prolongation of the war. For it must not be forgotten that great as the German losses must be in the present campaign—though the recent Russian estimates are evidently shots with a long-bow—the Soviets' losses must be bigger still. And it must be remembered that in a Winter campaign of the present magnitude Russia must have scraped its man-power barrel to the wood and that in guns and armour it must be throwing in all it has for a quick decision. If that decision be not obtained before the Spring has progressed well into the marshes of East Prussia and in the riverine tracts of Eastern Germany, then Russia will have to take a long breath.

before it can start a fresh campaign on different lines, in co-ordination with its allies.

On the Western Front the Siegfried Lines are still proving a barrier against the Allied progress. Major assaults have been delivered by the Canadians near Cleve and by the Americans from Aachen and near Luxembourg but the progress is as yet slow and halting, and the resistance shows no signs as yet of slackening. The latest developments on the American sectors are promising according to the news just received (24.2.45) but as yet there is no sign that anything in the nature of a decision can be quickly attained on this front. The Germans have evidently obtained some very valuable time, through Rundstedt's strategic move of December last, for further augmenting their defences at the weak points indicated by American thrusts in the latter part of last year's autumn. On the Italian Front the Germans seem to have temporarily stabilized their defence lines, though Spring may bring in a change with the coming of less inclement weather. For the present, therefore, the only prospect of a quick end of the War in Europe can be seen in the battles in the Eastern marches of the Reich. If the Soviets can obtain a quick and comprehensive decision on those battle-fronts where the struggle is rapidly mounting to a climax, then the war may be over by the summer in Europe.

In Asia Japan is now being hard-pressed. The American War-machine is gearing up for the uphill journey to decision. Japan has had much valuable time presented to her through the famous "Asia must wait" dictum of Winston Churchill. But Japan still needs some more time to complete her tooling up and to organise her transport system. It is all the more promising therefore to see that the U.S.A. has evidently come to a different conclusion regarding the needs of the Asiatic front. After stepping up the campaign in the Philippines the U.S.A. forces now have struck at the last barriers before the home-land of the Japanese. Indeed in a sense Iwojima is a part of the main defensive structure of the Japanese islands, and the fierceness of the fight that is raging day and night on that volcanic island of a few square miles is a good index of the issues at stake for the Japanese. The battle for the Philippines is not over by any means as yet, indeed there are indications to show that the major struggle there is still ahead. That the Pacific Command has decided to extend the scope of its action without waiting for the final break-up of the Japanese resistance in Philippines shows that the U.S.A. is now well-aware of the grave results that may come if Japan is allowed much more time.

Japan is a long way off from being beaten as yet, despite all over-optimistic opinions regarding the end of the War that are cabled to India every now and then. She is not yet ready to meet the Allies on even terms in the technical sphere. But she is not losing any time and has already made progress. The growing ferocity of Japanese defence shows that there is no chance of an early collapse of Japanese morale and it is also a clear indication of the magnitude of the task that lies ahead of the Allies on the Continent of China and on the home-soil of the Japanese. Japan is preparing as fast as she can to meet the threat of a landing in force on the South Coast of China by the U.S.A. forces, and she is not letting any grass grow under her feet in the attempt at completing the railway communications between Korea and the Malay peninsula—and

beyond. The re-opening of the Burma Road is the most promising event on the Asiatic mainland fronts, and there might be yet time to resuscitate the armies of Free China and to re-equip and refit the wonderful guerrilla organisations that have kept the Japanese at bay for years now even in the vast tracts of the occupied areas.

The campaigning season in North Burma has still over ten weeks ahead of it. But in Lower Burma and in the Arakans the time is getting short. But with Akyab in re-occupation and Ramree island well in the grip of the Allied forces the monsoons may cause only a temporary stoppage and not a total break in the campaign as happened in the previous years. Progress is slow in Burma and the Japanese defence plan still obscure. Of course, the difficulties in the way of transport and communications are great and are likely to remain so until some part of Lower Burma comes into the hands of the Allies. It is to be hoped that the "Asia must wait" theory has been scrapped for good. The possession of the Irrawaddy and the main line to Lashio would count a great deal in the campaign in China for once those channels are clear the "back-door to China" would be wide open in reality and the Japanese in China would then have to face assaults on two fronts. Otherwise the battle for China might be indeed long.

The sixth year of the War passes its meridian with the coming of March. Of the three "Have-not" nations that formed themselves into the "Axis" group two are still fighting though the odds against them are now six to one in men, machines and arms. The two that are fighting are the two that have caused the greatest damage to their opponents, Germany in Europe and Japan in Asia. In European Russia the havoc caused by German arms is unparalleled in history, though the slaughter of the Chinese by the Japanese probably surpasses even that record in the destruction of human life. These two are still fighting with the same ruthlessness and with the same fury, Germany in the sixth year of the European War and Japan in the closing months of the Eighth year of the Asiatic War. In man-power and resources, Russia, France with colonies and Britain had at least a fourfold advantage over Germany and these Russia alone had two and a half times the weight of armament and trained reserves as Germany. The potential of America and the British Empire against Japan was similarly nearly fourfold even if China be left out of the calculation. With all these odds in favour the United Nations have taken these long years to bring Germany at bay and to start the preliminaries against Japan. And even with all the tremendous potentialities of power, treasure and technical equipment of the United Nations utilized to the full this war-weary world does not know as yet where the end will come. Therefore, the entry of Turkey into the War is not likely to sway the balance to any appreciable extent. Turkey's entry into the War on the side of the United Nations might have been of great military consequence at the end of 1942. Even in 1941 it would have been of great assistance to the Russian. Now it is in reality merely a diplomatic event in Europe. In Asia it means the complete merger of the Saadabad Treaty group of Moslem States into the European power complex. The South American States are of even less consequence so far as the War is concerned.

A REVIVALIST

Our Debt To The Swami Shradananda*

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

I

I received, the other day, a letter that had been written by a man I greatly esteem. The house in Lahore from which he sent it is in Rattigan Road.

The sight of that street's name awakened memories that were imprinted upon my mind when it had hardly been formed. "Ratee-geen," as I called the lawyer it honours, then was much mouthed by the youngsters of that day—say 55 years ago. One fellow, questioning the wisdom of another, would mockingly shout :

"Have you set yourself up as a Ratee-geen?"

This paragon of wisdom was an English barrister—Mr. (later Sir William) Rattigan. Briefs came to him unsought: they were, in some cases, actually thrust upon him. His was the most lucrative practice in the capital of the Punjab—or so, at least, it was reputed to be.

Whether he was supremely sagacious or not, I cannot say at this date. This much, however, is certain: he was worldly wise. Being such, he was in the good books of the provincial government. The Lieutenant-Governor (as the member of the Indian Civil Service who ran the administration without being burdened by any executive councillor or minister, was styled) had nominated him as the chairman of the council created to manage the Khalsa College. He was also appointed the Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University. At some stage of his life that I cannot place with any precision, he was knighted.

II

Three, or possibly only two years prior to the interment of the nineteenth century, my father said to me :

"You boys are constantly flinging 'Ratee-geen' at one another. A man is coming here tomorrow who, not long ago, defeated Mr. Rattigan. A smashing defeat it was, I should say."

"Who is this defeater of Ratee-geen, Father?" I asked. "To have won a victory against Ratee-geen he must have been far, far wiser."

"Whether he is far, far wiser, it is not for me to say," Father replied. "He is, as I told you, coming here. Would you like to have a *darshan* of him? Would you like to meet him?"

With these words he stopped talking. My curiosity, therefore, had the opportunity to over-work itself. Cutting a stone, from the quarry of my fancy, I immediately started carving it with speed that no sculptor in any clime—in any age—has ever been able to approach, much less excel.

III

The hero in actual life failed, however, to bear any similitude to the demigod of my imagination. I had given him the sort of features and figure that I then deemed as intellectual—a massive head, "arched forehead" (Father's phrase), short-sighted eyes with

spectacles in front of them, a short, slight person with the stoop that I associated with scholarship.

He was, on the contrary, a mountain of a man. Tall and broad-shouldered, he stood erect like the *hauldar* (Punjabi for *havildar*—a corporal) who drilled me in the school ground. He strode along and talked loudly, even for a Punjabi.

He must be a Jut, I said to myself. In those days we of the Khatri (Kshatriya, martial) castes used that term for a yokel, whether he was a Jut by social subdivision or not. Women, men and boys went about shouting: *Jut ki janan longan da bha*—how can a Jut (clod of earth) know the rate at which cloves sell? I had no idea that I should live to see Juts spoken of as Jats; and the Jats in concert with Muslims, some descendants of Jat converts to that faith, would, in virtue of arrangements devised in London, be ruling the Punjab.

This man may, I thought, be a *pahalwan* (wrestler). He certainly would give a good account of himself in a wrestling match.

He would, however, it seemed to my callow mind, cut a sorry figure in a joust of wits. Had father been joking when he told me that this friend of his had bested the man who was regarded, at least by us youngsters, as the wisest person in the Punjab?

IV

No. That account proved to be true enough. The most eminent lawyer in the town—Hoshiarpur—who was my confidant, confirmed it.

There had been a legal battle, Lala Sham Das, the Government Advocate, said. On one side was engaged Mr. Rattigan. On the other appeared Lala Munshi Ram (the giant whom I had just met). The two made their pleas. Munshi Ram won.

"Some day," the lawyer said to me, "you will be visiting Suket.¹ It is not far from here. Just over there."

He pointed towards the Kangra Hills. Invisible, they were not so very far from where we were sitting, could we but wend our way like the bee conveying to the hive the nectar it has gathered.

It did not occur to me to ask if Lala Munshi Ram had had a better case than Ratee-geen. I jumped, instead, to the conclusion that, being more brilliant, he had won. Thereafter I made up my mind that a Jut's body may carry a head-piece in which a brilliant mind might function.

V

Within a few minutes after meeting Lala Munshi Ram I was to find that, in his ways, he was no Jut. His voice was loud but not raucous—certainly not unkind. He called me to his side as he sat near my father in a manner so gentle that I unhesitatingly went to him. A question or two and we were on friendly terms. Without the slightest shyness I was telling him that I meant to be a writer—that all my leisure even then was being devoted to mastering shorthand (Pitman's Phonography).

"A worthy ambition," he said, patting me on the back. "If you wish to succeed," he went on, "you must persevere and work hard."

* Named in infancy, with due ceremony, Munshi Ram. This name he bore till, in his sixties, he entered the *vana*—forest—the Hindu way of ridding oneself of worldly cares and responsibilities to devote oneself wholly to the cultivation of the spirit. Thence onward he was known as Shradananda—the Swami (Master) Shradananda.

¹ This is a small state nestling in Himalya's Kangra range.

I loved him for encouraging me. Seeing that I had taken to him, father told me that though I had met the gentleman only then, he should not really be a stranger to me. I already knew his brother-in-law—the Raizada Bhagat Ram—a barrister in Jullundar, who came to Hoshiarpur (only 25 miles distant) every now and again to appear in cases considered too important to be trusted to the local lawyers. I called him, in fact, "Uncle."

"You see," explained father, "Lala Munshi Ram is married to Raizada Bhagat Ram's sister. You, therefore, should also call him 'Uncle'."

"So he is not Jut," I, knowing the Raizada's caste, commented. "He is, like ourselves, a Khatri."

"Certainly. Who told you he was a Jut?"

I then told father how at the sight of Lala Munshi Ram's giant frame, I had set him down in my mind as a yokel.

VI

Events that have been or were soon to be matters of comment and even heated discussion among the grown-ups amidst whom my life, more by choice than by accident, was cast, served to impress my new uncle upon my mind. He was represented as being a member of a band that was upsetting the social order.

They were credited with good intentions. They meant, to be sure, to put "spirit" into the Hindus—to make the Hindus stand up like men. More than this, they were desirous of opening up for them economic opportunities by addressing themselves to certain callings—weaving, for example—which were largely left to non-Hindus.

Their agitation, however, was of a disturbing nature. They caused contention. They brought Hindus much ill-will.

As if this were not enough, they engaged in debates and discussions that roused considerable acrimony. Christians and Muslims alike waxed wroth.

The officials detested the Aryas even more than did the Hindus. They regarded them as Satan's spawn. This because of the discord that their contention roused in a peaceful population. No *ji hazoors* ("yes-men") themselves, they stirred others to walk erect, with head held high in the air.

Much of this talk was not fully intelligible to me till later years. I fully understood, however, that no one was more actively engaged in furthering this social revolution than my new-found "uncle." Contention was the breath of his nostrils. One of his companions—Pandit Lekh Ram—had been done to death by some fanatic. That fact stood out above all talk.

VII

The more I saw of Uncle Munshi Ram, the better I liked him. Whenever he met me when I happened to go to Jullundar, where he then lived and practised, or when he came to Hoshiarpur, he would quietly ask me how I was getting on with my writing. Did my father frown upon my giving time to it instead of studying my school books? Did my masters (the word "teacher" was not used in the Punjab of that day) object?

On one occasion when he and I chanced to be by ourselves, he turned the pages of his own life-story backwards. "There was a time in my student days," he told me, in his forthright way, "when I did not study as hard as I should have. The result was that I failed to pass the examination. I disappointed my father. That pained me more than the humiliation I suffered in my own sight."

"Now, my boy, you see to it that you do not make the mistake that I did. It cost me dearly. Be sure that neglect of a similar nature does not cost you even dearer."

"After all, you have plenty of time ahead of you. After you get through with the school—and college—books, you can devote your whole self to writing. Then no one will—at least legitimately can—object. You can get ahead with writing as much as you please. All you please."

He had a way of repeating words and phrases. They emphasized what he said. At that point in my life's journey that method was to me of immense importance—of great value.

VIII

Either at this juncture or a short time later, Uncle Munshi Ram confided in me that in one respect he was something like me (just note the delicacy with which he paid this compliment!). He wished to do nothing so much as to write—as to speak. But—

But the law interfered. He had to study the cases (I had not yet learnt the word "brief") that he had to conduct. Files had to be examined in court, in addition to the papers his clients had entrusted him with. He had to appear before the judge, who, at times, sat with assessors. He had to ask searching questions—he had to plead.

How he disliked it all! There was so much in it that was dishonest. Crooked. Downright *crooked*. He wished to be rid of it all. He *would* get rid of it. He had already given up much of the work. He accepted only a few cases. Seldom did he appear in court. He longed for the time to come when he could give up the business altogether.

"And then, Uncle, what will you do?"

"I will write—write—preach—*preach*."

I saw that the conversation was veering towards the region that I had been told endangered the faith—Sikhism—in which I was being brought up.

"Talk all you wish with Uncle Munshi Ram," father had admonished me, "only do not let him make an Arya of you."

The way father said this implied that no worse disaster could befall me. With one exception. My being influenced by the Réverend Doctor Chatterjee.

That missionary lived in the Mission Compound, near the playground. To it I went every evening. While on my way thither or back I sometimes chanced upon him. Now and again I even contrived to meet him. He used to give me papers and magazines to read and encouraged me to write.

IX

Something that Uncle Munshi Ram had written in one of the papers he conducted must have upset father about this time. Or more likely the offending article had emanated from the pen of some lieutenant of his. Some of these worthies were Sikh in appearance. They let their zeal in the Arya Samaj cause drag them into regions that made them, in father's sight, devils incarnate.

Or it may have been that his talks with me he had caused annoyance. Their trend cut across father's ambition for me.

I was to be sent to England and, if I could manage it, was to enter the Indian Civil Service. I was otherwise to be called to the bar.

Uncle Munshi Ram hated the idea of my entering

any service, however highly esteemed that service might be. He hated legal chicanery even more.

Whatever caused annoyance, father said to me one day: Munshi Ram is like the cat that, after devouring 99,000 mice, proceeded upon pilgrimage.

In view of all that had gone before, I was astonished at the taunt so wryly flung by him at one whom he had taught me to call—and to treat—as uncle. Knowing his ways, I kept silence. That silence encouraged him to pour out the vials of wrath that had accumulated in his system.

"To-day he is acclaimed a Mahasha (high-souled one)," father said, the acid of irony dripping from his accents. "What was he yesterday, though—and the day before?"

"I will tell you. He was a drunkard. Worse. He consorted with women of evil repute. As for eating meat, he, before he turned (an) Arya consumed so much that you would be lucky if you came within a hundred miles of the quantity, even if you live to be a thousand years of age."

"You see, he was ushered into the world by a police *daroga*. You know what that means. He himself was in the police² service for some years. What need to say more!"

Father could—and did—dramatize events when his imagination was stirred. Divested of the twists and turns he gave, however, he was telling only the truth. What I learnt, from time to time, from Uncle Munshi Ram and from other sources, confirmed his statements.

X

A year or so prior to the outbreak of the Indian Sepoy Mutiny, Munshi Ram was born in 1856, at Talwan, in the Jullundar district. His father—Lala Nanak Chand—a Khatri of that small village near Jullundar, was, at the time, a *daroga* (Sub-Inspector of Police) in the Northwest Province (now the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh). He bowed to the Lord-over-dissolution (Siva) as his god of gods and was credited with being honest. His wife was, if anything, even more devout in worshipping that deity and particularly in the adoration of his *shakti* (energy) now personified as Uma, the Himalyan *tapesvi* (anchorite), now as Durga, the white-faced, beneficent One, and now as Kali, black-visaged with blood-red, thick, long tongue lolling out of her gaping mouth and a garland of skulls depending from her neck.

Munshi Ram had begun his student career exceedingly well. Powerfully built, he assiduously cultivated his body by exercise that had not yet been displaced, to any large extent, by foreign importations. His intelligence, bright by nature, he polished with equal diligence.

Once, however, out of his mother's sight, upon entering the college at Benares (his father was then an inspector at Bareilly), he went to pieces. Riotous living played havoc with his body and mind alike. Failure in the First in Arts examination was inevitable. Without graduation, he entered public service. High officials pleased with his father made all arrangements for him to put his foot upon the first rung of the ladder (a Naib Tehsildarship). By that means he may have climbed to executive heights: but, through his own volition, that was not to be.

XI

Illumination had come to Munshi Ram. That prospect, so bright in his fellows' eyes, lost for him any

attraction it might ever had had. No. He would go back to his studies. He would secure from the University³ the title that, confirmed by the Chief Court,⁴ would enable him to engage in (what was then deemed to be) an independent, honourable profession.

This light had fallen upon his mind from a Hindu sage. Named as an infant Mulshankar, he was to become illustrious. That word meant the primal *shankar*: and *shankar* was an appellation given to the lord over all the agencies that make for disintegration.

Suitably named was Mulshankar till the night of nights in his life. He then realized that the deity of his adoration was only a "stock"—a "stone." It would vouchsafe him no solution of the problems that at the moment perplexed his votary.⁵

That realization directed his mind towards the *Veda* (literally knowledge) and particularly the oldest portion of it—the *Rik*⁶—and the *Upanishads* containing the essence of our ancient culture. With the wisdom derived from these studies, he prepared a work that he named the *Satyarth Prakash*—guide to the true path. According to him, this was the path that our forbears—the Aryans or Aryas (to use his term)—trode in the Golden Age.

With the scholar-teacher's *danda* (staff) in hand, he—now acclaimed as the Swami⁷ Dayanand Sarasvati⁸—travelled from town to town, province to province, everywhere preaching. Wherever he toured, he exhorted the people to come off from the tangent upon which they had flown in this degenerate age. They must get back on to the main track—the Aryan track.

His preaching threw into nervous convulsions priests who battered upon the men and (especially the) women caught in their toils. They sought to humiliate him by proving that his exposition of the writings held sacred was unwarranted. An erudite Sanskrit scholar, he, however, confounded the best of them, even at so important a religious centre as Benares—the Varanashi of the Buddha's day and Kashi of the Kassikas.

Dayananda wandered into Bareilly (now in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh), in 1882. Munshi Ram's father was set by the authorities, in whose pay he was, to keep an eye over the meeting that the revivalist was to address. He took his son along, little dreaming that this was to be a red-letter day in the young man's calendar.

Of this meeting I had an account from Munshi Ram's own lips. The sight of the sage,⁹ he said, astonished him.

Tall and broad-shouldered, the Swami stood erect like a giant of the forest. His body was lithe as if each muscle—each tendon—was wrought of the finest steel and worked on ball-bearings. His voice, though strong and penetrating, was mellifluous. His chanting of the Vedic texts, with which his speech was interlarded, lifted the listeners from the shabby little town and deposited them in some primeval forest. There, in a

3 Then the highest tribunal in the Punjab. It has long since been raised to the status of a High Court of Judicature.

4 See my article on the Swami (Maharishi) Dayanand Sarasvati in the Dayanand Commemoration Volume, *Dayanand's Legacy to the Punjab*, p. 60. Edited by Har Bilas Sarda, M.A., Ajmer, 1933.

5 Also spelled as *Rig*.

6 Also the *rishi* (sage) and *Maharishi* (great sage).

7 Dedicated to Sarasvati—the goddess of learning—a title borne by persons learned in the ancient Sanskrit lore.

8 For a personal impression of the Swamiji, see my *Memoir of the Bhagat Lakshman Singh*, now in preparation.

² Not strictly accurate. See later.

clearing, the *rishi*, who had composed those words, was, mayhap, instructing the pupils who had entered the *guru's* (teacher's) *kula* (clan, sept).

The men who heard the Swami chant hymns were struck not only by the perfect intonation of the ancient words, but also by their appositeness to the theme that he was developing at the moment. They were even more impressed by the ease with which he pulverized the contentious questioner—be he Eastern or Western—Hindu, Muslim or Christian.

Moved to the depth of his soul, Munshi Ram sought and obtained the opportunity for heart to heart talks. They lifted him out of the slough in which he had been sinking.

He resolved to take the road re-discovered by the sage. His resolve shook the domestic circle. Despite the emotional storm he had raised, he stuck to his decision.

(To be concluded)

GANDHIJ'S CONCEPTION OF NON-VIOLENT SOCIETY

By SHRIMAN NARAYAN AGARWAL, M.A. (Cal.), M.A. (Alld.), F.R. ECON. S. (Lond.),
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THE last World War was fought with the sublime intention of making the world safe for Democracy and to establish enduring peace among the warring countries. It was fervently hoped that the League of Nations would pave the way for a World Federation on the firm foundations of Collective Security and international co-operation. But the Treaty of Versailles, instead of ushering in an era of peace and good-will, sowed the seeds of the present globe-shaking holocaust which is unparalleled in its callousness, ferocity and totalitarian destruction. The violent suppression of Germany gave birth to Hitler, and if Hitler is overwhelmed by force, a Super-Hitler is sure to be born in the wake of violent peace. "I know nothing more terrible than a victory except defeat," remarked the Duke of Wellington who earned the unique honour of crushing Napoleon. The United Nations, cannot afford to forget these prophetic words of the Iron Duke in their determination to bring Hitler to his knees. One must confess that the prospects of winning a lasting peace even after this world-wide carnage do not appear to be any the brighter, and if history repeats itself in the form of another Treaty of Versailles, the world shall once again rush headlong into another catastrophe the disastrous consequences of which we shudder to visualise.

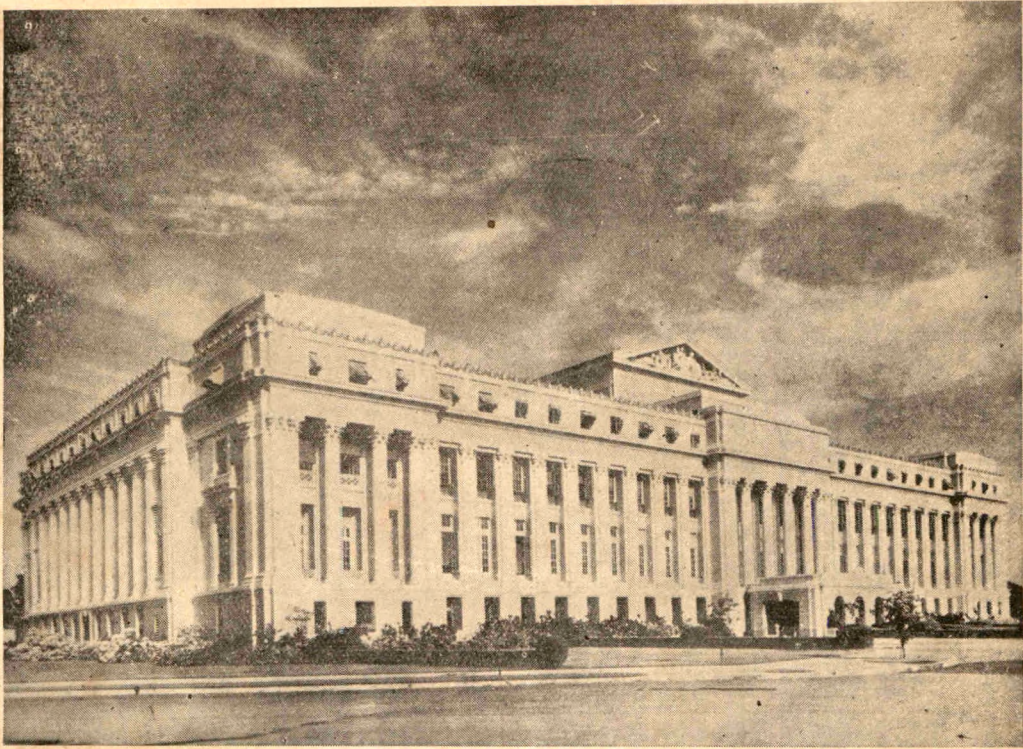
What is the root-cause of this violence and bloodshed? It was once thought that war is a biological necessity and the world must continue to be 'red in tooth and claw.' But that theory has long since been rejected as fallacious and mischievous. To say that war is psychologically inevitable because of the human instincts of pugnacity and self-preservation is again a perversion of truth. It is now admitted on all hands that the basic cause of all wars is the excessive and unfettered greed for economic gains through the inhuman spoliation of weaker nations. As Bernard Shaw puts it, "Capitalism has no conscience," and its God is nothing but Gold. It can afford to be gentle and suave so long as its supremacy is not challenged and threatened. But in face of imminent danger it does not fail to raise its fierce and ugly head in the shape of Fascism or Nazism. Vain and disgraceful attempts are made to drape Capitalism in the fashionable garb of democracy and freedom; but we all now know only too well that the velvet glove conceals the iron fist.

In view of these calamitous tendencies of the Capitalist economy, it was fervidly hoped that Socialism will put an end to all our ills. The Soviet experiment was, consequently, hailed as the saviour of exploited and down-trodden humanity and as a great land-mark

in the history of economic reconstruction. It is true that the U.S.S.R. did succeed to a considerable extent in raising the standard of living of the masses by eliminating the Capitalist class with an iron hand. It was also believed that, with the spread of Socialism in other countries, international wars will cease. But the reaction has now set in, and the erstwhile supporters and admirers of Soviet Economy are feeling disillusioned, and sadly disappointed. The Socialist Society, which was, originally, meant to be classless, democratic and international, is now dominated by a new bureaucracy, and 'the dictatorship of the proletariat' instead of 'withering away' has culminated in the regimentation of the masses. The international ideal has also been thrown to the winds. With a return to Nationalism, it is almost impossible to resist the natural, sequence—return to Imperialism, even though it be of the Socialist brand. With the progress of the present war, there are now ample facts to indicate that Soviet Russia is fast developing into a huge and haughty Socialist Empire, or, to use a sweeter and milder expression, 'Socialist Commonwealth.' The pivotal cause of this transformation is not far to seek. With centralized control and large-scale Planning, individual liberty is bound to be crushed under the iron heel of violence.

What, then, is the alternative? How to save the world from violence, blood-shed and totalitarian control? The solution lies in simplicity, decentralization and cottage industrialism. And it is from this point of view that Gandhian economic ideas have assumed unusual significance at a time when other economic theories and experiments have led us to a blind and dangerous alley. There was a time when Gandhiji's economics was scoffed at as chimerical, faddy and unpractical. But subsequent experience not only in this country but all over the world has compelled careful study of the economic implications and potentialities of Gandhian Village Communism based on decentralized socio-political system.

The fundamental principle underlying all Gandhian thought is non-violence. Gandhiji holds that violence, in any form, cannot succeed in establishing an economic and social order which will bring peace and happiness. True democracy and real growth of human personality are conceivable only in a non-violent society. Violence breeds greater violence and whatever is gained by force needs to be preserved by superior force. 'For all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword.' Gandhiji will, therefore, have nothing to do with violence because in a planned society economic re-



The Legislative building at Manila, the capital city of the Philippines, stand as a massive symbol of the growing strength of the Philippine Islands



This is how the Escolta, main business street of Manila, looked before the war



With song and dance the Slovak girls welcome the spring



Helpa in Central Slovakia. The Slovak mountain villages hold firmly to their traditional architecture, costume and beliefs

construction is only a Means and not an End. In order to preserve the purity of the End, the Means employed towards its attainment must be equally pure. That is why he maintains that even a Socialist society should be established through non-violence, and not by means of a bloody revolution.

Gandhian conception of a non-violent State or society is based on three important ideals. The first ideal is "simple living and high thinking." The Western civilization attaches supreme importance to material welfare and maintains that the goal of a progressive individual or nation should be the increasing accumulation of physical comforts and luxuries. To the western mind, the fullness of life necessarily implies the abundance of material goods. That is why all his economic planning is in terms of a rise in the "standard of living." But Gandhiji is fundamentally concerned with the "standard of life." "We notice" says he, "that the mind is a restless bird; the more it gets, the more it wants, and still remains unsatisfied. The more we indulge our passions, the more unbridled they become. Our ancestors therefore set a limit to our indulgences. They saw that happiness was largely a mental condition." Like Capitalism, Russian Socialism is also based on the principle of material welfare; the ideology of both is essentially identical. But Gandhiji detests 'this mad desire to destroy distance and time, to increase animal appetites and go to the ends of the earth in search of their satisfaction.'

The second ideal is the dignity and sanctity of "bread labour," it naturally follows from the first ideal of simplicity. "It was not that we did not know how to invent machinery, but our forefathers knew that if we set our minds after such needs, we would become slaves and lose our moral fibre. They, therefore, after due consideration, decided that we should only do what we could with our hands and feet. They saw that our real happiness and health consisted in a proper use of our hands and feet." Gandhiji thinks that our mental and moral development is dependent on our physical work. The Wardha Scheme of Basic Education adumbrated originally by him is based on this very principle of 'learning through doing.' The correlation of hand-culture and mind-culture has been now scientifically proved by modern psychologists and educationists. Apart from the moral and mental values of simple life, Gandhiji discourages, to use Plato's phrase, 'this reckless pursuit of wealth' through excessive mechanization and lopsided industrialism, because without maximum self-dependence by virtue of our manual labour we are liable to get inextricably involved in the chain of economic serfdom and exploitation. He contends that the aim of all our activities should be the natural development and unfoldment of our personality in an atmosphere of freedom and economic independence at least so far as the minimum necessities of life are concerned. The present industrialism exploits the 'surplus value' of human labour in a Capitalist society and results in the regimentation of the people in a Socialist society. It has its foundations in violence and rigid State Control. In his non-violent society, therefore, Gandhiji has no place for the modern industrial civilization. He is not against machinery as such, for, after all, this human body or the spinning wheel is also 'an exquisite piece of machinery.' But he has set his face against modern industrialism which concentrates wealth in the hands of a few and reduces human beings into cog-wheels and automatons.

The third ideal is the recognition of human values. Orthodox economics has been laying undue emphasis on Money and Profits. To Gandhiji 'Man is the supreme consideration,' and 'Life is more than Money.' 'Khaddar Economics is wholly different from the ordinary. The latter takes no note of the human factor. The former concerns itself with the human.' The economic law that man must buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest is, in Gandhiji's opinion, 'the most inhuman among the maxims laid down by modern economists.' "True economics cannot be divorced from ethics; it means a complete renunciation of everything that is likely to harm our fellow creatures." From this principle of Humanism, Gandhiji derives his ideal of Swadeshi—the practice of buying from one's immediate neighbours rather than from distant markets. "It is sinful for me to wear the latest finery of Regent Street when I know that, if I had worn the things woven by the neighbouring spinners and weavers, that would have clothed me, and fed and clothed them."

A non-violent society based on these three ideals of simplicity, dignity of labour, and human values will, necessarily, be a federal net-work of decentralized village communities which will be to a very great extent self-governing and self-sufficient. Like the ancient Gram Sanghas or the Greek City States, these village communities will have maximum political autonomy for their internal organisation. Real democracy based on adult suffrage will be possible in these small Republics because there will be intimate contact among the citizens who shall govern their colony with joint and co-operative effort. 'The only government which can fully satisfy all the exigencies of the social state is one in which the whole people participate,' wrote James Stuart Mill. The non-violent Republics of Gandhiji's conception will fulfil this test of true democracy. These village communities or Panchayats will, of course, be linked federally to the Taluka, District, Division, Province and the whole country for the purposes of common and co-ordinated policy. But, so far as their own internal administration and economy are concerned, they shall enjoy the largest measure of autonomy and independence. Economically, they will try their best to produce all the necessities of life through the manual labour of their citizens. They will export only their surplus produce, and import only those commodities which they cannot manufacture. There will, thus, be minimum internal trade between the different self-sufficient village units, and the need for the means of transport and communication will be reduced to a considerable extent. The farm crops will be for immediate consumption and not for distant markets. The present practice of raising money or commercial crops, will disappear. Cloth will be spun and woven in the villages for the villagers. The economic units would manufacture their own paper, oil, gur, soap, shoes and other necessities of life; they will grow their own vegetables, maintain a dairy for milk, butter and ghee, and run other village industries on a co-operative basis. For their recreation, these Republics will develop their own indigenous theatre and folk dance; they will celebrate their festivals artistically and establish 'bhajan mandals' for evolving their community-music. For eight hours, the able-bodied citizens will work hard for their living; their labour shall not be dull, monotonous and soul-killing as in modern factories; it will be joyful, pleasant and conducive to their mental and moral growth. The citizens of these non-violent village units

shall not exploit the labour of others; nor shall they allow others to exploit them. Their economic organisation will strike at the very root of unholy spoliation which is the predominant characteristic of the capitalist order. They shall lead a quiet, peaceful and contented life instead of the hectic, crazy and nerve-racking life of the modern towns. To the citizens of these states, money shall be only a means, and not an end. Most of their transactions will be in kind and not in cash. The cash-nexus will be conspicuous by its absence. The people will be in a position to understand the implications and consequences of their economic activities; they shall not be the helpless spectators of a complicated financial system in which even the Governor of the Bank of England is forced to confess: 'I do not understand it.'

Internal trade in the non-violent state may be left to private individuals, of course, under State control. Gandhiji is not in favour of stifling private initiative and enterprise altogether. But its scope and margin of profit should be regulated by the State authorities. For purposes of International Trade, the National State and not private persons, should be the sole authority. The country should try to be as self-sufficient as possible; but international transactions need not be tabooed. A non-violent society will not hesitate to import those articles which are impossible to be produced inside the country; but these articles must be absolutely essential for the well-being of the nation. Luxury goods from outside will not be encouraged. The country could also export to other countries those commodities which are indispensably required by them and which could be spared by it. Thus, in a non-violent World State, international trade will satisfy the real and felt needs of

various countries with their mutual free consent, without being involved in the 'whirl-pool of Economic Imperialism.'

Gandhiji's State will run the least risk of foreign invasion and aggression because it will provide hardly any scope for economic exploitation which is the root of Imperialism. 'Simple homes from which there is nothing to take away require no policing.' If the citizens of the non-violent society refuse to be exploited by foreign nations by being self-sufficient in regard to their necessities of life, the motive for colonial conquest will largely disappear. If they firmly determine to use only hand-spun and hand-woven cloth, neither the internal nor foreign capitalists can compel them to wear fashionable mill-cloth which is a source of exploitation. Similarly with regard to other commodities. A society which is based on decentralized and cottage production can, thus, preserve its liberty and economic independence without any violence.

It is wrong to think that Gandhiji is medieval and antediluvian in his outlook and is trying to put the hands of the clock back. He is instinctively a realist, and has been successful in laying his finger on the pivotal cause of our economic and political malaise and disorder. I can invoke the testimony of many western thinkers in support of Gandhiji's ideals. But it will suffice here to say that Gandhiji is a man of vision, and his bold conception of a non-violent state may prove to be the harbinger of a new era of world peace and good-will. I am convinced that the Mahatma, instead of being medieval, is a century ahead of our times. We may not realise the intrinsic worth of his economic ideals at present; but time will recognise Gandhiji as the Prophet of future World Order.

THE NEGOTIATIONS AND AFTER

The Two-nations Theory of Mr. Jinnah—II

By D. N. BANERJEE,

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Fifthly, Mr. Jinnah has referred to the "history and traditions" of the Muslims of India. The only comment I should like to make here is—although it may not be palatable to many—that, as by far the largest proportion of the Muslims of India today are, historically speaking, the descendants of converts—willing or forced—from Hinduism and other religions existing in this country before the Muslim invasion, and not the descendants of the Muslim invaders of India, their past history and traditions, whatever they might be, are the same as those of the Hindus and the followers of other pre-existing indigenous religions. If there is anything of glory or pride in that history, it is as much theirs as of the Hindus, etc., today. And if there is anything disgraceful in that history, the disgrace also is as much theirs as of those Hindus, etc. It is no use disowning one's ancestry. History does not permit this.

Sixthly, in connexion with the question of the "names and nomenclature" of the Muslims of India referred to by Mr. Jinnah, it may, for example, be pointed out that the "names and nomenclature" of the Hindus of Bengal, the Hindus of Northern or Central India, and of the Hindus of South India do in many respects differ. That does not mean that these different

groups of Hindus constitute different nations in India, and are, therefore, entitled to have separate, independent sovereign States of their own. Again, the names and nomenclature of the Muslims of India are in many respects identical with those of the Muslims of Arabia or of many other Islamic countries outside of India. That does not imply that all these Muslims constitute one nation and are, therefore, entitled to form a separate, sovereign State for themselves. Further, the names and nomenclature of Anglo-Indians in India, and even of many Indian Christians, are the same, in many cases, as those of Britishers in Great Britain. No one will, therefore, contend that these Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, and Britishers constitute one nation, and must, therefore, have a separate, independent State for themselves. Lastly, the names and nomenclature of many Britishers in Great Britain—and even their language, literature, and religion—are the same as those of many Americans in the U.S.A. No one will, therefore, maintain that these Britishers and Americans constitute one nation and, therefore, must have a separate, sovereign independent State of their own.

On the other hand, the names and nomenclature—and also the religions—of the Germans, the French and

the Italians in Switzerland differ. Yet that has not prevented them from becoming a single nation, namely, the Swiss Nation. The names and nomenclature—and also the religions, languages and customs—of the French and the English in Canada differ. Still they constitute a single nation, namely, the Canadian Nation. The names and nomenclature of the members of the various nationalities in the U.S.A. differ. Yet that has not prevented these various nationalities from being welded into a single nation, namely, the American Nation. The question of names and nomenclature, therefore, does not establish anything.³³

Seventhly, Mr. Jinnah has stated that the Muslims of India have distinctive legal (*sic*) laws, customs, and moral codes of their own. Perhaps the expression "legal laws" is a misprint for "personal laws"; otherwise it becomes an uncouth tautology. My comment is that the personal laws,³⁴ customs, and even moral codes of the Hindus of Bengal differ in many respects, for instance, from those of the Hindus of South India. This does not mean that the Hindus of Bengal and the Hindus of South India are separate nations. Secondly, the personal laws of the Sunni Muslims of Northern India are essentially the same as the personal laws of the Sunni Muslims of Arabia and of Egypt. No one will, therefore, contend that all these Muslims constitute one nation and must, therefore, have one independent, sovereign State of their own. On the other hand, it is often a fact that the customs and moral ideas of the Hindus and the Muslims living in the same area, are, as a result of their long, intimate association and cultural affinities, more or less identical; whereas the Sunnis and the Shias differ in many respects in regard to their customs and personal laws. And I also find that, even after the enactment of what is known as the Shariat Act of 1937, Khojas and Cutchi Memons in the Bombay Presidency are, in the absence of any proof of special usage to the contrary, still governed, in matters of succession and inheritance, at least to some extent, not by the Mahomedan, but by the Hindu law.³⁵ Further, according to the Census of India,³⁶ 1931, there are groups of people in India "who have drawn on both Hindu and Muslim sources for their religious tenets," or "who worship the Christian Trinity plus a Hindu-Muslim Trinity consisting of Allah the Creator, Parameshwar the Preserver, and Khuda the Destroyer"; or "who share in equal degree the Muslim and Hindu religious beliefs, worshipping Ganesh as well as Allah, using Hindu names and dress and observing Hindu festivals"; or, again, who "take Muslim names and even utilise the services of mullahs" in one area, but who "follow Hindu customs and use Hindu names" in another area. "There is thus a very real difficulty sometimes in deciding whether a particular body is Muslim or Hindu."³⁷ The question

of personal laws, etc., does not, therefore, establish anything.

Eighthly, the Hindus and the Muslims living in the same area often follow the same calendar; whereas the Hindus themselves in different parts of India do not follow the same calendar. And the same thing can be said also of the Muslims in different parts of India. Therefore, Mr. Jinnah's reference to the question of calendar in his statement does not also prove or establish anything.

Ninthly, in regard to the question of "aptitudes and ambitions" alluded to by Mr. Jinnah, it may be pointed out that these are purely personal matters, depending upon the mental and the physical constitution of individuals. They vary from person to person and also, sometimes, from one area to another. Much depends upon physical environment. There is nothing Hindu or Muslim in them.

Finally, with regard to the question of "outlook on life and of life" mentioned by Mr. Jinnah, it may, I believe, be enough to point out here that, although they differ in respect of their religion and some religious rites and ceremonies, yet the "outlook on life and of life" of, say, the Muslim peasantry and the Hindu peasantry in Bengal, or, for instance, of the Muslim labourers and Hindu labourers in an industry—and these peasantries and labourers, and not the parasitical classes who exploit them and their name, constitute the real backbone of the Indian people—is more or less identical because their interests and problems also are identical. And their "outlook on life and of life" is materially different from that of men who belong to the status and social position to which Mr. Jinnah himself belongs. As I have already stated, man is not merely a religious being. He has other interests, too, which no less vitally affect him than religion. Often these non-religious interests have a greater urgency and insistence than even religion itself. Any other view is sheer propaganda, and nothing else. It may be argued against this view why then Hindu-Muslim riots occur from time to time. As I have shown before³⁸ in another connexion, these riots are partly due to misrepresentations and misunderstandings, partly due to the machinations of designing men or communal fanatics on either side, and, often, largely due to the fact that law is not enforced, at their initial stage, with the utmost vigour and with the strictest impartiality. Sometimes local officials allow themselves to be guided by mean "political" considerations, and a wicked spirit of vendetta against one community or another. And Mr. Jinnah himself admitted, before the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee, on 13th August,

the Muslims observe the Hindu period of ceremonial uncleanness (*asaukh*) on the death of parents and at its conclusion shave the head and beard; the women wear the vermilion mark of Hindu wives and the worship of Durga is frequent . . . It is even reported that there the *navanna* ceremony is universal . . . whilst at Mahasthan Muslims as well as Hindus mark their iron safes with vermilion on the Dasara day and perform the Satyapir *pau* with offerings of *sinni* . . . In Pabna, Manasa or Bisahari is often worshipped by them (Muslims) and they contribute towards the Kali *pau* particularly in time of epidemics, whilst the worship of Sitala, the goddess of small-pox, is almost universal and professing specialists of the disease, calling themselves *Kaviraj*, though Muslim, will admit to taking fees for the express purpose of propitiating the goddess. Practices such as the use of turmeric (*gaye halad*) at the marriage ceremony have also been borrowed from the Hindus."—See the Census of India, 1931, Vol. 5, Bengal and Sikkim, Part I, Report, p. 390; also see p. 382 thereof.

38 See *The Modern Review* of June, 1943, p. 460.

33 It may be noted here that "the use of combined Muslim and Hindu names is not unusual in more than one part of Bengal." See the Census of India, 1931, Volume V, Bengal and Sikkim, Part I, Report, p. 390.

34 Take, for instance, the question of the law of inheritance.

35 The position was far different before the enactment of the Shariat Act of 1937. See Mulla, *Principles of Mahomedan Law*, 11th Edition, pp. 17-18.

36 Vol. I, India, Part I, Report, 1933, pp. 380-81.

37 I also find in the Census of Bengal and Sikkim, 1931,—

"In many parts of the country the Muslim peasant . . . joins to some extent in Hindu worship . . . In Jessore, it is reported that the Muslims revere the *tulsi* plant and *bel* tree and observe the festivals of Jamai Sashthi and Bhadradiwitiya. In Bogra, in some areas

1919, in reply to Question 3854 put to him by Mr. Bennet, a member of the Committee³⁹: "If you ask me, very often these riots are based on some misunderstanding, and it is because the police have taken one side or the other, and that has enraged one side or the other. I know very well that in the Indian states you hardly ever hear of any Hindu-Mohammedan riots, etc."

IV

I have analysed above the grounds on which Mr. Jinnah has based his two-nations theory. These grounds cannot, as I have shown, stand the scrutiny of reason. And I have also shown that Mr. Jinnah held a different view in 1919. I do not deny that there are some differences between the Hindus and the Muslims of India. But we should not unduly emphasize and exaggerate those differences when Providence has brought us together and when we have *volens volens* got to live together. That way does not lie the solution of the Indian problem. There are many differences, particularly in the religious sphere, between the English and the French in Canada; between the Germans, the French and the Italians in Switzerland; between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics in Germany; and among the diverse nationalities in the United States of America. Yet, in each one of these cases a nation has emerged, thanks to the growth of the modern spirit of religious toleration. I do not see any reason why it should be otherwise in India. As Dr. Hutton, Census Commissioner for India, 1931-33, has rightly observed, after a very careful survey of the position of different religious communities in this country, "Generally speaking, there would seem to be no insuperable reason why the Muslim and the Hindu should not dwell together in harmony."⁴⁰ It is, therefore, very painful to see some responsible leaders of public opinion in India advancing with zeal and warmth the specious argument of "homelands". If that argument is seriously put forward, then it may be legitimately asked, who have lived longer in those areas which are proposed to be included in the State of Pakistan—the Hindus and the other indigenous non-Muslims, or the Muslims? The former had lived in those areas long, long before Mohammedanism itself was founded, not to speak of the Muslims of India; and they have been living there ever since. Have they not, therefore, a greater right to claim those areas as their "homelands"? The question is one of principle and not of numerical strength. Some people, however, appear to lay stress on the question of number. But they forget that the number is a variable factor, variation being due, apart from the questions of emigration and immigration, to the presence or absence of such causes in a community as "the practices of polygamy, of widow remarriage and, on the whole, of later consummation of marriage,"⁴¹ etc. For instance, for every 10,000 of the total population of Bengal in 1881, the number of Hindus was 4882—the number might have been larger earlier—and that of the Muslims 4969. Thus, the number of Hindus was practically equal to that of the Muslims. But, largely owing to the causes mentioned

above, the number of Hindus steadily declined from decade to decade and that of the Muslims gradually increased. As a result, the corresponding numbers for Hindus and Muslims were 4348 and 5444 in 1931.⁴² Even then, the number of adults (aged 20 and over) in 1931 was 52 per cent in the case of Muslims and 46 per cent in the case of Hindus, although the general percentages (all ages being considered) in that year were 55 in the case of Muslims and 43 in that of Hindus.⁴³ And in a democracy, the percentage of adults in a community is an important factor.

The only view, therefore, which can stand the scrutiny of logic, reason, and justice is that no part of India is the homeland of any particular community. India being the common motherland of all the communities that live within its boundary today, every part of it is the common homeland of all those communities. A contrary view is sure to lead to inter-communal bitterness and, ultimately, to a civil war in this country. A parrot-like repetition of an irrational view or slogan *ad nauseam* will not help anybody's cause, notwithstanding the philosophy of propaganda taught by Hitler and Goebbels. No one can befool all the people all the time.

It may also be pointed out here to the Muslim separationists that insistence on the view that the Muslims of India constitute a separate nation distinct from the rest of the population of India will ultimately act as a boomerang to themselves. Either the Muslims of India form a part of the population of India—and, therefore, form a part of the Indian people—or they do not. If they insist that they do not so form a part, while living within the geographic boundary of India, then the rest of the people of India cannot be blamed if they begin to look upon the Muslims as foreigners and aliens in India—at best *domiciled aliens*, to use a term of International Law. And such a view on their part is sure to have far-reaching economic and political consequences. The question is not one of sentiment, but of logic and reason. These non-Muslim Indians have been fighting and suffering during the last sixty years for the ending of one alien rule, namely, the rule of the British people over them. The Muslim separationists would be in a dreamland if they thought now that these non-Muslims would ever agree or submit, having regard to the record of Muslim rule in the past in relation to their culture, religion, temples, deities, art, and architecture, etc., to the imposition over them of another alien rule, namely, the rule of the Muslims in the proposed State of Pakistan. It would be too much to expect it.

We have already in India many absurdities. We should not multiply them and make ourselves a laughing-stock of the whole civilized world, by creating a Hindu national State of India, a Muslim National State of India, a Sikh National State of India, etc.

In conclusion, I should like to say—although it may not be very palatable to many—that, not to speak of two or more nations in India today, there is as yet no nation in India today. The Indian nation is still in the making and Indian nationalism is passing through a period of travail. A community or group of people is not recognized by modern Political Science as a nation unless it has become politically organized, and unless it is free from foreign control. It is in this sense that

³⁹ See the Minutes of Evidence before the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, Vol. II, 1919, p. 227; also Ambedkar, Thoughts on Pakistan, 1941, p. 317.

⁴⁰ See the Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, India, Part I, Report, p. 381.

⁴¹ See the Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, India, Part I, Report, p. 390.

⁴² See the Census of India, 1931, Vol. V, Part I, Report, p. 410.

⁴³ See the Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, Part I, Report, p. 390.

the British, the Americans (U.S.A.), the Swiss, and the Canadians, for instance, are each a nation. And a nation may comprize, if it is so lucky, only one nationality," or, as is usually the case, more than one nationality. Unfortunately, in the past the two terms 'nation' and 'nationality' have often been used by many writers as synonyms, the reason being that they were both derived from the same root. This has naturally led to a confusion of thought and reasoning. But the term nation has since acquired, as I have indicated above, "both a scientific and a popular signification which is very different" from its etymological meaning. Professor J. Holland Rose,⁴⁵ for instance, has used the term nation to mean "a people which has attained to State organization", and the term nationality (in the concrete sense) to mean "a people which has not yet attained to it." No scientific writer today will apply the term nation to the different constituent elements, say, of the Swiss or of the American nation. The only term that can properly be applied to these elements is nationality⁴⁶ which is used nowadays to mean an ethnic, or a linguistic, or a religious, group of people who may

"cherish common historical traditions, and who constitute or think they constitute a distinct cultural society." No political signification is now attached to this term nationality. At best, although it is very doubtful, the different religious communities in India may be regarded as constituting different nationalities in this country in the same way as there are, for example, different nationalities in Great Britain, Switzerland, Canada, South Africa, and in the United States of America. Given mutual goodwill, charity, toleration, and forbearance, and with a deepening sense of the essential unity of Indian life and economy, I see no valid reason why these different religious communities in India cannot be welded into a free, powerful Indian Nation. If, in spite of the memories of Bannockburn, Flodden Field, and Culloden Moor, Scotsmen and Englishmen could form, together with Welshmen, a strong, united British nation, then why should not, notwithstanding what might have happened in the past, the great religious communities of India be able to form a strong, free, united Indian Nation? This ideal can certainly be realized only through the mechanism of a properly devised All-India Federation. Any division of India will inevitably lead to a civil war and chaos, and, ultimately, to the perpetuity of foreign rule in this country. We must, therefore, all banish from our minds counsels of unreason and ideas of power politics in the larger interests of our common Motherland.

44 In the concrete sense. In the abstract sense the term nationality is used "to indicate citizenship."

45 *Nationality in Modern History*, pp. viii-ix.

46 In the concrete sense.

ALDOUS HUXLEY

A Natural Historian of Humanity

By ALEXANDER HENDERSON*

ONCE a sceptic and materialist, but now a believer in principles derived from Indian religious philosophy, Aldous Huxley has, throughout his novels, essays and poems, displayed a subtle and complex personality, the conflicting tendencies of which are held in balance by a vigorous and speculative mind.

"If I had to define my position," he wrote 18 years ago in *Proper Studies* (1927), "I should say that I was a moderately extroverted intellectual . . . I understand the materialist interpretation of inward life."

But, in 1944, he stated as the basis of his belief: "That there is a Godhead, Ground, Brahman, Clear Light of the Void, which is the unmanifested principle of all manifestations. That the Ground is at once transcendent and immanent. That it is possible for human beings to love, know, and, from virtually, to become actually identical with the divine Ground. That to achieve this unitive knowledge of the Godhead is the final end and purpose of human existence."

Huxley has always been well aware of the contradictory strains in his own personality and, in the volume of essays entitled *Do What You Will* (1929), sketched out a philosophy of "life worship," of "balanced excess," which was based on the acceptance, as fundamental of the diversity within each individual.

Aldous Huxley's complex personality, the scientific cast of his mind and his clear and brilliant prose style,

may well be considered as examples of inherited characteristics and ability, for he counts among his forbears some of the best intellects of 19th century England.

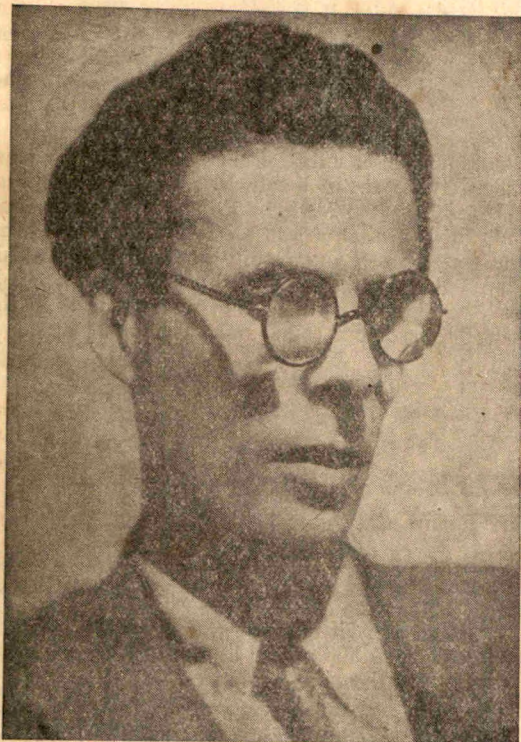
He was born on July 26, 1894, the third son of Leonard Huxley and Julia Arnold. His father, born in 1860, was the son of Thomas Henry Huxley, the scientist who did perhaps more than anyone else to make Darwinism understood by the general public. Aldous Huxley's mother was the niece of Matthew Arnold, the author of *Sohrab and Rustum* and many other poems, of *Culture and Anarchy* and several fine volumes of literary criticism. She was, too, the granddaughter of Thomas Arnold, the clergyman and famous Headmaster of Rugby High School who, by his example, stimulated many changes in the English Public School system.

The environment in which Aldous Huxley grew up as a child was as cultivated and intellectual as were his ancestors. His father, appointed assistant Professor of Greek at St. Andrews' University, Scotland, at the age of 23, subsequently became editor of *The Cornhill Magazine*, one of the most distinguished of English reviews—a post which he held for many years—and literary adviser to the publishing firm Smith, Elder and Co. His aunt, Mary Augusta Arnold, who, in 1872, married the critic and editor Thomas Humphry Ward, was the most eminent woman novelist of her time; her

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Robert Elsmere published in 1888, was famous throughout Europe and U.S.A.

With this rich inheritance of science from his father's and literature from his mother's family, it is not surprising that Aldous Huxley should have become a man of letters, nor that his writing should, in many ways, exhibit the scientific temper. As a boy, indeed, he wanted to make his career in science—like his elder brother Julian, the distinguished biologist—but an affection of the eyes (which almost deprived him of sight for three years) made scientific work impossible. Those three years gave him that detached outlook on life which is noticeable in much of his work.



Aldous Huxley

Aldous Huxley was educated at Eton and, like his father, at Balliol College, Oxford. He enjoyed both. "I have the kind of mind," he says, "to which an academic training is thoroughly acceptable. Congenitally an intellectual, with a taste for ideas and an aversion from practical activities, I was always quite at home among the academic shades." Oxford especially he appreciated because there he was left at liberty to work in his own way which, for him, meant omnivorous reading rather than note-taking at lectures, "I myself," he says, "never attended more than, at the outside, two lectures a week."

At home he was brought up to admire the poetry and philosophy of Wordsworth, the aesthetics of Ruskin. Huxley's early sardonic and farcical stories—*Limbo* (1920), *Mortal Coils* (1922), and his first novel *Chrome*

Yellow (1921); show how he reacted to the atmosphere of high moral seriousness in which he was brought up. As a young man he was intellectually cautious, sceptical, disinclined to moral enthusiasms. But underneath the ironic manner he has always retained an essential seriousness as grave as that of Matthew Arnold himself. "In my early stories," he told me once, "I am also reacting against the pedantic part of myself."

In the development of his early style the most important influences were the French writers of the latter part of the 19th century and the early 20th, especially Rimbaud, Laforgue and Anatole France. He was attracted, too, by the work of Remy de Gourmont chiefly on account of the latter's interest in natural history, an interest which Huxley has always shared and which manifests itself most strongly in *Point Counter Point* (1928).

At Oxford, Huxley wrote a good deal of poetry; of minor importance in comparison with his prose works, it is, none the less, interesting for the light it throws on his temperament. It reveals a romantic and idealistic sensibility, already preoccupied with the conflict between passion and reason, self-division's cause which he later developed in *Point Counter Point* and *Brave New World* (1932). The early poems show, too, a man shy of contact with other men and women, and glad to take refuge from the realities of the human struggle in the impalpable world of ideas.

His present investigations into mysticism and religious philosophy represent a return to this deep-rooted preference for the inner life which was for a time obscured, if we may judge by the sceptical works published during the decade of the 1920's—a period that, as it happened, was generally, in England, one of widespread cynicism and materialism.

For a few years one of the outstanding personal influences on Huxley's thought was that of the late D. H. Lawrence, the author of *Sons and Lovers* and many other striking novels. They first met in 1915, but did not see much of each other till the years from 1926 until Lawrence's death. "Lawrence," wrote Huxley in 1927, "is one of the few people I feel real respect and admiration for. Of most other eminent people I have met I feel that, at any rate, I belong to the same species as they do. But this man has something different and superior in kind, not degree."

In 1919, Huxley married Maria Nys, a Belgian; he has one son. A good deal of his life has been spent outside England; he has lived in France and Italy and travelled widely in India and Burma, of which he wrote a fascinating account in *Jesting Pilate* (1926), in Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras and the West Indies (see *Beyond the Mexique Bay*, (1934). Since shortly before the war he has been living in the U.S.A., chiefly in California.

In appearance, Huxley is characteristically English; tall, grey-eyed, the thick hair brushed back from the forehead. He has great charm of manner. In his company one notices first of all his fine voice and long and supple hands; he is fond of clasping them round his knee as he sits and talks. Now and then his mouth softens into a quiet, ironic smile, but usually it has an expression of melancholy.



THE POISON OF CIVILIZATION

By AUSTIN COATES

Is civilization, or an age of great culture, in spite of being a blessing to mankind, also a poison to the posterity of that country in which it has thrived? It is one of the problems which confronts one most forcibly from the pages of history. Else how the extraordinary decay which follows in the wake of culture, corrupting the leaders, producing effeminacy and ineffectualness among the menfolk, and gradually breaking the political structure upon which the great days had been lived? Does civilization so sap a country that it is reduced to impotence for hundreds of years? What of the pathetic history of Greece since the Age of Pericles, or of the recent terrible fall which France suffered after her great centuries of enlightenment? What of many another land, Italy or Spain or others, where only recently we have seen a puny band of militarists beating on their chests and sounding the drum of an imaginary renaissance, while around them lay the white bones of a glorious civilization? If indeed these things are caused by culture itself, then it were better, so it would seem, to ensure that civilization in its highest sense should not arise among us, if we think that our way of living is in the least worthy of permanence.

After the glories of Marathon, Thermopylae and Salamis, when the Greek nation rose to its height as a military, political, and thus, in time, as an economic power (which is, after all, what a nation is—the rest is in the imagination of sentimentalists and builders of empires) there followed the age of Socrates, Plato, Aeschylus and Sophocles. As soon as the nation reached its highest point of power (what Aristotle would perhaps call its teleological conclusion) it entered into a decline. All nations do this; at first the decline is hidden, inconspicuous, undreamed-of, and then it rears its head; when you see it for the first time it is obvious to you that it has been going on for years, gradually gathering momentum. Upon the triumph of the Greeks over the Persians—their establishment as a free nation—and from the fruit of the decay which set in immediately upon the day of their greatest glory, grew the flower of the Periclean age of tolerance and enlightenment. And after it, the deluge! Greece rapidly declined as a power, and was swallowed up by the Romans, and later by the Turks. The Acropolis at Athens is a memorial, but it is also a burial-stone.

And what of another great age of European culture, the Renaissance of the Italian cities, in the days when Christendom was the power uniting Europe, and the supreme master of this Christendom was the Pope, before whom great emperors stood barefoot in the snow and begged admission to the house of him who the Christians believed to be the Vicegerent and spokesman of God? Today it is difficult to imagine what it must have been like for a Christian when he heard the news that there had been an uprising in Rome because of the Pope's continual absence in the beautiful French city of Avignon, and that as a result of this there were now two Popes, one in Avignon, one in Rome. What an unutterable catastrophe to the organized Christian religion which had built up its power so carefully and cleverly throughout the centuries, perverting the teachings of Jesus to suit its own ends! The whole fabric of Christendom rested in the descendant of Saint Peter, the Vicegerent of God. And now there were two Vicegerents! Although it was many years before the

great Reformation, the fabric was decaying; dust was blowing off the stones of the great cathedrals of the West. And in the time of that decay, when the breath of freedom stirred again in Europe, there bloomed first of all, at the first puff of that sweet breath of decay, the primitive French art and music of Provence, with its centres at Avignon and Aix-en-Provence, and later the glory of Italy, the age of Botticelli, Michaelangelo, Giotto and Leonardo da Vinci, the cities of Verona, Firenze, Venice and Rome. With the summons to freedom of thought (which is what such great art always produces) the fabric of Christendom collapsed. Martin Luther finally shattered it, and since his day the organized Christian religion has dwindled until our time, when its power is solely economic—it owns land—and in some countries even this has been taken away from it.

The fall of France—and few great nations have had to suffer such a disaster as this was!—was the result of antiquated military leadership and the sapped morale of the people. France was the shadow of its former greatness, and over it, as over all countries of Europe, had fallen the strange reverence for the past—its teachers, artists and philosophers—which prevented the flowering of any future greatness, which damped the ardour of youth, and which made of great peoples nothing more than an idle mirror of the past. Still this feeling persists. It seems as if Western culture has created so much, in so many different forms, that the sheer weight of its past achievement has killed the creative spirit.

France arose as a nation from a collection of medieval states without any central unity, now that the power of Christendom was declining. And in the West, Christendom and the worship of God were replaced by Empire and the worship of a nation. No nation has ever been worshipped with more love and fervour than France. Joan of Arc awoke this spirit, and it fired apace, until the nation was consolidated by the strong hand of Richelieu and built into an international power. Mazarin added the finishing touches, and into this well-prepared throne stepped King Louis XIV, who by his strength of purpose, leadership and patronage of art raised France to its position as the cultural head of the Western world. Once again, as before in Greece and Italy, at the highest peak occurred a great epoch of culture which lasted unabated for two hundred years, while, through troubled times, the political power of France waned. When the twentieth century dawned it was apparent that the spirit was tired. Cultural thought had exhausted itself and resorted to inversion—as in the work of the surrealists and others. And then the deluge, withheld in 1918 by the mercy of God—till 1940, when the Germans for the second time marched down the Champs-Élysées.

Rome died without an age of culture; it died slowly and with no rebellion within itself. For hundreds of years before its fall, Rome contemplated oblivion. But in those countries which experience a great age of culture the fall is rapid and final. It would seem therefore that, although the attainment of a cultured civilization is *not* the cause of a nation's decline, it *immeasurably quickens that downfall*.

It is interesting to apply this interpretation to the empires of today. Judged simply by its culture, it is

gradually becoming obvious that Europe is drawing to the end of its political leadership of the world. Its art—and art is the clearest mirror of interpretation—is sterile, turned in upon itself; and even though it may produce another age of greatness, this will be a sunset age, and will but hasten what seems to be an inevitable downfall.

Each man reads into history the pattern of his own ambition, and this which I have written is only a personal interpretation of something which we all see differently. But to any who will concur with me, surely the present day is one of hope and inspiration. The old world with its outworn traditions, its tyrannies and blindness, is collapsing slowly before our eyes. We cannot believe in the permanence of our way of living.

We desire the law which decrees that only in the rise and fall of empires and peoples can the whole of mankind advance. We desire that civilization of tolerance and culture, when the artist and the philosopher are set above kings, firstly because it will be a good age, but secondly because of our belief that such epochs hasten the destruction of ancient tyrannies.

If such an age dawns tomorrow in Europe we shall live to see great consequences. The old nations of the West will die, and in their death—and in that alone—a new age of concord can arise.*

* This is a condensed version of an address delivered before the President and Members of the Jana-Tathya Anusandhita Parishat in Calcutta on 1st October, 1944.

THE SALT AGENCIES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE PRESENT REVIVAL

By PROF. JITENDRA KUMAR NAG, M.Sc., B.L.

THE Salt Industry of Bengal is still a problem for the people at large as well as the Government of the Presidency. The growth of this baby industry is stunted for two reasons, first, for the British rulers' apathy towards its development, and secondly, for the manufacturers' inadvertence. This industry could have been built successfully by this time on a commercial basis as the ban on the manufacture has long been raised. But unfortunately it has not yet got any foothold on account of the long prevailing pessimism about its success.

It is however gratifying to note that after a century of its ruination, Bengal has revived her cottage industry in salt along the coastal region on the bay, from Jaleswar to Cox Bazar due to the Central Government's relaxation under the memorable Gandhi-Irwin Pact. The villagers of Sunderbans, Contai, Noakhali and Chittagong now prepare salt in their homes by boiling concentrated brine, obtained from saliniferous earth, by a process of lixiviation. It will be shewn afterwards in this article, that the same method of filtering saline soil was followed by the 'molunghees' from time immemorial and also when special agencies were set up by Lord Clive or Warren Hastings in their monopoly trade in salt, during the 18th and 19th centuries.

Before describing the working of the Salt Agencies of the East India Company, I would like to write shortly about the present enterprise of the coastal people in reviving their cottage industry, which was once one of the main sources of the country's salt supply. In 1942, when acute dearth of common salt, as one of the important commodities of Bengal, was felt, the Local Government introduced, with the consent of the Central Government, several storehouses in salt producing areas, to collect this indigenous salt. Although the villagers are permitted to sell their home-made salt in the nearest market as a duty-free salt in small quantities, I have seen many of them carrying baskets of salt to a neighbouring warehouse.

There are now warehouses at Kakdwip, Chinnaguri Bazar—24 Parganas, Garchakrabaria—Tamluk, Dadanpatra, Rasulpur—Contai at Tekhali, Pampua, etc., and at several places in Chittagong. The latest figures for the recent collections are very satisfactory. They are,

according to the finding of the Salt Survey Subcommittee of Bengal's Industrial Planning Committee:

District	Area	Quantity in maunds
Midnapore	Contai & Tamluk	About 2,50,000
Chittagong	Along the coast	" 2,00,000
Khulna	Satkhiria & Bagerhat	" 1,70,000
24 Parganas	Barasat & Sadar	" 1,50,000
Noakhali	Sadar	" 1,00,000
Total		" 8,70,000

Thus about 9 lakhs of maunds of salt were collected from these people last year (1943-44). Very small quantities were produced by the manufacturing companies of Bengal. The amount of production by the villagers is expected to increase this year, but authorities, establishing warehouses should see to it that adequate fuel supply is made to these people. And also they should be given some advance as *dadan* as had been done by the old Salt Agencies each year before the salt producing season began so that the ground work might be laid by the 'molunghees' in their salt farms.

Of the average dumping of 140 lakhs of maunds of salt every year into the ports of Bengal, Calcutta and Chittagong, Bengal's own requirement at present is £3 lakhs; 47 lakhs go to Assam and Behar. The huge quantity of 84 lakhs of maunds of salt is now coming from the west Indian ports, Karachi, Okha, Morvi, Porbander and Bombay and from Madras and Aden. Aden of course was dumping before the present war more than ninety per cent of our demand. Before this war we were also getting salt from Cheshire, Hamburg, Rumania, Mussowah, Port Said, etc.

As the manufacturing companies are lagging behind, we should see, that every endeavour is made to increase the production from the revived cottage industry and I am certain that, if all sorts of facilities are offered to the coastal people, they would be able to meet in future at least one-third of our requirement. The Salt Agencies of Bengal in the past were producing annually 35 to 38 lakhs of maunds, the entire demand of the province at that time.

India's total yearly requirement is about 20 lakh tons of salt, whereas, she produces 15 lakh tons from

her sea coasts and salt mines—the balance of 5 lakh tons is imported from the above-mentioned foreign countries. Most of this foreign export is dumped into Bengal. The earliest account of the working of these Salt Agencies can be found in Agent Hamilton's Report on the Tamluk Agency, 1852, and the Report on Manufacture and Sale of and Tax on Salt in British India by G. Plowden, 1856.

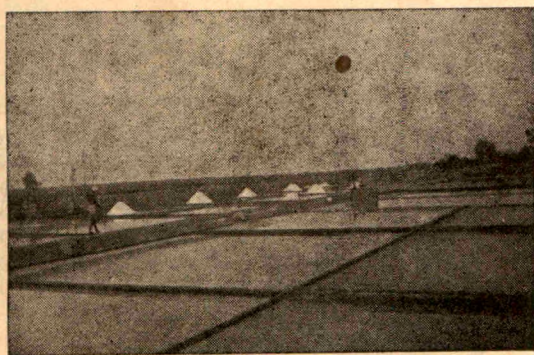
The Agencies were divided into several manufacturing districts—*Arungs*, which were as follows:

HIDGLEE—1 Beercool (Digha), 2 Bahireemootah, 3 Naranmootah, 4 Errinch, 5 Majuamootah, 6 Baghrai.
TAMLOOK—1 Tamlook, 2 Mahisadal, 3 Jellamootah, 4 Goomghur, 5 Aurungnagar.

24-PARGANAS—1 Desea, 2 Baheerbong, etc.

CHITTAGONG—1 Jooldeah, 2 Barchur, etc.

BALASORE—1 Ruttai, 2 Sartha, 3 Chenuna, 4 Das-malang, 5 Panchmalang, 6 Ankura, 7 Churamoni, 8 Dhamara.



The salt-producing centre of the Bengal Salt Company

At Jessore (Khulna) salt was manufactured in Raimangal, Sibpur, Rampur, Malai and Jamira. According to Pargitter, salt manufacture in Jessore appears to have been given up in 1826*

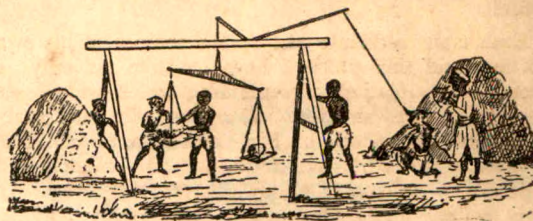
The capacity of the principal Bengal Agencies were in favourable seasons, as follows:

Hidglee	11	lacs	of	mds.	of	salt
Tamlook	9	"	"	"	"	"
Chittagong	9	"	"	"	"	"
24-Parganas	6	"	"	"	"	"
Noakhali	3	"	"	"	"	"
	38	"	"	"	"	"

The *Arungs* were also, for manufacturing convenience, subdivided into many 'Hoodahs' or independent jurisdictions. There were 83 Hoodahs in Hidglee, 37 in Tamluk, 8 in 24-Parganas and more than 50 in Chittagong.

An *Arung* was under the control of a Pokhtan or Manufacturing Darogah and a Hoodah was placed under the immediate charge of a Mohuri, who was assisted by a Zilladar, Anduldar, Barkandaj, peons and bearers. The Mohuris were nothing but Assistant Darogahs to look after the hoodahs. The number of the 'hoodahs' were 4 in Tamluk *arung*, 7 in Mahisadal, 9 in Jellamootah, 8 in Goomghar and 9 in Aurungnagar.

In a 'hoodah' there were several 'khalaris'—fields, appropriated by a 'molunghee' or manufacturer of salt for his salt preparing purposes. A khalari generally comprised one to three acres of land and it was divided like a paddy-field into several 'chatturs' or areas. To start with, the molunghees used to clear the khalaris,

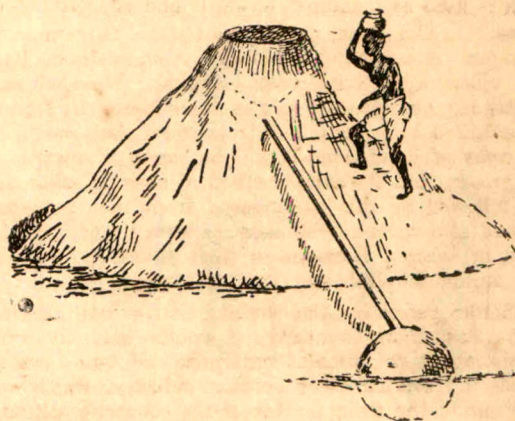


Salt is being weighed

after the rains, of every particle of jungle and grass and after weeding, used to remove the upper layer of the soil. Then he erected bund around and between chatturs, to confine in ebb-tide for several days the salt-water that entered the field. The land was ploughed and puddled by the coolies and finally levelled by a 'moye' or lump-crusher drawn by bullocks; and in the working season salt-water entering the chatturs repeatedly made the soil saliniferous.

The fields were left to the sun for 5/6 days, by which time the saline components of the earth used to rise on the surface and were easily visible to the practised eye of the molunghee in the shape of blisters—this was called to be the ripening of the crop.

Now-a-days the coastal villagers of Contai neither plough their salt farms, nor make the plot plain by a moye or ladder. They have not yet taken up the old practice for they do not know what procedure was followed by their forefathers.



Maidah (a primitive filter)

The saliniferous surface earth of the soil thus prepared was scraped and charged in quantities on the nearing filter plant for lixiviation. The primitive filter was called 'maidah,' it was a bit different from the construction of the plant, now made at Contai, although the working principle is the same. The present name current in Contai, is 'dabari.' The 'maidah' was larger than a 'dabari' and was, according to Hamilton's description, composed of a circular mud wall $4\frac{1}{2}$ cubits high, $7\frac{1}{2}$ cubits broad at the top, $12\frac{1}{2}$ cubits at its base; at its summit was a basin; in the centre of the basin was

pierced a hole from which passed a hollow reed or wall 6 cubits high so that the furnace may be built in bamboo to connect the basin with a receiving vessel. the Northern half of the building.

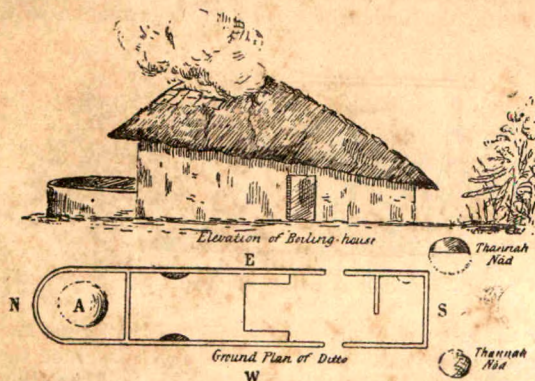
The modern filter measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits high, $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits broad (diameter) and the same at its base. In the

The panga salt, obtained by boiling the brine was to be kept in baskets, which were placed on the side of the choolah (just like what Cheshire manufacturers do in placing the salt on hurdles attached to the boiling pan on a side) to drive away the water remaining with the salt and to dry it.

The baskets were brought out of the boiling house and put on bamboo stands or frames about a cubit high and kept for the whole day in sun for final drying.

After sufficient quantity of salt had been made it was stored in the khutta golahs.

The process of preparing the panga salt, as summarised by the writer, from the description left by Mr. Hamilton, was practically the same everywhere, but Rai Bahadur D. N. Mukherji says in his



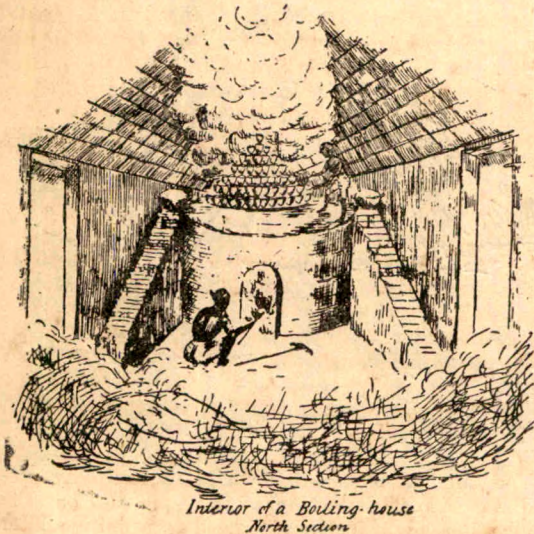
bottom of this pit several channels are cut to drain off the percolated brine to a pipe hole at a point of the wall and the brine collects in a small pit, 1 cubit lower in level, but whose depth is 2 ft. or more. The frame-work of the filter is made of date palm leaves, palm leaves, bamboo chips or twigs.

Not very far from Calcutta, near the rivers Piyali or Matla, people lixiviate the saline earth, placing it on an earthen pot, at whose base a puncture is made and on that hole twigs and leaves are laid. The pot is kept on a vessel for receiving the brine that drops. In each of the cases, water is poured on the saline earth to dissolve the salt-stuff existing in that earth.

"After the saline earth is deprived of the saline matters, the molunghee takes it out in his hands and throws outside, around the 'maidah' and this refuse earth is used as manure afterwards and is scattered by



The land is levelled by a 'moye' or lump-crusher



the molunghee over his 'chattur' to increase its fecundity as a salt producing field."†

A boiling house or "bhoonree ghur" was generally situated close to the salt fields and was built North and South. It was usually $25/26$ cubits long, 7 to 9 cubits broad, the South wall being $3\frac{1}{2}$ cubits high and North

report that kurkutch or solar salt was made in Chittagong. In 1827-28 an experimental manufacture of salt by solar heat for consumption in the districts of Chittagong and Bhoolooah, in lieu of Madras salt, was attempted in the Chittagong Agency. The experiment was continued for five years (until 1831-32), when it was abandoned as uneconomical. As regards the old practice of salt culture in the district of Noakhali, Mr. Duncan, according to the District Gazetteer, states in his report on Sandwip, that down to 1728, salt was manufactured there for the benefit of the Chaudhuris, by the local inhabitants; but it became, during Murshid Kuli's regime, a private monopoly of the Naib of Subah. In 1765, the E. I. Co. created a monopoly trade in this commodity along with betelnut and tobacco but three years later monopoly was withdrawn. From 1772 the salt-producing areas of Sandwip came under the agency system of the E. I. Co. It is found in records that from 1772 to 1776 over 1,30,000 mds. of salt were produced annually on the lands of Sandwip parganah. The Noakhali agency being the 5th agency of the E. I. Co. was then in charge of an agent living at Bhulua. In 1780 this agency was controlling salt manufacturing of the molunghees at Sandwip, Dakshin Sahabajpur, Hatia and

† Hamilton's Report 1853, 44th paragraph.

Bamni. "In the year 1819 Mr. Walters found the average annual production of salt to be a lakh of mds. in Hatia, rather more in Mankura, 20,000 mds. in Sandwip, 21,000 mds. in Mamni and 60,000 mds. in other islands of the Meghna. Altogether the production was over 3 lakhs of mds."—*District Gazetteer of Noakhali*.

All the Agencies worked up to about 1825, after which in 1826, the Jessore Agency stopped working and in 1848, the 24-Parganas Agency was closed for increase in expenses and falling in profit. The Chittagong agency was suspended in 1852. The other two agencies at Hidglee and Tamluk were abolished in 1863.

Foreign salt first imposed in 1818 gradually ousted

the local product on account of its superior quality and cheapness; till about 1863, the national industry in salt (of Bengal) almost died. Queen Victoria's Government abandoned the monopoly trade in salt enjoyed by the E. I. Co. in 1863 and left manufacture free but subject to excise duty—which was hardly profitable as it could not compete with the imported Cheshire salt.

In 1897 local manufacture was prohibited altogether, the cost of production being higher than the selling price of the imported salt owing to the weakness of the brine supply, the lack of fuel and natural disadvantages.

THE ASTRONOMER-ROYAL AND GREENWICH OBSERVATORY

By ALAN HUNTER

GREAT Britain has had an Astronomer-Royal (and a Royal Observatory for him to work in) for the best part of 300 years—ever since, as a maritime nation, our sailors first felt an urgent need to find their exact position at sea.

One of the most important functions of the Astronomer-Royal is still what it was in the days of King Charles II—who, in the Charter he drew up in 1675, called upon the newly created official stargazer to "find the so-much desired longitude at sea, for the perfecting of the art of navigation."

And so the history of the Astronomer-Royal is nothing more nor less than the history of Britain's ever-expanding navigation of the world.

The theory of finding a ship's position by the moon and the stars had, of course, been well understood for thousands of years.

The trouble was that this theory could not be put to practical use because the position of what might be called the guiding lights of the firmament could not be accurately plotted.

It was to compile this "stellar time-table" that the first Astronomer-Royal was appointed.

The honour fell to a young scientist, the 28-year-old Rev. John Flamsteed, and his name is perpetuated in the name of the Astronomer-Royal's official residence near the Observatory—Flamsteed House, Greenwich.

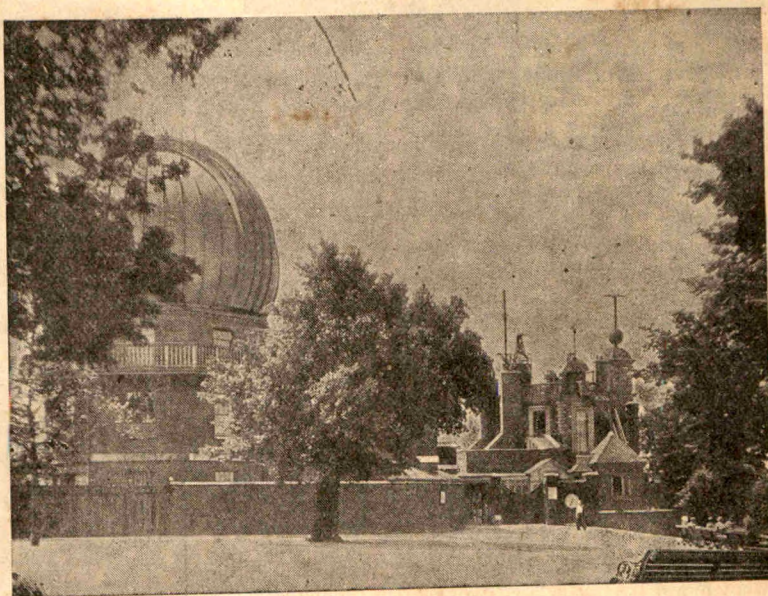
Greenwich—now a crowded part of London—was in those days a Thames-side hamlet in the country that then surrounded the capital.

It was the great architect of St. Paul's Cathedral—Sir Christopher Wren himself—who recommended the King to build the Observatory at Greenwich. Otherwise, it might well have been put up in one of central London's great parks—Hyde Park.

It so happened that the Crown owned a small building on a hill at Greenwich—and it was in the course of a year, that here the Observatory grew up.

Down the Thames to Greenwich they transported wood from an old gate-house in the Tower of London, as well as iron and lead from Tilbury Fort. Part of the cost was defrayed by selling some gunpowder that had been spoilt.

When King Charles and his advisers built their observatory at Greenwich, they little realised that London would spread to this little village, and that modern industrial developments would hamper accurate astronomical observation. Although Greenwich will always be the home of modern astronomy, after the



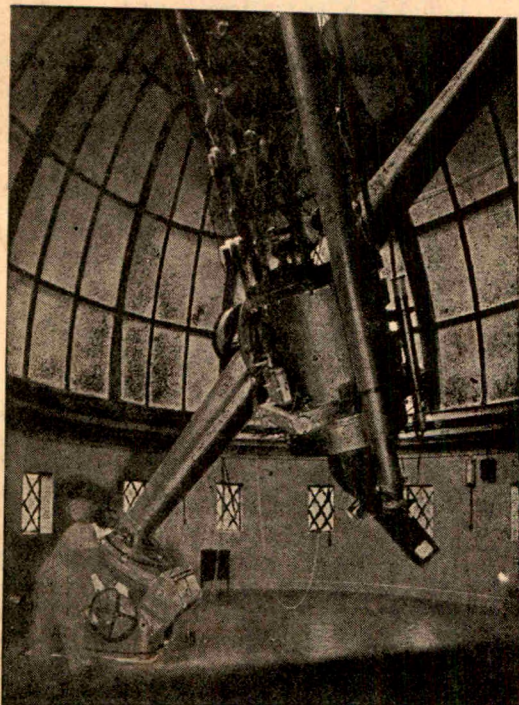
Greenwich Observatory, with the great dome which houses the astronomical telescopes, was founded in 1675 and completed in 1899

war the observatory is to be moved to a more suitable site outside London where the air is clearer and where the observatory's delicate instruments will not be affected by the electrical fields of London's modern industries.

The first Astronomer-Royal took up his work in the newly built Observatory in July, 1676—just a year after the foundation stone had been laid.

Flamsteed was the right man for the job. He knew

a great deal about astronomy, having already drawn up a catalogue of the stars, as well as having worked out tables of the motions of the moon and the planets.



The interior of the dome at Greenwich Observatory. An assistant is aligning the giant telescope for observations

It was fortunate, too, that Flamsteed was an expert mechanic. Although he was provided with an Observatory, he had himself to equip it with instruments—some of which he made himself.

In the next 12 years or so, Flamsteed painstakingly made no fewer than 20,000 observations—and alone revised the tables of the heavenly bodies then in use.

Flamsteed provided the great Sir Isaac Newton with much of the data that led to the discovery of the Law of Gravitation.

Flamsteed's successor, Halley, persuaded Newton to publish the famous "Principia", which might otherwise never have seen the light of day.

When Halley became the second Astronomer-Royal, in 1720, he had to re-equip the Observatory entirely. Flamsteed's widow had, quite within her rights, removed all the instruments.

Halley will always be most popularly remembered for what might be called "his" Comet. He predicted the return of the comet that has ever since been known as Halley's Comet—perhaps the best known comet in the firmament.

But Halley—of whom it was said when young: "If a star were displaced in the globe he would find it out"—was over 60 when he began a far greater work than the prediction of a comet's return.

This was nothing less than the observation of the moon through an entire 18-year period—or Saros, as the Ancient Chaldeans had called it.

Succeeding Astronomers-Royal gradually raised the standard of the Royal Observatory's work until the

fifth—Maskelyne—was able at long last to fulfil the terms of the original Charter, which was to perfect the art of navigation.

Maskelyne's greatest work was his Nautical Almanac. But almost as important was his decision to do the one thing those before him had been so reluctant to do as to publish regular lists of observations.

It was in Maskelyne's time that an Englishman named Harrison won an award of £20,000 for his Time Keeper, a chronometer that would keep perfect time at sea.

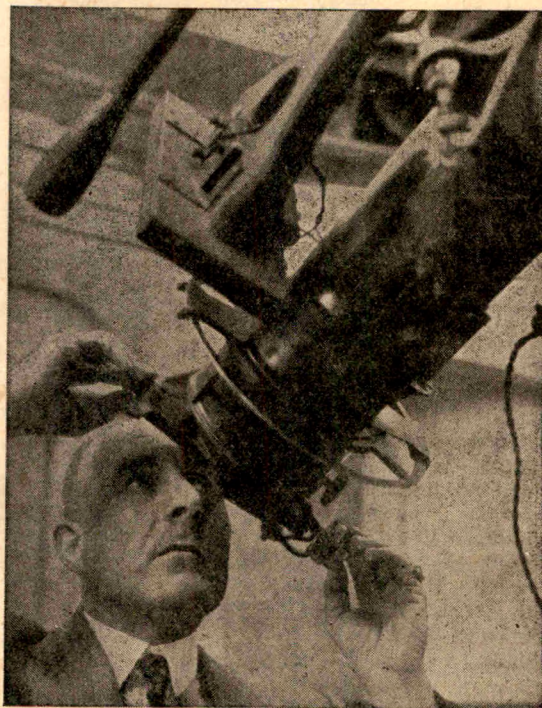
The Royal Observatory itself is, of course, the home of what's now known all over the world as Greenwich Mean Time.

Through Greenwich runs what, by international consent in 1883, is known as Longitude Nought—the fundamental line by which distances east and west are measured, just as distances north and south are measured from that other imaginary line, the Equator.

The modern world's system of time—zones of time, that is,—are all related to the fundamental or Mean Time of Greenwich.

In 1880, Greenwich Mean Time was first made legal time in Britain and in more recent years the B. B. C. has vastly extended the time service with its world-wide broadcasts of the six pips.

The mechanism that broadcasts these famous pips is directly connected with the clocks at Greenwich, where the present Astronomer-Royal, Sir Harold Spencer Jones, had done a great deal of work to improve the already high standard of accuracy.



The Astronomer-Royal, Doctor Harold Spencer Jones, F.R.S., who has held his office since 1933

Sir Harold is an astronomer with a formidable list of achievements. He has been Astronomer-Royal at Greenwich for ten years, coming from a similar post at the Royal Observatory, Cape of Good Hope. Among

his many contributions to the science of astronomy, he is responsible for the most precise determination yet obtained of the sun's distance from the earth, the fundamental unit of distances in astronomy, known as the Solar Parallax.

The sun, he found, was 93,005,000 miles from the earth, with what astronomers call a degree of uncertainty of some 10,000 miles.

It was for this work that our present Astronomer-Royal earned the coveted gold medal of the Royal Astronomical Society.

This achievement serves to remind us that, throughout the long history of the Royal Observatory,

one of its main tasks has always been the accurate plotting of the position of the sun, the moon, the planets and the fixed stars.

It has been long, hard and—to ordinary people—perhaps unexciting work, but there is not a single ship that sails the seven seas today that does not owe something of its safety to the painstaking observations of Britain's long and illustrious line of Astronomers-Royal.

Charles II built better than he knew—and, as a King who always took a keen interest in science, gave the lie to the cruelly untrue saying: "He never said a foolish thing and never did a wise one."

POLITICAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN BENGAL AND CHINA

(Translated from Chinese Records)

By PROF. SUJITKUMAR MUKHOPADHYAYA AND PROF. HSIAO LING WU,

Cheena-Bhavana, Visva-Bharati

[In Chinese literature, we find many records of political intercourse between Bengal and China, which took place during 1408-38 A.D. In these records, we find descriptions of Bengal, of its social customs, its public life, its native productions—trade, wealth etc.

As those political officers who came from China, stayed only for a short time, and put up amongst high officials (who were Mohammedans), their descriptions of the social customs and public life of Bengal are not quite correct; nay, sometimes they are amusing; from these, however, we get glimpses of Bengal of the 15th century. Moreover, we find new materials for the history of Bengal.

A similar record was translated fifty years ago, by George Phillips, who published it in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1895, pp. 529-33.]

Bengal is about 7,000 *li* (2333 1/3 miles) away from Nikobar and is situated north-west of it. It is also called Eastern India. It has got quite a large area.

If one starts from Sumatra, one has to go first towards "Cap-hill" (Pulo Weh) and Nikobar and then in a north-westerly direction. If the wind is favourable, then within twenty days, one arrives at Chittagong. From Chittagong, sailing in a small boat and after travelling 166 2/3 miles, one reaches Sonargaon. This port-town is surrounded with walls and fortified with ditches. It is a big town with streets and markets.

After passing twenty stations from this town, one reaches Pandua (in Malda), the Capital of Bengal. This city with its suburbs is grand and magnificent. The King has got a white-washed palace, large in size, and rectangular in shape. It is divided into nine sections and has got three gates. The pillars in the buildings are plated with brass and decorated with engravings of flowers and animals.

The crown and the dress of the king, as well as the caps and the clothes of the higher officials, are in Mohammedan style.

All are Muslims. Their marriage and funeral ceremonies are observed in accordance with the Mohammedan rites.

The people of Bengal are rich, honest and generous. They are well-acquainted with commerce. They shave their hair and put on a white turban on their heads. They wear a long gown with round collar, wrap the lower part of the body with a coloured cloth, and put on leather shoes. Women have a peg-like knot of plated hair on their head. They wear short garments on the upper part of the body and wrap the lower part with

coloured clothes, made of cotton or silk. They put golden earrings with precious stones in their ears and precious necklaces round their necks. They put golden bracelets and anklets on their hands and feet and rings on their fingers and toes.

The climate of Bengal is constantly hot. The Calendar current there is of twelve months without any intercalary month (*malamas*). There the highest punishment to an accused is only transportation. All officials have their despatch-seals. The commander of the army is called *Sipasalar*.

There are physicians, astrologers, astronomers, and all kinds of artisans.

Everything is available in the market. The language of Bengal is Bengali. People are also well-versed in Persian. Musicians are called *ken hsiao* (*so*) *su lu nai* (.....*sura-nayaka*?). Early in the morning, in the houses of rich and high class people, they start music. One of them beats a small drum, the other beats a big one; while another plays on a flute. The time-beating begins slowly and afterwards becomes rapid. When it is finished, the musicians are given food and drink, as well as *tanka* (rupee) by the owner of the house.

Bengalees usually entertain guests with *pans*. During feasts, they engage music-girls to entertain the guests by singing and dancing. The dress of the music-girls, on the upper part of their body, is made of a light red coloured cloth with designs. Over the lower part they put on a coloured silk gown. Round the neck, they put on necklaces, made of precious stones, such as coral, amber, pearls, with various colours (lit. five colours). On the wrist, they put on bracelets, made of precious stones of red and green colour.

The Bengalees are accustomed to have tigers' play. The player pulls the tiger with an iron chain and walks. At the time of play, the chain is removed. The tiger squats and waits. The man undresses himself, in order to fight with the tiger. The tiger then roars and gets excited. Then they fight with each other. The man sometimes puts his arm into the mouth of the tiger. When the play is over, the tiger lies down on the ground. The family that enjoys the play, feeds the tiger with flesh and gives *tanka* to the player.

There are two kinds of exchanges in Bengal. One is a silver coin which is called *tanka*, the other is sea-shell which is known as *kari*. The weight of the silver coin, according to the standard weight, is three *fen*. Its diameter, according to the standard measurement, is one inch and two *fen*. The silver coin is decorated on

one side. The value of the sea-shell is counted by its weight.¹

The chief merchandise of Bengal is cotton and silk. The soil is suitable for all kinds (lit., five kinds) of corn. There are two crops during the year. The climate is favourable for keeping all (lit., six) kinds of domestic animals.

There are four kinds of wine in Bengal. One is made from coconut, the other from rice, another from *madhuka* (*Bassia Latifolia*) and the fourth one from palm trees.

There are six kinds of cloth in Bengal. The first one is called *peip'o* (*baf?*). It is two feet broad and fifty-six feet long. It is white, fine and evenly made. The second one is yellow (or red?) in colour. It is called *man cho ti* (*manjistha*). It is four feet broad and fifty feet long. It is closely woven and is very strong. The third one is a gauze-cloth, named *sha na pa fu* (*sahan-baf?*). It is five feet broad and thirty feet long. Its shape is similar to the Chinese "raw plain gauze" (*sheng pu lo*). The fourth one is a crape called *hsin pai ch'n ta li* (*panch tolia, ch'int?*). It is three feet broad and sixty feet long. The cloth for dressing the head (turban cloth) is similar to "three shuttles" (*san suo*). It is called *sha tar* (*jutar* or *ch'utar*). It is two and half feet broad and forty feet long. The Chinese *to. lo mien* is called *mal mal* in Bengal. It is four feet broad and twenty feet long. On the reverse side of it there are naps which are half an inch long.

In Bengal there are pearls, corals, crystals, cornealians, king-fishers' feathers, plenty of bananas, pine-apples, pomegranates, tamarinds (?) (lit., sour-seeds), sugar-canes, plenty of curds (or butter), plenty of gourds, cucumbers, melons, onions, gingers, mustards, brinjals, garlies.

Camels are also to be found there. There are papers made from the bark of mulberry trees. There is a tree with slender branches and green leaves which spread themselves in the morning and close at night. It is like the Chinese "night-closing" trees. Its fruits are like plums. It is called *omla* (*amlaki*). It is used for curing constipation (or purging).

On the day when they received our emperor's mandate more than a thousand armed troops on horse were assembled. They were posted on the left and right sides of the long verandah. Gigantic figures with shining armours, holding double-edged swords and bow and arrows, were in attendance. Hundred umbrellas made of peacock-feathers were put over the terrace of the palace. There were troops of a hundred elephants in the audience hall. The king sat on a throne, decorated with all (lit., eight) kinds of precious stones. He had a sword on his lan. Two men holding silver staffs in their hands, were leading us. Every five steps, they shouted (a slogan). When we came to the central place, they stopped. Then two men holding golden staffs in their hands were to lead us. We proceeded just as before. The king solemnly and politely saluted (putting the hand on the forehead) and received the imperial mandate. When the ambassador read out the list of gifts, a carpet was spread on the audience hall, to entertain him with a feast. There were different dishes of goats' flesh and beef. Sweet drinks of different kinds, some mixed with rose juice and others with various kinds of perfumes, were served to the party.

The kings of Bengal do not send ambassadors

1. Chinese measurement was of various kinds at various times. Now for international trade purposes it is fixed by the Treaty as follows:

Chin (Chinese pound) is equal to 11 2/3 lbs. Sixteen *liang* (Chinese ounce) make one *chin*; ten *ch'ien* (mace) make one *liang*; ten *fen* make one *ch'ien*.

A Chinese foot is equal to 14.1 inches (English). Ten *fen* make one inch (Chinese); ten inches (Chinese) make one foot (Chinese).

regularly to China. In 1408 A.D., in the sixth year of the emperor Yung-lo, the third emperor of the Ming dynasty, king Giasuddin (Ajam Sah) sent an ambassador to China. In the 9th year (i.e., after three years) of this emperor of China, the ambassador reached T'ai Ts'ang (near Shanghai). The emperor of China ordered the officer in the ministry of foreign affairs to receive (lit., to give a feast and a place for rest) him there warmly. In the twelfth year of the same Chinese emperor (in 1414 A.D.) King Giasuddin sent his minister *Pa yi chi* (Bayazid?) and some others with gifts (lit., revenue) of Ch'i-lin i.e., giraffe, and other things. Also in 1438 A.D., in the time of emperor Cheng T'ong, gifts were sent from Bengal. Thin gold-plates were used for the official letters and for the list of presentation. The gifts were horses, saddles of horses, silver and gold ornaments, unwrought gold, furnitures made of cat's-eye gems, white porcelain, with designs of blue flowers, *sh ha ta* (shawl), *ch fu* (*kapu?*), *he ta lai* (?), extremely white muslin—*malmal*, crystallized sugar, head of crane, horn of rhinoceros, peacock-feathers, parrots, frankincense, musk, manufactured incense, gray-incense, hemp, catechu, violet glue, gamboge, ebony wood, sapon wood, peppers.

Bengal is indeed a rich and generous country. Look at the gifts given to the Chinese ambassadors. A golden helmet, a golden belt with a pot and bottle in it all golden, were presented to the chief ambassador. A silver helmet, a silver belt with a pot and bottle in it all silver, were given to the assistant ambassador. The interpreter (who was also a Chinese) was given the gifts of a golden bell and a long robe made of fine silk. Soldiers were given silver coins.

If Bengal were not a rich and generous country, how could it do so?

2. There is something wrong here. Regarding the dates of political intercourse between these two countries (viz., Bengal and China), we have got very authentic records in the history of the Ming dynasty. We have translated such a record. We quote below a passage from it:—

In the sixth year of the emperor Yung-lo (i.e., 1408 A.D.) king Giasuddin of Bengal sent an ambassador to China with tributes of native products. The Chinese emperor entertained him with feasts and gave him presents of various things. In the 7th year of the same emperor (in 1409 A.D.) an ambassador of Bengal came again. He was accompanied by 230 officers. Just at that time, the emperor Yung-lo was eager to establish relations with foreign countries. He presented them with many things. From this time every year ambassadors from Bengal came to pay tributes. In the tenth year of this emperor (in 1412) before the ambassador of Bengal came (to the capital) the emperor sent officers to Chen Chiang (near Yang-Chow) to receive him with feasts etc. When all such arrangements were ready, the ambassador announced the death of their king (i.e., Giasuddin Ajam Sah). The emperor sent an officer to Bengal to offer the last offerings to the dead, as well as to coronate the prince Saifuddin. In the 12th year of Yung-lo (in 1414 A.D.) the second king (i.e., Saifuddin) sent an ambassador with an official letter, expressing his thanks, with tributes of Ch'i-lin i.e., giraffe, beautiful horses and some other native products. The next year the emperor sent Hou Hsian, as an ambassador to Bengal with an official letter, as well as presents. The king, the queen, and the high officials all received presents. In the third year of the emperor Cheng T'ung (in 1438, i.e., when Samsuddin Ahmad Sah was the king of Bengal) Bengal again paid tributes of Ch'i-lin (Giraffe) to the Chinese emperor. The next year also, tributes came from Bengal, after that they came no more.

3. The fleshy knob of a kind of crane's head which is used as strong poison.

MENTAL HYGIENE MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By BEJOYKETU BOSE, M.B., B.SC.

THE movement of mental hygiene originated firstly in America. Its founder Mr. Clifford Beers has narrated the origin of the movement in a fascinating autobiography, *A Mind That Found Itself*. Mr. Beers, who was himself a victim of a severe type of mental sickness, vividly portrays his mental condition during the illness in this book and discloses the nature of treatment meted out to patients in mental hospitals at that time. Want of sympathy, which he felt so keenly as a patient in almost every person who came to take care of the mentally sick, moved him most. On his recovery, therefore, he was the most ardent and impatient worker to bring about a hygienic reform, from the mental standpoint, in the conditions of the American asylums and hospitals for mental patients. His efforts succeeded in founding the Connecticut Society for Mental Hygiene in New Haven on May 6, 1908. Mr. Adolph Meyers christened this young movement with the term Mental Hygiene. At the outset the movement had only two objectives:

(i) Improvement in the condition of patients in mental hospitals.

(ii) Improvement in the technique of treatment for the insane, epileptics and mentally defectives.

The mental hygiene movement gradually found worldwide encouragement. In its course of growth it developed into a great applied science and came to include a wide range of social and individual aspects of human life, viz,

(a) Study of psychopathic criminals and prevention of crime.

(b) Study of the pathology of mental disorders and the prevention of mental disorders.

(c) Mental welfare clinics for (i) Child guidance, (ii) College students, (iii) Industrial workers, (iv) General public, and (v) Parents' guidance.

(d) Training of physicians, nurses, attendants, social workers and teachers.

This movement spread to India in about 20 years' time.

The Indian Association for Mental Hygiene was founded in Simla in August 23, 1928, mainly through the efforts of Captain H. Stedman, M.C. Lieut.-Colonel Owen Berkeley-Hill was its first President. The Association was affiliated with the National Council for Mental Hygiene, Great Britain. The objects of the Association, as stated in the Memorandum, were:

(a) To encourage the study of the mental health of the community with a view to (i) removing those factors which militate against good mental health, (ii) combating the prevailing ignorance regarding mental disorders, and (iii) improving the psychological environment of both children and adults.

(b) We propose to employ ourselves and what funds we raise in the following ways: (i) holding of meetings in order to afford an opportunity for the exchange of ideas, (ii) the reading of papers by members, or by experts in any branch of mental hygiene, (iii) propaganda work by urging the needs for the establishment of special clinics and the provision of facilities for remedial measures for children and adults of abnormal mentality, (iv) the gradual formation, as funds permit, of a central library of mental hygiene, the books of which may be distributed by post to members

wherever they are situated, (v) the arrangement, as circumstances permit, of popular lectures to the general public to be given under the auspices of the Association, either by members or by experts whose assistance can be obtained.

The pioneers of this movement in India were all Europeans although subsequently many Indians joined it. The Association had a short but very distinguished period of existence. Its progress towards the realization of its objects was fair and steady. Three months after its formation, it began publishing a quarterly Bulletin from Simla. Captain Stedman was its first editor. This Bulletin was richly contributed to by eminent workers in the field of psychiatry and social psychology in India.

In 1930 Lieut.-Colonel Berkeley-Hill took over the responsibilities of editing and publishing the bulletin from Captain Stedman. In March 1932 sub-committees under the Association existed in the following places: Delhi, Simla, Lahore, Calcutta, Southern India and Ceylon. The Calcutta Committee became an independent branch under the presidentship of Sir George Rankin, the then Chief Justice of Bengal, in 1931. On the 1st May 1933 a psychiatric Clinic was opened at Carmichael Medical College Hospital, Belgachia, under the patronage of the Calcutta Sub-Committee and under the guidance of Dr. G. Bose.

So far the progress of the Association was really gratifying. Unfortunately from the beginning of 1933 we find the editor sounding warning notes. In the bulletin of 1st March 1933 he comments, "During 1932 no reports were received from any sub-committee throughout India. This is disappointing." In spite of the repeated appeals by the editor, the response from the different sub-committees and members did not improve. In July 1939 the editorship of the bulletin was taken over from Lt.-Col. Owen Berkeley-Hill by Dr. Banarsi Das, Superintendent, Mental Hospital, Agra. In October 1937, he writes, "The editor regrets to say he received practically no response to his appeal for the renewal of subscription (a sum of Rs. 2, only) of old members and for the enrolment of new members. It will be a real pity if it is allowed to die out from apathy just when the whole country is pulsating with a new surge of enthusiasm for progress in all directions."

The last appeal also fell flat. A vestige of this humanitarian movement however, still persists in the psychiatric clinic at Carmichael Medical College Hospital, Belgachia. This clinic in its humble way has been doing valuable work in the field of mental hygiene for the last 11 years. It opens on Tuesday and Thursday of every week from 8 to 10 a.m. Besides diagnosis and treatment the clinic also provides for the training of medical practitioners and clinical lectures for advanced medical students and post-graduate students of psychology are held regularly.

Although the general movement as started by Captain Stedman closed down, still there were other workers whose persistent efforts would not die out so easily. One of them, Mr. Girija Bhusan Mukherji, founder of the Bodhana Samity, is still carrying on his special task. On the 1st of July 1933 the Bodhana Niketan or the home for the feeble-minded was started. It began with 4 pupils; at the end of a year it had 8

pupils and the existing number in February 1944 was 14. There is, however, accommodation for about 50 pupils. It admits pupils of both sexes, irrespective of caste, creed or nationality. Enquiries for admission have come from different provinces of India. The site of this institution is Jhargram in the district of Midnapore. Raja Narsingh Deo Bahadur made a gift of about 80 acres of virgin land for establishing this home to the authorities of Bodhana Niketan.

There is another institution for feeble-minded children at Kurseong. European and Anglo-Indian children only are admitted. There is accommodation for about 20 pupils. It is managed by Miss Silvia de Laplace. It also receives Government aid.

The first mental indoor institution to be started in Bengal is the "Mental Hospital." It was started in 1931 in Calcutta. The male department of the hospital was shifted to Mankundu in Hooghly district in 1940, where Messrs Soorajmull Nagarmull made over to the Hospital authorities a spacious garden house with extensive compound as a gift. The hospital also has a female department and observation ward in Calcutta. It receives grants from both the Corporation of Calcutta and the Government of Bengal. The existing accommodation is for about 60 patients.

In the year 1940 Indian Psychoanalytical Society started under its auspices Lumbini Park Mental Hospital with only three beds. The institution has been very popular and at present it can accommodate 25 mental patients. It has an outdoor section also where patients receive advice free of charge. An important feature of this institution is that it aims at the training of technical personnel and the providing of facilities for research. Unfortunately it receives no support either from the Government of Bengal or from the Corporation of Calcutta by way of grants. It is registered under the Societies' Act of 1861 and aims at making, as many beds as possible, free as soon as funds permit. Up to now it has not received any donation big enough to enable it to have free beds for deserving patients. It practically depends entirely on the charges realised from the patients for its maintenance. Consequently the charges for treatment are high and beyond the reach of many. Mental diseases often require prolonged institutional treatment. So for even ordinary middle class people, not to speak of the poorer masses this form of treatment is beyond their means. Lumbini Hospital is fortunate however in one respect at least that its technical staff consists of many experts who render their services practically in honorary capacity. The reports of this hospital are regularly published in the International Journal of Psychoanalysis.

Besides these two hospitals Bengal has also at least two more mental hospitals run on Ayurvedic lines of treatment. There are also outdoor clinics for mental diseases at the Calcutta Medical College Hospital and Shambhunath Pandit Hospital maintained by Government. There is also an outdoor for mental patients in Madras. The Applied Section of the Department of Psychology, Calcutta University, also examines and gives free advice to persons presenting themselves for mental abnormalities. In the past, the Department of Psychology of Calcutta University used to organize educational stalls in the Health Exhibitions held annually at the Indian Museum building. This stall used to attract considerable interest from the public and contributed greatly towards arousing the mental health consciousness among the public. Bombay has got an

institution for training psychiatric social workers and a child guidance clinic managed by Sir Dorabjee Tata Foundation. In Bombay under the able guidance of Dr. K. R. Masani the Indian Council of Mental Hygiene has recently been started. Among its aims and objects it mentions the following:

(1) Conservation and promotion of mental health among the public.

(2) Prevention and treatment of mental and nervous diseases and the early and scientific treatment of these diseases as also of the less well-defined character and personality maladjustments.

The Bombay University is the only University in India that has a diploma course in Psychological Medicine. Calcutta University is also alert to the current trends. It is at present considering a scheme for instituting a D.P.M. course and it is expected that the scheme to train technical personnel in the fields of Psychiatry will soon be given effect to. The latter scheme proposes to train (i) Teachers for the mentally deficient, (ii) Psychiatric social workers, (iii) Industrial Psychologists.

Training will be conducted by the Applied Section of the Department of Psychology.

MENTAL HEALTH SURVEY

According to competent authorities, the incidence of mental diseases is comparable only to the total incidences of all the bodily diseases taken together. The actual number for India figures something like 1,500,000 for cases requiring institutional treatment alone. In contrast with this figure the total accommodation for mental patients existing in the whole of India numbers only 12,680 beds for Government institutions only. There are 16 mental hospitals in British India, excluding Burma, managed by the Government, distributed in the following way:

Province		Total accommodation
Assam	1	748
Bengal	Nil	—
Bihar and Orissa	2	1781
Bombay and Sind	5	3733
C.P.	1	613
Madras	3	2920
Punjab	1	1299
U.P.	3	1550
	16	12680

It will thus be seen that in Bengal, where the number of mental patients is the largest, the facilities for their institutional treatment are practically nil. In India the consciousness of the public of the necessity for mental sanitation is alarmingly poor. The misery and suffering consequent on this backwardness is appalling but part of this misery is preventible and curable. Unfortunately our general economic backwardness usually masks the importance of all specific problems but it would be dangerous to let that happen in the field of mental health, too, for an indefinite period. Some efforts at least have been made for mitigating our suffering from the diseases of our body in the different general hospitals for the treatment of medical and surgical affections. There are also special hospitals for tuberculosis, tropical diseases, obstetrical and gynaecological cases in Bengal but although the worst sufferer, Bengal has practically no provision for treatment of mental disorders. It is high time now that some national efforts

for the promotion of mental health were made. We know we are handicapped. Financial and legislative difficulties will stand on the way of our efforts apart from the resistance of an ignorant mass, still we can do much useful work and prepare the ground for our future social and individual happiness by starting nucleus institutions for the treatment of mental diseases, by making arrangements for the training of technical personnel and for research concerning the different aspects of mental diseases so that when the problem of finance is solved, these can be immediately expanded to meet our national needs adequately.

AGRICULTURAL PLANNING AND DISSEMINATION OF KNOWLEDGE TO THE CULTIVATORS

By S. DATTA, D.Sc. (London),

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THESE are the days of planning. Ever since the news of the bewildering success of Russian planning systems spread far and wide every country in the world has been speaking of long and short term plans. One such is the recently published plan for the improvement of agriculture in India by a special committee of the I.C.A.R., which aims at a Capital expenditure of Rs. 1,000 crores at pre-war rates and a recurring expenditure of Rs. 20 crores annually. Well and good! If all that money could be released for the improvement of agriculture, then however the money may be mis-spent, some substantial improvement is bound to follow.

Of this big sum, it is not known how much will fall to Bengal's lot, but as Bengal is one of the major provinces of India, it is not unreasonable to assume that a tenth part of this sum, i.e., 100 crores as Capital and 2 crores annually—will be spent for Bengal. In whatever form the expert committee may decide to spend this money—whether by making liberal grants to the University Professors for their 'fundamental' researches, or on Experts' at Regional or Provincial Research stations—for solution of special problems, there is no comment to offer. The object of the present article is, to lay stress upon the expenditure of a modest sum of 1 crore and 20 lacs recurring (i.e., 1/100th of Bengal's quota) for the following purpose, which in my opinion is the most urgent step required for the education of the cultivator in agricultural methods on scientific lines, without which there will hardly be any practical development of improvement of crop production.

It is well-known, and the special committee itself has recognised it that there are big gaps between scientific knowledge and its dissemination. This is particularly so with the cultivators in India, who are uneducated, unreceptive, conservative in mental outlook and extremely suspicious due to ignorance. Every province has its department of agriculture; however lazily the department may have spent their times; it is not untrue that they have made many improvements of various seeds, achieved much success in their district demonstration farms. But how much benefit has the cultivator derived out of these improvements? Very little. Why? Because, the method of dissemination of knowledge has been extremely faulty. Because, the method has not taken into consideration the peculiar psychology of the Indian, particularly Bengali, cultivator. Hitherto the method in Bengal has been somewhat like this:—

1. For the dissemination of knowledge in each district of Bengal there are on average about five agricultural demonstrators who are given charge of one Union Board farm and three demonstration centres

selected at random. The Union Board farm belongs to an ordinary cultivator but he is made to work under a cropping scheme laid down by the District Agricultural Officer and works like a seed multiplication centre. A demonstration centre has no such obligation of seed multiplications otherwise it works more or less like a Union Board farm according to a definite cropping scheme. The centre of demonstration in the village is kept fixed for three years but the cultivators are changed every year.

2. On paper the scheme is an excellent one but every one familiar with the condition of agriculture in Bengal knows that practically the scheme is a failure. Somehow the crop does not grow well, or the yield is not satisfactory, and the cultivator becomes shy and refuses to be persuaded next time. Not merely that; his fellow cultivators get the news of failure and as the proverbial bad coins gain in circulation so do the news of failure, and the conviction grows that the farm seeds are not so good or the methods suggested by the demonstrators are unsatisfactory. No improvement takes place, the cultivator sticks to his traditional method more firmly, and the money that is spent on the experimental farm is thereby wasted.

3. What are the causes of failures? They are chiefly three:—(i) the selection of seed, (ii) defective supervision of the demonstrator, (iii) conservatism on the part of the cultivator.

As regards (i), the seed is selected on the knowledge gained in the district experimental farm, the soil of which place can not be taken as a representative one; and as there are wide variations in the character of the soil within each district, it is hardly any wonder that the selected seed does not give proper response.

Regarding (ii), an ill-paid demonstrator, with little or no interest in the actual production of crops, can hardly be expected to work enthusiastically. Like the majority of paid officers he will surely do the minimum of work required for earning his pay. And as to (iii), the conservatism of illiterate cultivators is natural and can only be shaken off by giving him opportunities of seeing practical results of improved cultivation. The committee has suggested the training of workers by every village having a guide who will act as a "link between the technical experts and cultivators" . . . "The village guide will have to be in knowledge, status and equipment something more than the village chowkidar." Will the guide contemplated in the above recommendations be any better than the agricultural demonstrators? No. The guide will be a very weak link between the experts and cultivators and if the underlying causes of the present failures are not eradicated no real progress can be achieved. If it was possible to organise a scheme

by which responsible pseudo-experts themselves would go round and give frequent advice to the cultivators it would have been very good, but such a scheme would be financially unworkable. Hence my suggestion is that instead of having any ill-paid, irresponsible intermediary, why not evolve a scheme in which, by rotation, every big cultivator will master the technique directly under the guidance of the farm experts and also increase the number of farms by locating them after a soil survey so that the soils of these experimental farms are closely representative of the soil in the neighbourhood? By this arrangement the cultivators themselves will have opportunities of acquiring the technique of scientific agriculture, of seeing for himself the wonderful results of improved cultivation. During the course of training they may also be given some ideas of agricultural marketing. He may also be given a knowledge of the selection of right kind of seeds which will be suitable for his own lands for he will be made to work for a reasonable period of time sufficient to master the technique of scientific agriculture including ideas of rotation of crops in an experimental farm where the soil condition is similar to that of his own. The cumulative effect of such a training will practically remove all the defects including his natural conservatism and will go a great way in achieving solid progress. For this a five-year plan somewhat on these lines is (tentatively) suggested:—

In Bengal there are 28 districts having a total of about 100 subdivisions. Each subdivision has on an average 50 large villages where a post office is situated. If another 50 villages are included in each subdivision, practically all the important villages will be reckoned with. Start an experimental farm in each of these subdivisions after a soil survey. Let stipends be given to 20 cultivating owners one from each village, for one full year for work in each of these experimental farms and learn all the techniques of agricultural production, such as raising of better seeds, rotation of crops, raising of more crop in a land, manuring, etc. The stipend should be large enough

(i) to maintain himself in the farm free of all cost;
(ii) to compensate the loss which he has to suffer for leaving his cultivation;

(iii) to meet with the cost of his travelling. At the end of one year 20 villages in each subdivision will have an expert cultivator who will be an active agent for dissemination of the latest scientific knowledge to his fellow cultivators, who again by their success will stimulate others to adopt these latest methods by abandoning the traditional ones. In the 2nd year another batch of 20 cultivators from new villages will have to be recruited and in this way in course of five years every important village in Bengal will have one expert cultivator sufficiently trained to be the guide and preceptor of others not by verbal lessons but by practical demonstration of the possibilities of improvement by scientific agriculture.

The incidence of the scheme may be worked out as follows:

Capital cost on subdivisional experimental farms—

(1) Land (100 acres @ 500/-)	50,000
(2) Building	40,000
(3) Equipment	10,000

100,000

Total on 100 subdivisions = $100 \times 100,000 = 1$ crore.
Recurring cost on maintenance of farms—

(1) One Asst. Supdt. in charge of the farm (average salary)	@ 150 = 1800
(2) One skilled assistant	@ 60 = 720
(3) Two servants	@ 50 = 600
(4) Contingency	@ 23 = 276
	<u>3,396</u>

Total on 100 subdivisions = $100 \times 3,400 = 3.4$ lacs.

Recurring cost for the stipend of the 20 cultivators in each farm—

Cost of fooding, etc., in the farm mess	@ 20 = 4,800
Cost of family allowance	@ 40 = 9,600
Cost of travelling expenses of the cultivators 10×20	= 200
	<u>14,600</u>

Total cost on 100 farms = $100 \times 14,600 = 14.6$ lacs.

Total recurring expenses = $14.6 + 3.4 = 18$ lacs.

Add supervision cost of 30 inspectors, one for each district at a salary of Rs. 250 (average) = $90,000 + T.A. 10,000 = 1$ lac.

No provision need be made for the purchase of seeds or employment of hired labour (if required) and other expenses of the farm as those may be easily met from the proceeds of the sale of farm products leaving a profit which can be capitalised for the expansion of the scheme.

If the committee really want to maintain a link between the technical experts and the cultivators, the scheme outlined above will be more effective than training a village guide and employing him permanently for guiding others. Having no interest in the land itself, in the first place he will never learn the technique more than superficially and in the second place he will hardly be able to inspire any confidence in the mind of the cultivators in general and thirdly like the average ill paid service men will be far too lazy to be of any use to the cultivators.

It might be said, in criticism of the scheme here outlined that one year is too short a period for a farmer's training. But it must be noted that this scheme is suggested as only a part of a comprehensive agricultural planning which must, if it is to succeed, be also co-ordinated with India's Industrial planning. Agricultural planning must include apart from higher scientific training and research, a detailed soil survey irrigation, cattle breeding and rearing, agricultural finance, marketing of crops, involving problems of transport, storage warehouses, regulated markets, standardising and grading, etc. But this scheme, as a part of planning, lays stress only on the method of dissemination of knowledge about improved seed, quality of soil needed, the suitability of soils for different crops, the method of preparing the soil and also the rotation of crops suitable to his land; the kind of manure with which the different soils and crops should be treated, the method of tending cattle, remedies of some common diseases of cattle, the method of harvesting, processing and storing. Be it noted that a practical farmer of some experience is not entirely a novice in these matters. If carefully chosen, he will be found to possess already a fair degree of knowledge of the matters included in his course and ought to be able to finish his training in the course of a year.

Besides educating the cultivator in the use of improved methods of farming, these subdivisional experimental farms would be expected to provide improved varieties of seed, loan of implements, bullocks, etc., and be of general help to agriculturists.

POST-WAR AIR TRANSPORTATION IN INDIA

By K. K. ROY, M.Sc., A.E.R.A.E.S. (Lond.)

No one can doubt that the return of peace will bring a tremendous expansion in worldwide air-transportation. The airplane has been the most dynamic instrument of the war and will surely be the most dynamic instrument of peace. The technical strides that have been made under the stimulus of this life and death struggle will be reflected in commercial planes of to-morrow, carrying passengers and cargo to far-off places over land and water. All the nations are now planning for the expansion of their Civil Aviation, because the thoughtful citizens realise that not only for reasons of increased trade but for vital reasons of security, they must have commercial airlines. A "Mercantile Marine of the Air" is necessary to-day for the same reasons as a "Merchant Marine" was needed in the past.

India lags in all forms of transportation—rail, road or water. There is not enough of railways, road system or water-ways to cater to the needs of a vast country like India. If the country is to be industrialised even in a small but decent scale, we must discard the primitive cart, construct more and more road systems, build more railways and make a tremendous effort to modernise and enlarge the sea and river transportation system. Above all we must try to build the most modern transportation of all, the Airline.

India and China are the two backward countries of vast distances where the airplane will play a big role in the forward march of the two nations. The long and strenuous hours of journey that are required to-day to reach a remote place will be reduced to a few comfortable hours by airplane. In the near future, it will be possible to travel from one extreme point to another, the longest distance within India, in a maximum time of four hours, which would normally take days and days of hardship by the present available modes of transportation. The airplane will thus, by reducing the distances, bring the provinces closer socially, economically and culturally.

It is often argued that the Indian public is not wealthy enough to take to expensive air-travel. But, I believe, in the course of a few years, say 7 or 8 years after the declaration of peace, air-travel can be brought within the reach of the middle-class public. There were many factors which contributed to the high rates of air-transportation in India. The costs of planes before the war were very high and hence the heavy initial outlay. The operating costs were high too, because of high prices of aviation gasoline and excessive salary rates of foreign technicians and pilots. The performance of planes was also not good enough in pre-war days to make air-transportation more economical.

To have an effective air-transport system, all the important places and industrial towns within India should be inter-connected by a network of feeder lines, running frequent non-stop flights from station to station. The big cities such as Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Madras, Rangoon, Ceylon, etc., will be served by trunk lines. Feeder lines will radiate in all directions from a few centres conveniently located all over India. All the airline companies should get together to build landing grounds and most up-to-date radio facilities at all places served by airplane. Meteorological stations should also be set up either by the Government or by the airline companies jointly.

It would not be within the scope of this article to discuss the technical points of the types of airplanes

that can be used most economically on these routes. But, I believe, planes of the type of DC3, 21 seater for trunk lines and 6-10 seater planes with a fairly high cruising speed for feeder lines will be most suitable. Smaller types of planes on feeder lines will reduce the possibilities of running trips with partial loads. The volume of traffic between important stations, say Calcutta and Bombay, will be large, so a 21 seater will be the most economical size. Immediately after the war, the U.S.A. will probably be using 50-60 passenger De-luxe, 275 miles per hour liners of the DC4 and "Constellation" type in their overseas and on the long distance inland routes. In the post-war period, say after 10 years of peace, four-engined, 62½ ton, 100 passenger, 275 m.p.h. super-liners with a range of 3,000 to 3,500 miles and four-engined 35 ton, 275 m.p.h. with moderate range will be used. A 25-30 ton, four-engined type will probably be used as a "Flying Freight Car." The "Age of Flight" will see super-superliners with sleeping berths, private dressing rooms, toilet facilities, club room, cocktail-bar, ground to passenger telephone and television service and cooking facilities for long flights. But such grandiose plans and dreams will not be for us for a long time yet. The most effective and economical airplanes suitable to Indian conditions will be of the types mentioned above with higher cruising speeds and better overall performance that will definitely be available after the war.

To serve India efficiently, a fleet of about 150 planes, small and big, will be required. It will be to the advantage of Airline Companies to standardise their equipment so that the planes can be manufactured in England at a lower cost. The life of an airplane in service is about 15,000 hours, i.e., say 5 years. A life of 20,000 hours has been utilised by some companies by running their flights frequently according to rigid schedule. It is obvious that with the growth of airlines in India, there will be a constant demand for planes. As the field of operations increases the demand will increase too. Initially the Indian 'Airlines' will have, I am afraid, no other alternative but to place a standing order for planes and equipment in England or America, preferably in England as the costs will be lower. But, the wisest thing for the companies, in my opinion, would be to pool their resources to start an aircraft manufacturing concern of their own. It should be the object of this concern to design and build the 6-10 seater planes that will be needed for the feeder lines. The larger planes will not be so many as to justify production in India and will no doubt have to be purchased from abroad. This manufacturing concern can also be utilised to supply the needs of the Indian Air Force. This war has definitely proved that an airforce is an absolute necessity, the most important branch of the armed forces for the safety and protection of any country. The Robot planes in this war have shown the dangerous possibilities of the airplane. With further progress and development in the aeronautical science, one can visualise long range rocket-propelled pilotless planes and jet-propelled planes flying through the stratosphere with terrific velocity, and working havoc and destruction in distant parts of the world, in future wars. To protect our country against any such dangerous possibilities, a fairly good-sized and well-equipped airforce will have to be maintained at any costs, if the Government have the good of the people at heart. No nation can always sensibly

depend on foreign supplies and equipment for the maintenance of its airforce and the armed forces in perfect trim. The army of fighting men must always have an army of scientific men behind them. Just as the ordnance factories are supplying the armed forces, the proposed aircraft factory will be in a position to supply the Indian Airforce. The technical personnel required for organising airlines as well as designing and manufacturing planes are available now amongst Indians. Of course, high class foreign experts in the line can be hired at the initial stages. Should our students feel that a big opportunity awaits them in the field of aeronautics, better and better brains will be forthcoming for training and can be very usefully utilised in the industry. The vast number of our youths that are now being trained in the war industries will also be available to the industry.

The major items of operating costs of an airline are fuel, oil, pay of flying crews, accidental damage to flight equipment, and insurance premiums. According to the statistics of American airlines, these items contribute to 28 per cent of the total costs. In India, due to the higher cost of aviation gasoline this expense will be about 40 per cent, even though the cost on flight crews be lower than American or British rates. Next to the above items will come ground operations expense, and flying equipment maintenance. The expense on flight crews, ground operators, service and maintenance crews, all with decent rates of pay according to our standard, will be far below that in America or Britain and can be kept low enough to reduce the total operating costs. But the costs of aviation gasoline will be a major obstacle in lowering the operations expenses substantially to enable a reduction of passenger or cargo rates.

Let us now examine the rates at which an airline can operate successfully. From personal investigations carried out, I believe, an average rate of 11 pice per mile is a reasonable figure at present. At this rate an airline can not only operate profitably but also bring the fares on feeder lines within the reach of the public who normally uses second class railway facilities. The actual fares on feeder lines will be between first and second class railway fares. On trunk routes the fares will be slightly higher than the railway first class but yet no dearer. Consider for example, the trip from Calcutta to Bombay. The first class rail fare is Rs. 150. Add to it the costs of food, etc. The total expense will work out to be Rs. 175 or so. A fare of Rs. 175 by air will be readily acceptable to the public because of the comforts and swiftness of air-travel. As regards feeder routes, let us examine a trip from Calcutta to Dacca. The air distance between the two stations is 150 miles. The fare at 11 pice per mile is Rs. 25-14. Even though this is slightly higher than the second class rail fare, I am sure, the service will be popular to the (railway) second class travelling public.

The type of planes proposed to be used on feeder lines is a 6-10 seater, twin-engined, each of 400 H.P., with a cruising speed of 220 miles per hour at 12,000 ft. Let us assume that each trip of one hour covers a distance of 150 miles and includes one take-off and one landing. The cost for such a trip for the type of plane considered will be as follows:—

Fuel and oil	Rs. 72
Pay of flight crews, maintenance, depreciation and other operating costs	Rs. 52
Total (per trip of one hour)	Rs. 124

The details of this analysis have not been shown here. At the rate of 11 pice per mile, the fare available for such a trip is Rs. 25-14 \times 6 i.e., Rs. 154-14 (a minimum of six passengers per trip is assumed). Assuming an yearly service of 2,000 hrs. instead of 3,000 as mentioned before each plane will show an annual profit of Rs. 61,600. Here, we see a big margin which will enable a substantial reduction in cost per mile after a few years of operations.

It has been mentioned before that for an efficient domestic service, 150 planes will be required. These planes will operate from five centres, Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Allahabad and Madras, carrying passengers, mail and perishable cargo such as fruits and vegetables. Should needs arise, some of these planes can be utilised as ambulance to bring patients needing expert medical aid to places where such facilities are available, as is being done in Russia and also to send relief to famine and flood stricken areas.

In order to reduce further the cost of air-travel to bring it within the means of the middle class people, the following steps should be taken:—

1. Manufacture of aviation gasoline in India.

The minimum consumption of fuel by the 150 commercial planes will average twelve million gallons per year. This consumption alone, not considering the needs of the airforce, will amply justify opening up a new industry. Gasoline being available in India and the neighbouring countries, it will be possible for any Indian manufacturing concern to supply aviation gasoline at a cheaper rate than the imported stuff within a few years. Thus by reducing the cost of fuel, the major obstacle to cheaper air-travel will be removed.

2. Manufacture of aircraft in India.

The requirements of commercial airlines, not to mention the Airforce, will be large enough to support a manufacturing factory. At the initial stage, it will not be possible to produce planes at lower costs than the imported ones, but in course of a few years it will be possible to reduce the costs of planes considerably. The existing Aluminium industry will be able to supply the materials required for the manufacture of aircrafts. It will probably be desirable to start manufacture with the help of designs from "Blue Prints" purchased from abroad but at the same time the Indian designers should work on the development of a better and modern plane suitable to Indian conditions. As I have said before that aircraft designers are available to-day amongst Indians who will compare very favourably with the best of foreign experts, should they be given proper opportunities.

A second advantage, and a very important one too, to have a manufacturing concern is that spare parts for regular maintenance of commercial planes will be obtainable locally at cheaper costs.

3. With the technical progress that has been made under the stress of war, faster planes and better engines that will be available during the post-war period will enable planes to fly more hours and more mileage between periods of major overhaul. Better engines with lower fuel consumption will also be available. These factors will lower the maintenance and fuel costs.

4. All the Indian Airline Companies should jointly start a central school for the training of pilots and co-pilots, radio operators, service and maintenance crews under able and experienced teachers. Such a school will have to incorporate all the modern equipments and facilities to impart the best of training within India. All

Indian airlines should be manned entirely by Indian personnel and it will be the object of this school to produce and supply the best of flying and ground crews that will be needed by the industry for efficient operations.

Some mention should be made here of the safety record in air transportation. There is a strong fear in the mind of people that air-travel is very risky. It was. But, to-day, with the introduction of twin-engine commercial planes, the highly developed radio navigational facilities, instrument landing facilities and with modern airports with sufficient margins of safety, the chances of accidents have been considerably reduced. One example will suffice to convince. In the period of four years before the war, in U.S.A. there were 12 fatal accidents in 430 million miles flown. Of these 12, at least 6 could have been avoided if radio facilities and other safety methods were as advanced then as it is to-day. Two cases, which were due to pilot's error, could have been averted with a better *esprit de corps* between the pilot and co-pilot. Only in one case was there any structural failure involved.

It can be confidently asserted that, to-day with the high state of development of navigational and instrument flying facilities and their universal incorporation in modern airports with better and improved traffic control system, it is no more dangerous to travel by air than by car, rail or steamer.

The formulation of a sound national "Air Policy" will be the deciding factor in the promotion of the "Aviation Industry" in India. Today we hear a lot of talk about "Freedom of the Air." What does "Freedom of the Air" mean? It means internationalisation of all air-space by inter-national consent. It would in practice precisely mean that commercial planes of any nation can fly with impunity over land and water, harbour and airport installations of other countries. So long, the principle of the "Sovereignty of the Air" has been practised. Under this principle, planes of foreign nations were denied the right of passage over a nation's territory and also the use of its airports. Deviations from this policy have been made in the past for economic gain or in consideration of reciprocal air-service by unilateral or bilateral agreements. The abandonment of this policy in favour of the "Freedom of the Air" policy will not be detrimental to our interests provided certain stipulations are made to help our own industry. Commercial planes of foreign nations, en route to other ports

beyond India, will be allowed to land on Indian soil for overhaul and refuelling purposes only. They shall not be allowed to carry passengers or cargo originating in India, from one station to another within India. On routes from India to America, Great Britain, China, Russia or any other country, the passenger and cargo traffic originating from or bound for India should be shared on a fifty-fifty basis, should there be any Indian concern operating to those places. The meteorological and radio facilities will also be available on a reciprocal basis. We must by all means at our command resist the formation of an "International Aviation Control Board." If such a board is formed, the attempts of the smaller and less industrialised nations to build their own Civil Aviation will be crushed by the powerful interests that will dominate such a body. The planning and control of domestic air routes should be left in the hands of the nations concerned. The inter-national routes can be arranged by common consent on a reciprocal basis. An International Aviation Board can function only as a consultative body on safety measures, equipment, navigation, meteorology, rates, etc.

On our domestic field, the Government of India should not find a "chosen instrument" of their own. The Government should

(i) give equal privileges and facilities in matters of mail, airports, etc., to all Indian Airlines;

(ii) resist the Imperialistic tendencies of any company;

(iii) resist cut-throat competition but encourage healthy ones so that India can have an efficient air-transportation system;

(iv) acquire all the airports built by foreign nations in India, and properly maintain them; build more airports with modern facilities all over India;

(v) set up a "Technical Board" for research and development of airports, traffic control, aeronautical equipments, and safety measures.

We are on the eve of a tremendous development of the aviation industry—both transport and manufacturing. This industry, I am confident, will flourish in our country. The airplane will give mankind greater benefits of travel and intercourse between peoples. Should this great future of the airplane be built on the solid foundation of safety and economy, air travel will no doubt become popular in India, and will also provide employment for thousands of our youths.

INDIAN WOMEN IN SCIENCE

By. ROBINDR A MOHUN DATTA, M.Sc.

The Indian Science Congress held its Thirty-second sittings at Nagpur in the first week of January, 1945. Of the numerous papers submitted and read, the following papers which were contributed and read by the women scientists of our country, are given below:—

IN THE SECTION OF CHEMISTRY :

1. Condensation of Sulph-anilamide with Urea and some Dibasic Acids and other derivatives by P. C. Gupta and Miss R. J. Irani, Bangalore.

2. Active principles of *Skimmia Laureola*, Hook by P. K. Bose and Miss A. Mookerjee, Calcutta.

3. Chemical examination of *Datura fastuosa* L by P. V. Nair and Miss P. Saradamma, Trivandrum.

IN THE SECTION OF BOTANY :

1. Ecological and morphological observations on

Salvadoraceae by Miss Ganga, Kalyappur and B. N. Mulay, Karachi.

IN THE SECTION OF PSYCHOLOGY AND EDUCATIONAL SCIENCE :

1. Certain tendencies in the rating of personality traits, by Shantā Devi and H. P. Maity, Calcutta.

IN THE SECTION OF ZOOLOGY AND ENTOMOLOGY :

1. Corpus luteum in *Chilo-scyllium griseum* (Mull and Henle) by Miss M. Samuel, Madras.

IN THE SECTION OF MATHEMATICS AND STATISTICS :

1. Application of the "Generalised Distance" i.e., "D2-Statistic" on some varietal experiment of rice crop by Mrs. C. Bose, Calcutta.

2. Sampling error in the method of double sampling by Mrs. C. Bose, Calcutta.

If the women scientists of our country get encouragement and proper facilities for researches from the hands of the Government and rich philanthropists in the form of special scholarships and fellowships they would not lag behind in competing with their sisters of the other parts of the globe. We appeal to the Government, the Universities and the rich of our country to unloose their purse strings for special endowments so that they can do valuable researches and enhance the prestige of our country.

"THE GANDHIAN PLAN"*

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

We have lately been presented with different "Plans" emanating from different groups dealing with the problem of raising the standard of living of the masses and to develop India, industrially and otherwise, in such a way as to enable her to be ranked amongst the foremost powers of the world. The Bombay Plan (two instalments) and the Peoples Plan are complete so far as the public are concerned. The Government of India Plan is still in the stage of planning. All of these plans are based on the modern conception of what science, industry and even agriculture, carried on with the help of the most up-to-date researches of science, mean in the scale of civilization and each of them involves thousands of crores of rupees for their execution. We regret that the Planning Committee of the Indian National Congress could not finish its labours for reasons that happen to be India's lot. And at such a time the 'Gandhian Plan' by Shri Shriman Narayan Agarwal is welcome. It is more so because it tries to evolve a plan which has its foundation in ancient Indian traditions and ancient Indian economy. The attempt of Shri Agarwal is highly commendable because it gives in a nutshell the ideas of a man who is deemed to be of the greatest that the world has ever produced and who by his mode of living has conclusively proved that people, drunk with civilization, may, with much benefit, do away with many articles that go to form part of their being and still live in contentment. To people who have had the good fortune of going through the pages of *Young India* and Mahatma's other writings, the 'Plan' of Shri Agarwal will be something like re-told tales, but for that simple reason it has not lost its novelty of marshalling facts in a very attractive and presentable manner. In a short volume we get Gandhiji's views on machine, industry, distribution of wealth, exploitation and many other things related to future economic planning of India. For lay men a very lucid analysis of the Fascist and Soviet Plans, the 'New Deal' of America and England's 'planless economy' and the Beveridge Plan of the United Kingdom, is extremely helpful for understanding the modern trend of planning for a high standard of living which includes food, health, education, comforts, leisure, etc., for the people of their respective lands.

One feels inclined to agree with Shri Agarwal that 'economic values can no longer be divorced from human and cultural values of life, for man does not live by bread alone' and to be convinced by what he, on behalf of Mahatmaji, places before us in support of his case. He has also discussed, in the short compass of the book the Three People's Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen; and the author's interpretation of "Nationalism" as schemes 'based on the indigenous culture and civilization of the nation' which should 'promote the welfare and happiness of the whole nation,' of "Democracy" as a system necessitating 'the least amount of state control and coercion' and "Livelihood" as the right of 'every citizen of a nation to earn his or her livelihood by just and honourable means', is highly interesting. The Gandhian

Plan advocates 'simplicity, decentralisation and cottage industrialism' and as a corollary it desires 'to build an ideal economy on four corner-stones of Simplicity, Non-violence, Sanctity of Labour and Human Values.'

To the ordinary Indian it seems to be an ideal plan and there are hundreds of thousands in other lands, great thinkers they, who completely agree with Mahatmaji's views on economic planning. But there is scope for disagreement. We know that Mahatmaji is against industrialism because in his view "the evils (of capitalism) are inherent in industrialism and no amount of socialism can eradicate them." Mahatmaji, we know, is not against all machinery, but his objection is directed to the 'craze for machinery' and 'its indiscriminate multiplication.' Today India cannot stand aloof from the rest of the world and willy-nilly has to gear up her resources, if not for anything else, to save herself from exploitation by powerful groups of foreigners. India had had her own industries the products of which reached the distant corners of the globe. But this was ruined by a well calculated plan supported by powerful arms. While every other nation tries to go ahead with further industrialisation, India cannot wait as a passive onlooker of the great march only to supply raw materials and cheap labour and to be content with village industrialism just to be flooded with imported articles. We have been told that "Gandhiji wants India to plan her national economy in terms of peace and self-sufficiency without entertaining any ambitions of world market for her manufactures." So far as it concerns India, under Mahatma's plan, it is understandable. But the point that raises its ugly head is that other nations won't respect our feelings and will go on with their object more merrily than hitherto. I am not without support from Gandhiji when he advises people not to neglect development of basic industries. The industries mentioned in the list (p. 79) require huge capital, great organisation with ample resources and the proper development of each of these industries will act as tonic to their promoters in expanding their activities further. The whole country will be as a result, led to industrialisation with all its baneful effects. It may be that to Mahatmaji and men of his way of thinking "the . . . trend of world economic thought is towards decentralisation and 'cottage communism'," but to say that it is the 'general trend' is inferring a great deal.

We all agree that "India must evolve a Plan of economic organisation which shall be congenial to her genius and culture" but Gandhiji does not preclude all considerations of change, a practical man that he is, when he says that the old plans "should be revived and revived, of course with necessary changes to suit modern conditions." And this partly means, we should adjust ourselves to the changed world conditions of a dynamic world.

* *The Gandhian Plan of Economic Development of India* by Shriman Narayan Agarwal, Padma Publications Ltd., pp. 115. Price Rs. 2-8.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—
Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE HOUSE THAT JINNAH BUILT : By B. G. Kaushik. Published by Padma Publications, Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 148.

The author, obviously a *pucca* nationalist, gives an account of the technique evolved by the communal-minded section of our Mussalman brethren of gradually extending its demand for a larger amount of political power culminating in the demand for Pakistan. While conceding that the Muslim League is justified in having as its objectives, the protection and promotion of the legitimate interests of the community it claims to represent, he deprecates the preference it has shown for political hatred as its principal weapon. He also maintains that the responsibility for the spread of Hindu-Muslim disunity and hatred lies with the leadership of the Muslim League.

Extensive quotations from the speeches of Mr. Jinnah and from the resolutions of the Muslim League are used to prove the viewpoint put forward. The position of the Congress is explained and sought to be justified and the hope expressed that "as education spreads wider and deeper and the middle class intelligentsia in the community grows in number and influence, the Muslims will refuse to be misled and will assert themselves." Contending that a very considerable proportion of members of the leftist parties in India are drawn from the best type of Muslim intellectuals as also that the Congress is "going left at a very fast pace," the author concludes that there is no reason to despair for the future of Indian nationalism for, with the disappearance of British imperialism which he regards as the main prop of communalism, communal organisations, whether Hindu or Muslim, will lose whatever appeal they have at present either for the classes or the masses.

In the last section except one of his book the author gives a tentative scheme of federation which he thinks should satisfy both the Congress and the Muslim League and that "without compromising the essence of their respective demands" still another proof, if proof is needed, of his genuine desire to see a rapprochement between these two political organisations.

Written in an attractive and brilliant style and with conclusions based on documentary evidence, there is present throughout the book an undercurrent of passionate love of our motherland. Even the most careless of readers must be impressed by the deep pain felt and expressed by the author at the disintegrating influence of communalism and how he would willingly pay almost any price to bring back harmony once he is convinced that it would mean the end of all differences instead of becoming the starting point for a fresh series of demands. It is altogether a most impressive

work though it is probable that it would have appealed more to members of the Muslim League if Mr. Jinnah and his activities had been described in less outspoken language.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

SELECTIONS FROM SWAMI VIVEKANANDA : *Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora. Publication Department at 4, Wellington Lane, Calcutta, 1944. Price Rs. 6.*

These selections from Swami Vivekananda's speeches and writings have an abiding place in the history of our thought, as Swamiji occupied an important, a most important place when he lived, and even now the inspired message he has left for us is full of vigour and significance. We cannot read his lines on the 4th of July, the day of American Independence, the day which was to be made memorable to all his readers by the event of his death—written in 1898—without being vividly reminded of their appositeness today, and joining in the prayer—

Move on, O Lord, in thy resistless path !
Till thy high noon o'erspreads the world,
Till every land reflects thy light,
Till men and women, with uplifted hand,
Behold their shackles broken, and

Know, in springing joy, their life renewed !

The bright future of India of which Swamiji had a vision—is still hidden from us. The conversations, the letters, the poems and the speeches strike responsive chords deep into the soul, and set the reader thinking. These selections have not dated and they will be prized by the reader of today, and they will offer him consolation in his distress and inspire him to soar higher and higher. The printing and the general get-up leave nothing to be desired, specially in these days of control on all fronts.

P. R. SEN

WHAT PRICE NEW ORDER ? : By N. J. Nanporia. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay, 1943. Pages 218. Price Rs. 4-4.

At a time when the air is thick with an amazing variety of speculations regarding the future world order, the vision of a socialistic reconstruction of our chaotic and sorry world should but evoke little enthusiasm. This vision has already been blurred by the growing insistence on the imposition of a retributive peace on the vanquished and the emergence of what might be paradoxically termed National Bolshevism in Stalinist Russia. The vision of Socialist unity has receded far indeed, and although the prospects of lasting peace would seem to rest on the achievement of this unity and working-class solidarity throughout the world, the

stage is being set for the revival of old national rivalries and jealousies which lead inevitably to war. The author appeals to British labour to accept the leadership in achieving international socialist unity and pleads for a re-orientation of the socialist's attitude towards Soviet Russia. He argues that the fear of a Stalinist dictatorship being imposed upon post-war Europe is unreal, and that the Soviet Union should "shed her sphinx reserve, abandon her attitude of suspicious independence and realise that national socialist renovation within one's own border is never thoroughly possible in a hostile capitalist world; . . . that national planning is incompatible with world chaos." I hope this appeal will not go unheeded. The author has put forward a convincing plan for world reconstruction on the basis of a socialist revolution, and it remains to be seen whether, as anticipated by the author, the foreign policy of Stalinist Russia is so transformed in post-war years as to facilitate its early achievement.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

WAR AND IMMORALITY: By *Sudhindra Lal Roy, M.A.* Published by *Kitab-Mahal, Allahabad.* Pages 165. Price Rs. 4-8.

While this global war is still going on and the United Nations are preparing for post-war reconstruction all round, a book of this nature is of special interest to those who are much affected by war conditions. The last Great War (1914-18) taught us many lessons which we can remember with profit and utilise its experiences to the best advantage at the present hour. Although war brings out many hidden qualities and merits of mankind, its evil effects on human morals should not be lost sight of. Nobody now accepts that war is a biological necessity. Evil effects of war on human morals,—individual, social and national, are tremendous and no amount of State control can stop these. Some writers even go so far as to tag war, wine and women together. Whether one agrees with such extreme views or not, it must be admitted that war conditions give a good-bye to ordinary things in life and bring about such changes which ordinarily we shall look down upon as degrading and immoral. Success in the war becomes the only motive of the belligerents and open prostitution is allowed to thrive or rather encouraged as a means to final victory, by keeping up the morale of the soldiers. Civilian morality deteriorates and even children succumb to the evil effects which pollute national and international atmosphere. So, every attempt should be made to make war a thing of the past by all civilised nations, and as a matter of fact one of the war aims of the United Nations is to fight out the present war to a finish so as to end war altogether for the future.

The author in 14 chapters has described the evil effects of war from various points of view quoting profusely from military and medical authorities of the last Great War and also from prominent authors of Continental Europe. The book reads like a novel and is certainly a welcome addition to the present day war literature. The printing and get-up of the book are excellent.

A. B. DUTTA

COMMON SENSE ABOUT YOGA: By *Swami Pavitraranda.* Published by *Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora, Himalayas.* Pp. 107. Price Re. 1.

The author, a learned monk of the Ramakrishna Order, is the President of Advaita Ashrama, that beauti-

ful hermitage founded by Swami Vivekananda in the heart of the snow-clad Himalayas. In the book, under review, the Swami speaks about a subject for the study and practice of which he has dedicated his life. The six interesting chapters into which this nice little book is divided are, as he acknowledges in the preface, "the outcome of a form of thinking aloud on the subject of yoga." The Swami discusses herein yoga in a very simple and rational way and debunks some of the nonsense that are current about it. He rightly contends that yoga is not mystery-mongering as is generally believed. He takes one after another the four principal schools of yoga—Karmayoga, Bhaktiyoga, Rajayoga, Jnanayoga and clarifies the false notions that are said and believed on this science. He rightly warns the aspirants to beware of pseudo-yoga that strides in the religious world and quotes Aldous Huxley who says: "Orthodox Christianity has always tended to overvalue supernormal occurrences, to identify the unusual with the divine, to confound the mere psychic with the spiritual They are concerned less with the 'Kingdom of Heaven within' than with external 'signs', less with knowledge of eternity than with power in space-time. Their religion, in a word, is not mystical but a kind of occultism." This is the case not only with Christianity but with all religions and particularly with yoga. Whatever therefore is misty and mysterious in yoga should be carefully discarded as it has a very weakening and enervating effect on the aspirants. True yoga is a spiritual science and has nothing to do with occultism. It eliminates the weaknesses of one who practises yoga and strengthens him in every way.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE MEDIEVAL BENGALI EPICS: By *Asutosh Bhattacharya, M.A.,* Lecturer in the Department of Bengali, University of Dacca. Calcutta Book House, 1/1, College Square, Calcutta. Royal 8vo., pp. 1-60. Price Re. 1-8.

The book deals with the character and purport of the *mangalakavyas* which alone in the wide field of medieval Bengali literature fulfil, as the learned author thinks, the requirements of true epics. The *mangalakavyas* occupy a very important place in the history of Bengali literature. And an account of them will be highly welcome to all lovers of literature. To make it intelligible and interesting to readers outside Bengal, a detailed description of the important works should precede a treatment of their characteristic features. But unfortunately the present work seems to ignore this aspect of the matter. As a result, though the Bengali reader may have no difficulty in following the book, a little elaboration here and a little explanatory note there would have been highly helpful to one not familiar with Bengal. As regards the origin and primitive nature of the deities glorified in these works there is room for legitimate controversy. There is also scope for enough surmise about the religious and social condition represented in them. But there can be no two opinions about the present position of the deities and so one fails to understand what led the learned author to conclude that they are not worshipped by high class Hindus of the present day (p. 23).

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

A HAND BOOK OF TELUGU LITERATURE: By *K. Sitaramaiah, M.A.,* Nizam College, Hyderabad (Dn.). Published by *Hyderabad Telugu Academy.* Pp. 151. Price Rs. 1-8.

The book under review gives in a nutshell a brief survey of the landmarks in the history of Telugu

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Literature. It may be said that Telugu literature is mainly Sanskritic though of Dravidian origin. The period of Krishnadevaraya marks the golden age. Even though the literature has suffered a good deal since then it is encouraging to find that some of the present-day tendencies point towards a bright future.

This handbook in English serves its purpose admirably well and is eminently suited to people of other provinces.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

SANSKRIT

AN ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, BARODA, VOL. I: *Compiled by Raghavan Nambiyar Siromani, Nyaya-bhushana, Catalogue Assistant, Oriental Institute, Baroda, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XCVII. Oriental Institute, Baroda. Price Rs. 9.*

This contains short notices (consisting of titles, names of authors, indication of the extent and occasionally of the script, material and age—all arranged in a tabular form) of more than 6,000 Sanskrit manuscripts,—i.e., about half the collection of the Institute. Broadly speaking the manuscripts fall under four subjects—Veda, Dharmasastra, Darsana and Vyakarana. In the list they are arranged under 13 sections, some of which like *Vedalaksana* would appear to be rather unusual while a few like *Dharma* and *Smriti* a bit confusing. In his brief introduction Dr. B. Bhattacharya, the learned General Editor, has drawn attention to the absence of any standard, uniform system of classification, so that different types of classification are met with in different catalogues. He has therefore emphasised the need of what may be regarded as the National Scheme of Classification of MSS. This should be one of the functions of the central organisation for the study of MSS. as suggested elsewhere (*Modern Review*, Oct. 1941, p. 404) by the undersigned several years back.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

KRISHI-PRABANDHA : *By Baneswar Sinha. Published by Lakshminarayan Sinha, 13, Lansdowne Terrace, Po. Rashbehari Avenue, Calcutta. Demy Octavo. Pp. 16 + 275. Price paper bound Rs. 3-8 and cloth bound Rs. 5-8.*

This valuable treatise on agriculture is the result of the author's painstaking study and research as well as his practical experience spreading over half a century. Bengal with her neighbouring districts is universally known as a very fertile country. Here in different seasons different sorts of crops grow. The author has given an account of most of them in this book in as many as fifteen chapters. While giving in detail accounts of crops needed for daily consumption he has not neglected the aesthetic side, and has devoted a separate chapter to the culture of flowers. He has given another chapter on the cultivation of wood, which is very useful for domestic purposes. The book will be of great use to those who will take up agriculture as a means of livelihood. If the contents of the book can be conveyed to our peasants, most of whom are innocent of general education, they will derive much benefit from it. In these days of "Grow More Food Campaign," the book should be highly appreciated by the Government. Printing is neat.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

BANGLA SAHITYER EK DIK (One Aspect of Bengali Literature) : *By Sasi Bhushan Das Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. Sri Guru Library, 204, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3-8.*

In this book the learned author has made a survey of the Essay Literature in Bengali. Though a pioneer

work on the subject it is free from any sign of immaturity. The author has tried first to define what an 'essay' is and then traced its course of development in Bengali literature from the earliest attempts down to the works of Pramatha Chaudhuri and Abanindranath Tagore. The cautious eye of an historian and the aesthetic outlook of a literary critic have combined here to make it a remarkable treatise.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

HINDI

AKASH KI KATHA : *By Girdharilal Sharma 'Garg'. Pustaka Bhandar, Patna. Pp. 146.*

This is a story of the heavens, written expressly for children. The writer's treatment of this rather abstruse scientific theme is both facile as well as facetious. The book is adequately illustrated. The study of the solar system, together with that of the phenomena associated with it and of the relative apparatus, has been presented with the sustained interest of a romantic story. *Akash Ki Katha* would be a valuable addition to every school library. The publishers are, indeed, to be congratulated on placing such a finely got-up publication in the hands of the little folks.

G. M.

DUNIYA KI SHASAN-PRNALIYAN (2 Vols) : *By Ram Chandra Varma. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi, Pp. 187 + 219. Price Re. 1-8.*

This cheap handy book is a free translation of the 'Political System of the World'—portion of G. D. H. Cole's famous work, "Modern Politics." The translation is quite good and particular care has been taken to make it up-to-date in view of the post-war contingencies. We commend this book to the Hindi readers.

M. S. SENGAR

TELUGU

PRAJA YUDDHAM : *Adapted by P. Ramakotayya. Published by the Cultural Book Club, Perambur, Madras. Pp. 56. Price six annas.*

Needless to say that Russia's heroic stand in the present war won the admiration of the world. For those who want an inside story this translation is indispensable.

SOVIET RUSSYALO : *By K. Subbaramayya. Published by the Cultural Book Club, Perambur, Madras. Pp. 77. Price eight annas.*

With the help of available statistics the writer has given a comprehensive account of some of the vital aspects of Soviet Russia. Chapters on Education, Foreign Policy and Unemployment are highly instructive.

Students of politics will find it useful and educative.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

GUJARATI

DAYARAM RAS SUDHA : *By Shankarprasad Chhaganlal Raval. Published by N. M. Tripathi & Co., Princess Street, Bombay. Card Board. Illustrated. Pp. 64 + 189. Price Rs. 3. (1943).*

Dayaram, one of the greatest poets of old Gujarat, has written many works on the lines of Krishna and the Gopis, on the Vaishnava philosophy, and cognate subjects. He is most popular in Gujarat, specially with women, for his Garbis (Lyrics). They all find a place in this compilation of Dayaram's poems, divided into several sections. It is preceded by an Introduction from the pen of Mr. Raval, in which he has summarised the value of Dayaram's poetic work ably and well.

K. M. J.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



De Valera: Eire's Man of Destiny

What is the secret of de Valera's hold on his countrymen, which so often baffles the stranger and even puzzles many of his contemporaries in Ireland? R. M. Fox writes in *The Aryan Path* :

De Valera shares with Gandhi an air of calm self-confidence, a simplicity of manner, a single-mindedness of purpose; that is undeflected by good or ill fortune.

No one since Parnell has evoked such a degree of loyalty and affection. Like Parnell he is by no means a consistently great orator. His speeches can be dull. But he always conveys the impression of passionate sincerity. Often he seems to be examining his conscience in public. He subjects everything to a moral as well as an intellectual test and does not rely on mere cleverness alone. In a country where eloquent spellbinders are three a penny, the tone of aloof authority and moral purpose will dominate.

To hear this tall, black-coated, spectacled, ex-professor of mathematics talk of the national tradition is to get him in his right setting. For all his militant past he makes a conservative approach. Yet Eire is so undeveloped politically and economically that he is compelled to act as an innovator and a pioneer. He strives to bring about the inevitable changes in a way which will least disturb the detached mood of rural Ireland, always suspicious of the new and the strange.

De Valera joined the Irish Volunteers before the Easter Rising of 1916 and soon became a captain in that force. He commanded a rebel post at Bolands' Mill. One of his students described him at that time as "considerably over six feet in height, a very serious-looking young man in his early thirties, with a long nose and spectacles and a strangely foreign complexion."

As Republican Commandant of Bolands' Mill he escaped execution after the surrender only because of his American birth and he received a life sentence instead. When he came out—the following year, on a general amnesty—he was on the rising Republican wave. Nominated for Clare, he was elected as a standard-bearer for the Sinn Fein movement and was soon recognised as its natural leader.

In America, where de Valera went after escaping from Lincoln Gaol—a key had been smuggled in to him concealed in a cake—he had wordy tussles with the old Fenian leader, John Devoy, and his equally powerful ally, Judge Cohalan of the New York Supreme Court.

This conflict culminated in a stormy meeting at the Park Avenue Hotel in New York, called by the Devoy-Cohalan faction to down de Valera. The Irish leader had been announced to speak in another city hundreds of miles away. But he heard of this meeting and was unexpectedly present. He so turned the tide that his enemies apologised abjectly.

Back in Ireland at the time of the London Treaty of 1921—out of which came Eire's independence—de Valera had sharp divisions with close colleagues. While de Valera concentrated on exact, literal and dialectical utterances the country drifted into civil war. His side was defeated and broken in the civil war and he himself was imprisoned for eleven months, being arrested by the military on an election platform in Ennis, County Clare, where he was standing as Republican candidate.

His steadfastness bore fruit when, in 1932, he led the side that had been defeated in battle to political victory; and he has held power in Eire ever since.

What India May Learn From Russia

Sir Jnan Chandra Ghosh writes in *The Indian Review* :

The example of Russia should give us confidence in our ability to do likewise in India; in fact it was not lost upon the Indian leaders. The Indian National Congress set up a Planning Committee in 1938 which secured the enthusiastic co-operation of some 300 experts and collected a large amount of material and information relevant for planning. But unfortunately the Committee became defunct when the Congress Ministries resigned office. Two members of the Committee however in association with six industrial and business magnates of wide experience issued six months ago a rough outline of a 15 years' plan for the economic development of the country.

The real and basic need of India is not so much to reconstruct as to construct. The average pre-war per capita income is Rs. 65 and even if the well-to-do class disappeared from the land, the average income would not have exceeded Rs. 70. "Here therefore," as Mr. J. R. D. Tata recently said, "we have to create enough wealth to go round before we can ensure that every one gets a fair share of it. To-day that share for most of our long-suffering people is a share of poverty and misery."

The National Planning Committee aimed at securing for our people certain bare requirements as human beings. This includes a balanced diet, which will provide 2800 calories per day and also the protective foods like milk, vegetables, etc., clothing at 30 yards per person per year, housing of 100 square feet per person, sanitary and public health measures at Rs. 5 per head and educational expenses at 2½ rupees per head per year which will liquidate illiteracy in 15 years. The minimum per capita income which will be necessary for this purpose will be Rs. 80 at pre-war prices. If to that, we add Rs. 20 as savings, Rs. 10 as cost of amenities, and Rs. 20 as miscellaneous expenses such as social ceremonies, travels, taxation, defence charges, etc., the least

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per capita income that we should aim at is Rs. 130. Hence if the population were to remain stationary, we should aim at doubling the national income. If, however, the population increases as now at the rate of 1.2 per cent. per year, the national income will have to be trebled in 15 years, in order that per capita income may be doubled during that period. The authors believe that this can be done by well-planned investment of 1400 crores in the first five years, 2900 crores of rupees in the next five years, and 5,700 crores in the third period of five years—the grand total for the whole period being 10,000 crores of rupees.

This three-fold increase in the total national income will be realised according to Bombay Planning by increasing the income from Industries by 500 per cent., the income from agriculture by 130 per cent., and from services by 200 per cent.

It is intended to find 4,000 crores for saving, 3,500 crores by creating paper currency, and balance of Rs. 2,500 crores from existing and potential capital resources. The proposal to inflate currency by 3,500 crores, creates a good deal of uneasiness. It would be wiser to be more modest about the provisions of housing accommodation and bring down expenditure under that head from 2,200 crores to 1,200 crores; it would be also wise to demand an annual saving of 10 per cent as against the contemplated rate of 6 per cent, which would bring into the hands of the Planning Authority another Rs. 2,500 crores.

Amphibious Warfare

The *New Review* observes :

The repeated successes of the Allies in the Philippines culminating in the invasion of Luzon are ultimately due to the Allied truer intuition of a global war. The Nazi High Command visualised the war as mainly a land war; they fancied they could reduce Britain without invading her, and subsequently they were not given the opportunity to build up an invasion technique and an invading force. Japan herself, though an island, took her strategy from Berlin and overdeveloped her land power. Both were hypnotized by the fact that the last step to victory will necessarily be a land battle as long as men choose to live on *terra firma*; but they failed to see that a country situated across the sea cannot be beaten unless it is first invaded and that, if its coasts are defended, it cannot be successfully invaded except in the process of a battle. It is a battle of a special type, half on sea and half on land: the amphibious battle. All this looks obvious enough, but occasionally the obvious is overlooked by intelligent people. On the other hand, conditions, geographical and military, forced British and American strategists to contemplate and prepare amphibious warfare.

This is a tactical development of the present war. In the last war and in the early months of the present one (British landings in France during 1939 and 1940, Japanese landings in China, Malaya, Dutch East Indies), troops were taken across the sea as Spartan tourists, and supplies were carried as ordinary cargo; once landed, they were sorted out, conveyed to a base where they could be made ready for the front. The Normandy landing which had been prepared in commando rehearsals, and in the North Africa, Sicily and Italy operations, was an innovation in tactics which was still improved upon in Leyte and in Luzon.

Amphibious warfare implies beginning the land battle at sea, and its fundamental problem is to deploy in marching order close to the enemy sea-coast, to keep to battle-order when disembarking, and to articulate the supply land-base with the sea supply lines.

The problem was solved on the Allied side thanks to inventions suggested by the difficulties which were

expected. Our engineers built special landing craft which permitted the passage to be made in tactical order (scouts, motorised groups, infantry, artillery). Transshipment from transport to lighters or to the shore was the crux of the problem: vehicles for troops and administrative personnel were waterproofed so that they could, on their own power, span the gap between the landing-craft and the shore; finally the great innovation to solder sea and land supply lines (it was especially necessary on the Normandy coast and is said to be a Churchillian intuition), transportable harbours were prefabricated. In the Philippines the quay-craft was of smaller size and the innovation was rather the small-size motor-boat to land infantry squads. The Allies have mastered the art of amphibious warfare. Their inventiveness will stand them in good stead in this war, but it has also revolutionised sea warfare, and seriously diminished the defence value of all navies.

The Communal Problem in India

Good sense will, sooner or later, dawn upon us and we shall realise that, so long as ill-will and animosity pollute the atmosphere, nationalism cannot flourish. Sir Mirza Ismail observes in *The Indian Review* :

The Hindu-Muslim problem is our shameful trouble today. Judging from my own long experience, I do not regard it as by any means an insoluble problem, or one that need fill us with dismay, as, I confess, it is apt to do sometimes. Time and world-conditions are factors which will tell in the end and bring about a national and cultural fusion.

Let us not forget that the present times are vastly different from those of early British rule in India.

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Conditions have changed all over the world and men's ideas, too, have undergone a vast change. Adjustments are as inevitable as the change of seasons, and we have to make them, if we are to survive in such a world. English education had to come. The English language, which is fast becoming a world language, was bound to become the principal medium of communication between the educated classes.

We must see to it that the youth of the country receive the right kind of education that will make them worthy citizens of India, and which will make them think not in terms of their own community or religion, but of the country as their common motherland. Common schools, common hostels, common political ideals, common enterprises will bring the various groups of youth together.

I attach special importance to the association of members of different communities in common industrial enterprises. Nothing so surely brings people together and keeps them together as earning money together.

Religion need not be neglected, but it should not be allowed to dominate social and political life. Nationalism should do that.

It is a curious fact—but nothing strange in a land of inconsistencies and perplexities—that communalism and sectionalism should be rampant among the intelligentsia, the English educated classes, but not among the masses. It is the former who are trying to resurrect the dead past, and creating unnecessary trouble for themselves and others. The drum-beaters of the moment are only to be found in their ranks.

Hoshangabad Rock Paintings and Their Age

Rock paintings are found in a small hill near Adamgarh village about one and three-fourths of a mile to the south of Hoshangabad

town in the Central Provinces. Manohar Lal Misra writes in the *Journal of the Benares Hindu University* :

The existence of red coloured paintings in the rock shelters near Hoshangabad was first recorded by Mitra (1920, 3, p. 187). Ghosh (1932, pp. 21-22) was the second worker who after a lapse of 12 years described these paintings in some details. In his opinion these rock paintings belong to the 9th or 10th century after Christ. In the year 1934, two years after the publication of Ghosh's work, D'Abreu, (1934, pp. 1-7) gave a detailed description of these paintings. He is of opinion that the paintings can be divided into two distinct sets—one set being separated by the other by thousands of years. According to him the first set, which consists of figures in monochromes or in outlines, belongs to the Palaeolithic period, while the head-dresses and the other accoutrements of the figures of the second set suggest that it is of more recent date *ie.*, about the 9th or 10th century A.D. Major Gordon in his article on 'Rock Paintings from Mahadeo hills,' published in 1936 made a casual reference to these paintings. But in his more recent articles published in 1939-40 he has made baseless accusations against some of the previous workers who have assigned an earlier date to such paintings and with whom, naturally, his views have not concurred. He assumes that it is their patriotic desire which has led them to assign an earlier date just to be "able to boast of paintings ranking in antiquity with the Palaeolithic paintings of western Europe." He further adds that such a desire "must not mar their work by theories which are the outcome of subjective predilection." It is indeed wrong to advance theories which are the outcome of subjective predilection but it is equally wrong to attempt to mar the work of others without advancing real scientific arguments. Under these circumstances, one is inclined to think that the above remarks made by

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Gordon reflect his own mind as probably he finds himself in a position in which he is obliged to defend views which will deny the antiquity to a country. One of the two persons who have assigned an earlier date for these paintings under question is D'Abreu who is a European and who cannot be accused of basing his conclusions on 'Subjective Predilection' and 'Patriotic Desire' in the terms of Mr. Gordon.

The hill is composed of entirely ferruginous sand-stone of the Upper Vindhyan age and probably belongs to the Bhandar series.

The drawings are found all over the cliff forming surfaces of the hill and abound in the figures of men, women, horses, elephants, bisons, stags, fishes, monkeys, fighting and hunting scenes and warriors in costumes. All these are drawn on different surfaces some of which present, really well preserved panels. Most of these figures are done in red colours but at places they are done in white also. Besides these red coloured paintings, these rock shelters have also yielded some palaeolithic stone implements (1932, p. 22). The presence of these stone implements is enough proof of these rock shelters having been inhabited by human beings during the Palaeolithic days. Amongst the drawings there are figures—especially those of bisons which bear a very close resemblance to those drawn at Cogul in Spain and figured by Sollas (1924, p. 405) and which have been proved to be of the Upper Palaeolithic age. The fact that there is at least one set of paintings which is of the Palaeolithic age is supported not only by the resemblance of these figures with those at Cogul but also due to the fact of their being "boldly drawn in thick outlines or in monochromes" and also that these figures underlie the figures which have been drawn afterwards and which are definitely of later date. Amongst these

paintings there are also some elongated and depressed figures of certain animals. These figures form a separate set by themselves, and have no connection with those figures mentioned above. The elongated and depressed nature of the paintings of the animals is characteristic of some of the South Indian Neolithic paintings (1920, 3, p. 191). Thus judging from this characteristic feature it will not be too much to relegate such elongated and depressed figures, found depicted in the Hoshangabad rock paintings, to the Neolithic times. Then there are some figures of men and horses which have got head-dresses, weapons and riding equipments. Some of the men have sword-like weapons and the horses have gorgeous riding equipments. All these show the stage of advancement of knowledge of these men during the time these were drawn. These leave no doubt in assigning a more recent date to these paintings, i.e., the 9th or 10th century after Christ. This classification into different sets is further supported, at places, by the superposition of one set over the other. Thus the differences in the style of drawings, differences in the colours used, the varying nature of weapons, the head gears of men, the superposition of one set over the other and lastly the presence of palaeoliths in these rock shelters—all these—prove beyond any shadow of doubt that these rock shelters were resorted to by men at different periods, ranging from the Upper Palaeolithic to about 10th century after Christ—and more probably at three different periods, the Upper Palaeolithic, the Neolithic and the Historic. Therefore, the observations of the present author, except with a slight modification by the introduction of the Neolithic period, are in complete agreement with those of D'Abreu. Ghosh, without stating any reason, has assigned 9th or 10th century as the date for these entire paintings. D'Abreu, by his work, has questioned this dating and, on this issue, the present author fully supports D'Abreu.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

India in 1944

In a yearly survey of different countries of the world in the *International Review of Missions*, the Editor observes under the heading of India :

Yet another year has passed without the discovery of any fundamental solution of the political deadlock. Not the least serious consequence is that the long continuance of the stalemate produces political weariness and blunts the sharp edge of concern which has hitherto been manifest in both countries. Perhaps a straw in the wind may be seen in a recently formed Madras Provincial Students Union Society, the first aim of which is to discourage students from entering politics. A well-informed observer records this as 'significant of the disillusionment that has come to much youthful zeal since 1942.' If political apathy and despair are to settle upon a large part of Indian life in so critical a year as 1945 the outlook is indeed grave.

There have been flickerings of hope during the year just closed. Lord Wavell has won much personal respect. His prompt handling of the worst features of the famine situation, the wisdom of his long-term economic and industrial policy and the general tone of his public utterances all justifiably win favour. Mr. Gandhi's release, though on medical, not political, grounds, made possible a renewal of contacts which gave rise to fresh hope. Spokesmen of the British government have continued to reiterate the fact that Britain is irrevocably committed to the terms of the Cripps declaration by which a self-governing India may, if she chooses, contract out of the British Commonwealth of Nations; and Lord Wavell has renewed the Government of India's wish that political progress might be achieved without waiting for the end of the war.

Yet these rays of light have only played upon the surface of a situation which is persistently stagnant. Neither word nor deed of truly creative quality has found expression. Important and encouraging as is the attention being given to economic and industrial questions by the Government of India, Provincial and State Governments, and through the Birla-Tata group, it is doubtful if the political problem can be thus by-passed and necessary reforms achieved while constitutional progress tarries. Mr. Gandhi's release has not so far fulfilled any of the hopes to which it gave rise. His conversations with Mr. Jinnah, though closed with some slight promise of resumption, have mainly disclosed the abyss which divides the Muslim League's interpretation of Pakistan from any accommodating alternative. And upon ears wearied by fruitless controversy, British re-affirmations of the Cripps declaration fall without any convincing power.

The Agrarian Situation in India

Under the above caption, Prof. P. J. Thomas writes in the *International Labour Review* about the problems of the primary producer in India :

There is, perhaps, no class of workers, in the national economy of India or in the whole range of world economy, with a smaller share of the benefits resulting from modern world economic organisation than the "ryots", or cultivators, who are the primary

producers *par excellence* of India. The Indian ryot has supplied the country's needs in regard to food and raw materials and has also grown important primary products for other parts of the world. But while the trading classes of India and the trading nations of the world have grown wealthy on the exchange of commodities, he has failed to obtain a reasonable wage for his labour. The trader sometimes earns by a day's transactions in a commodity more than its producers can make after six months of hard toil in sun and rain. The middleman reaps what the ryot sows. Still the patient ryot, not knowing much of accounting, carries on. This is not merely a rhetorical statement. A noted statistician, the late Lord Stamp, expressed a simple truth when he wrote : "The world as a whole and over a given length of time, has almost certainly been fed below cost price for the last hundred years, if one takes into account the proper elements of cost." While commerce and industry have steadily prospered, agriculturists and agricultural countries have remained poor. The Indian ryot is the prototype of this numerous class. Immersed in poverty and inextricably involved in debt and disease, he has been doing his work uncomplainingly, and even the verbal compliments sometimes heaped on him by the more benevolent of his patrons do not reach his ears, as he is unable to read and has no radio to listen to.

The nemesis came in 1929. The prolonged world depression which began in that year was in no small measure due to the reduction of purchasing power in the densely populated Asiatic countries and the consequent unemployment in the economically highly deve-

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loped countries of the West, Western Europe and North America could pile up goods by mass production, but it was necessary to find sufficiently large markets for the profitable disposal of those goods. The most populous countries of the world, China and India, which together account for half the world's population, lacked the purchasing power needed to acquire even ordinary consumption goods. This was the plight to which an unplanned economic system had led world economy. The result was prolonged unemployment and intense distress, from which even the wealthier industrialised countries and areas, which in the name of economic internationalism had taken to narrow specialisation, could not be spared.

The ultimate consequences of this process have been even more detrimental in the case of India. The present emergency has revealed the insufficiency of the local production of foodstuffs for the country's needs. In the province of Bengal, normally a surplus area, the scarcity of foodstuffs has been so acute as to result in the actual starvation of a large number of persons. Wide stretches of fertile territory are indeed to be found in that province as in other parts of the country, but a peasant economy operating under the existing land system could not bear the strain of the needs and uncertainties of a total war. The war has served to drive home the lesson that no economic or political progress is possible unless the lot of the ryot is improved.

Church in India

In the section of Foreign Periodicals in *The Catholic World*, the above-named article is partly extracted from the writing of Thomas Pothacamury, Bishop of Bangalore in *Studies* (Dublin), September, 1944, from which we quote the following extract:

Missions, proselytism and propaganda are foreign to the conception of Mr. Gandhi and of the average Hindu. He cannot think in the terms of exclusiveness. To his way of thinking, if Christianity is true it does not follow that Hinduism is false. They are both aspects of truth. Absolute truth, in the sense that it excludes what is opposed to it, does not occur to his mind. "Religion is not a way of life or a creed, but an atmosphere that pervades and enfolds the diverse elements of existence," said one well-versed in Hindu modes of thinking and feeling. His own religion is not aggressive, not being a consciously missionary religion like Christianity. Change of religion, therefore, seems unnecessary and intolerant for him. He does not distinguish between Christianity and Western culture and identifies them in these days of strong nationalism. He reacts against the impact of the West and what he calls the religion of the white man, which he believes is inextricably bound up with the western type of civilization and European imperialism. Mr. Gandhi wrote in his weekly journal, the *Harijan*: "I regard all the great religions of the world as true, at any rate for people professing them, as mine is true for me."

Further, the very organisation of Hinduism presents a formidable obstacle to the spread of Christianity. In the course of long centuries, Hinduism has welded together religious practices and social customs. Caste and Hinduism are synonymous. Caste has stood the hock of centuries and, in spite of internal disruption and external aggression, it has more or less preserved its integrity and has a tremendous hold on the minds of the masses and even the educated classes. If, whilst the mightiest empires known to history—the Babylonian, the Egyptian, the Roman—have perished and completely disappeared, India has carefully preserved her ancient

civilization, it is because her social armature has successfully resisted all assaults from without. Even the Mohammedans, who dominated the country for five centuries, were unable to introduce a new way of life.

The very structure of Hinduism, both popular and philosophical, is a mighty citadel. It is the most perfectly systematised religion among the pagan religions. It has its theogony, its scriptures, its ritual, its mysticism, its monks and its saints. It has no official creed, approves all sects, accepts contradictory doctrines on one and the same subject and teaches the most puerile legends, unworthy of the Divine Being. Hinduism has no moral code and, as men are not generally led in their conduct by the principles of logic, it satisfies millions of souls, whose passions it in no way disturbs.

There is another cause which leads the Hindu to glorify his spiritual heritage and ancient culture. Pride in Hinduism has got into the patriotic consciousness of modern Hindus. Their philosophy and institutions have been eulogised by European scholars, who either abandoned Christianity or were agnostics. From Schopenhauer and Max Muller to Mr. H. G. Wells, comparisons have been made between Christianity and Hinduism—generally in favour of the latter. Anglican missionaries like the late C. F. Andrews and Dr. Verrier Elwin have opposed conversion work and have expressed their admiration for Hindu philosophy and teaching. The result is that the mental outlook of nationalist Hindus has been atrophied, and they do not believe in any genuine intellectual conversion to Christianity.

Despite hostility to conversion work, one of the most significant facts of modern India is the interest displayed by the educated Hindu in Christ. The interest has grown during the last three decades and has shown itself in much useful legislation for social reform. The Hindus read the New Testament, quote Christ and discuss Christian teachings and principles. Only recently,



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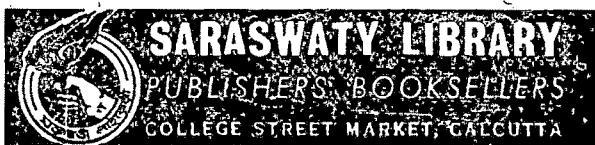
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following the release of Mr. Gandhi from prison, Mrs. Labanya Prava Dutta, President of the Bengal Congress Committee, wrote to Mr. Gandhi as follows: "There is none in this world but your kind self to practise and preach, with undaunted moral courage, the religion of love and universal brotherhood for the spread of which the Lord Jesus lived, was crucified by unbelievers and still prayed for those very persecutors, 'Oh, Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do'." The Secretary of Mr. Gandhi wrote in reply: "For himself he lives in the hope that He who has sent the Cross will also give the strength to bear it" (*The Hindu*, June 15, 1944). The Hindus are willing to confess that the ethical teaching of Our Lord Jesus Christ is the highest embodiment of moral perfection and the best that they know. But when it comes to organised religion, it is a different story. They will have nothing to do with Christianity as a religion.

"Time Must Have a Stop"

The following extract is taken from the Book Reviews section of the *East-West* about the latest novel of Aldous Huxley bearing the title mentioned above:

Aldous Huxley's newest novel owes its title to an oracular passage in Shakespeare:

*But thought's the slave of life, and life's time's fool,
And time, that takes survey of all the world,
Must have a stop.*

Mr. Huxley illuminates these lines, as follows: "It is only by taking the fact of eternity into account that we can deliver thought from its slavery to life. And it is only by deliberately paying our attention and our primary allegiance to eternity that we can prevent time from turning our lives into a pointless or diabolic foolery. The divine Ground is a timeless reality. Seek it first, and all the rest—everything from an adequate interpretation of life to a release from compulsory self-destruction—will be added."

Mr. Huxley, whose undeniable gifts as a novelist serve to obscure his far greater powers as a philosopher, is well-acquainted with parts of India's vast religious

literature. Comparing it with Western conceptions, he writes: "The difference between metaphysics now and metaphysics in the past is the difference between word-spinning which makes no difference to anybody and a system of thought associated with a transforming discipline. 'Short of the Absolute, God cannot rest, and having reached that goal He is lost and religion with Him.' That is Bradley's view, the modern view. Sankara was as strenuously an Absolutist as Bradley—but with what an enormous difference! For him, there is not only discursive knowledge about the Absolute, but the possibility (and the final necessity) of a direct intellectual intuition, leading the liberated spirit to identification with the object of its knowledge. 'Among all means of liberation, Bhakti or devotion is supreme. To seek earnestly to know one's real nature—this is said to be devotion. In other words, devotion can be defined as the search for the reality of one's own Atman; and the Atman, of course, is the spiritual principle in us, which is identical with the Absolute. The older metaphysicians did not lose religion; they found it in the highest and purest of all possible forms.'"

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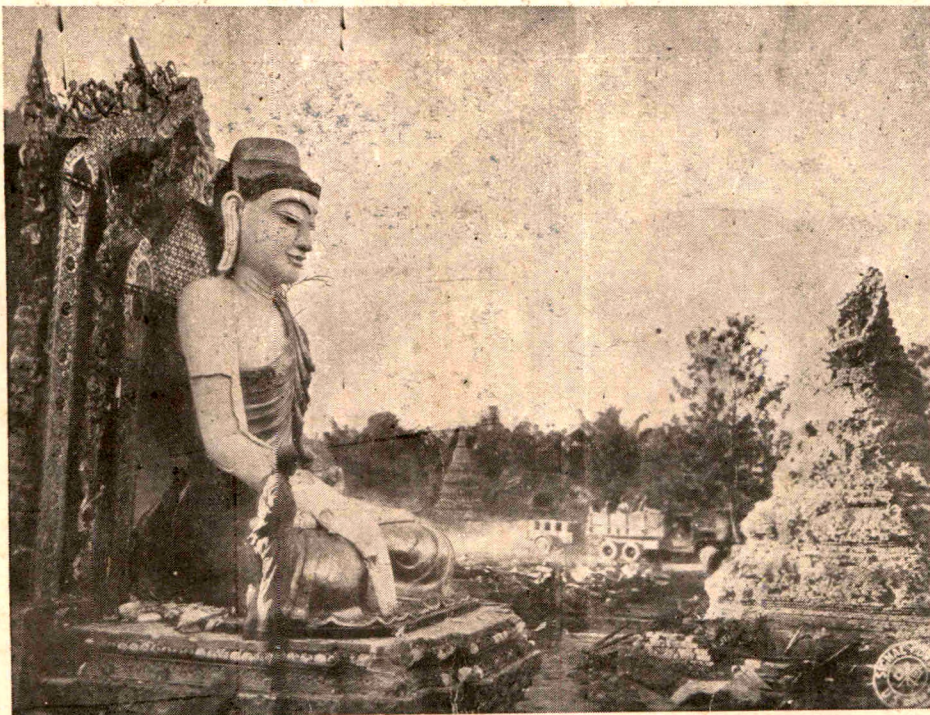
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The first truck convoy over the Stilwell Road across the China border at Wanting on January 28, after three years of Japanese land blockade of China



SHADOWS OF THE LAKE
By Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

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1945

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NOTES

Sir Jeremy Raisman's Last Budget

Sir Jeremy Raisman, in his Budget speech at the Central Legislative Assembly, has made important disclosures regarding decisions taken by him in respect of financial questions of vital importance to India. During his tenure of office he has functioned as a true representative of Imperialist Britain in India. He has manipulated Indian currency and Indian finances for the benefit of Britain. As a Britisher, he always placed British interest above everything else. During his tenure he has subordinated Indian interests and rendered valuable services to Britain at the cost of India. His accomplishments in these respects have been summed up by D.B.T. in the *Bharat Jyoti* as follows:

(1) Inflation of Indian paper currency from Rs. 186 crores to Rs. 1,063 crores.

(2) Increase in sterling balances from Rs. 56 crores to Rs. 1,400 crores which practically means a loan to Britain of Rs. 1,400 crores.

(3) Loan to Britain at about 1 per cent interest per year of the said sum of Rs. 1,400 crores when India is paying 3 per cent interest on loans floated by him during wartime.

(4) Hydari Mission:—An active step to sabotage Indian industry and to stimulate British exports to India at India's cost.

(5) a. The agreement to pay Rs. 20 crores to British Government for military pensions and gratuities.

b. Agreement to pay £1,350,000 or over two crores of rupees per year for the war period for similar charges after setting off India's claims for some, on behalf of Indian Military personnel in British service.

(6) Liability for distribution costs of petrol and aviation spirit was accepted on British dictation.

(7) Agreed to pay compensation to all evacuees Indian or otherwise.

(8) Agreed to pay Rs. 8 crores to U.N.R.R.A. for the benefit of Europe at India's cost.

(9) Agreement in respect of allocation of defence expenditure in favour of Britain and further acceptance of the decision of the Commander-in-Chief regarding ceiling forces.

(10) Agreement for dollar balances at 20 million dollars for India making a gift of the remaining India's balances to the British Government.

(11) Policy of no post-war industrial development for two years after the war comes to an end.

Under his management, Indian currency has been inflated by more than 450 per cent, while the British currency has expanded only by 144 per cent over its 1939 level. This inflation has been caused to pay for Britain's credit purchases in India and it still continues to the detriment of India's internal economy. From the very start of the war, Sir Jeremy maintained a stranglehold on Indian industry and trade and always maintained a check on the production of consumer goods in India. Now as soon as British industries are in a position to manufacture consumer goods, he has sent the Hydari mission. In his budget speech, he has explained the purpose of this mission in these words: "Government are vigilantly reviewing the scope for reducing the load on India's resources, constituted by the war efforts of India and the Allies, and the possibility of adding to the available supplies of goods required for public consumption." The real meaning of this apparently innocent utterance is well known to exploited India. She knows fully well that this mission was sent to London as an active step to sabotage Indian industry and to stimulate British exports to India at India's cost. Soon after the departure of this mission, Sir M. Visvesvaraya, the doyen of Indian Industry, warned that an avalanche of British consumer goods is coming. The result of this mission, according to Sir Akbar Hydari, has not been bad.

In addition to the big benefits earned for Britain, Sir Jeremy has also been quite lavish in his gifts as well. He says, "The system for financial assistance to evacuees and their families has been continued and extended. These measures cost little more than one crore." It is not disclosed whether the evacuees to whom relief is provided are Indians or non-Indians, and whether such persons include Britishers, Burmans, and what is the amount that is disbursed for the benefit of such non-Indians. India's money cannot be disbursed for the benefit of Britishers in Burma and the Burmans

without any tangible return of benefit to India in any manner whatsoever.

His gift to the U. N. R. R. A. has been far more lavish. He has contributed 8 crores of rupees to this organisation. The U.N.R.R.A. has been absolutely of no help to India and there is not the slightest justification for forcing us to make any contribution to it. Sir Jeremy is no fool, he certainly scented storm, and this agreement was made without the slightest knowledge of the Indian Legislature.

The Central Legislature has, however, maintained its dignity by throwing off the Finance Bill. The Budget will now have to be certified by the Governor-General, the head of a "Government" which does not resign even if it cannot see the budget through the Legislature.

India's National Government (!)

We have been told by no less an authority than Lord Wavell that India has her 'national government',—"a preponderantly Indian government which in spite of all the criticism and abuse heaped on it is doing an essential job of work for India, and is doing it on the whole extremely well." It is the Viceroy's tribute to His Excellency's Executive Council and it is a pity that the people do not share the sentiment of His Excellency. Their chosen representatives, in spite of many attempts to divide them in the Assembly Chamber, landed the broadside on the Government of India on February 9 and in the course of forty-eight days defeated the Government on twenty-one issues and caused a tie on another, only to be saved by the casting vote of the President. The Government were attacked from all sides, by all parties including the European and on every matter that affected the honour and interest of the people. On four items inclusive of a censure motion, the Government did not press for a division and suffered defeat silently. In seventeen tussles the popular side polled 935 against government's 757, i.e., a difference of 178 votes. Considering that there are forty nominated, official and non-official, members and eight Europeans who, barring a single occasion on March 13 when some of them were obliged under force of circumstances to support Mr. Tyson's motion, support the government on all issues, it is a remarkably poor performance to muster the highest number of 53 votes on March 9, to save the prestige of the Executive Council of India's National Government and that even to be defeated by not less than 8 votes.

The issues cover all fields and on the very first division on February 9, the Government was censured (i) "on their failure to adopt economic and other sanctions against South Africa. The next adjournment motion (ii) discussed "the use of force and illegal and unfair means on the public of Bihar by the agents of the Government for the purchase of National Savings Certificates." A cut motion (iii) expressed "disapproval of the plan by which railways proposed to take part financially in the running of road services." The inconvenience (iv) of third class passengers, (v) Indianization of the higher grades of railway services, (vi) low rate of dearness allowance to the railway employees, (vii) reduction in the hours of work on railways, (viii) a motion urging that inland waterways services either link up with railway systems or be acquired by the railways were matters where the non-official members had their own way. On March 9, the

demand (ix) under the head "Executive Council" was reduced to Re. 1 only. (All credit to the Hon'ble the Executive Councillors of the *National Government*). On the next day the (x) "Post-war Planning and Development" was allotted Re. 1 to carry on. The failure (xi) of controls, the permit system and the supply of consumer goods was discussed in one motion and the (xii) cloth and yarn position in the next. The food Department was censured (xiii) for lack of supervision and control of work in the provinces. The need for economy generally and for more stringent control of expenditure on civil departments in particular (xiv) gave a victory to the Europeans in the Assembly. Mrs. Renuka Roy urged (xv) for immediate reimposition of the ban on the employment of women underground in coal mines. The Assembly refused demands under the head Information and Broadcasting Department (xvi), under "Immigration-External" (xvii), and to crown all the Assembly threw out the Finance Bill (xviii) on March 26 by 58 to 50 votes and were in no mood (xix) to accommodate the recommended bill on the next day. On the twentieth turn the Government was censured for declaring that Mr. Jammadas Mehta, the present holder of the office of India Representative with the Government of Burma may continue as a Member of the Assembly, and up to the time of going to the press, the Government suffered its twenty-first defeat, by 56 to 42 votes, when the demand—"Emigration-External" was rejected.

This a notable record of the Indian National Government where the Executive is irremovable under the Constitution in a country where lessons in democracy are being imparted by a Government who have been fighting the world over and over again to make it safe for democracy. One or two Indian Members of the Executive Council have more sense in them and we are glad to hear Sir Ardeshir Dalal say on January 25, at a Madras meeting that, "Today we have not got a National Government" on the face of the Viceroy's statement on December 14, 1944, at a meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta.

K. C. G.

Lord Wavell's London Visit

Much speculation has been aroused by the sudden departure of the Viceroy on a flying visit to London. Some, perhaps unduly optimistic, have seen in this the first signs of a change in heart of the powers-that-be in London. The formation of a Congress Cabinet in the Frontier Province and that of a Coalition Cabinet in Assam have been linked up with this visit and various signs seen in the release of Congressmen in the above two provinces and in the rumours of a general release of all Congressmen. News stories have spoken about the probability of Lord Wavell being given another post more to his liking and another incumbent being placed on the *Bairat's gaddi* vacated by him. Mr. Amery, however, in his usual wooden manner has practically given the quietus to all these hopes. Indeed so long as Mr. Churchill is at the helm of the Empire with Mr. Amery as his obedient factotum at the India Office, one finds it hard to believe that any sane measure of statesmanship would be exercised in the case of India. What is more likely is that another attempt at "window-dressing" will be made, to impress the "gullible yankee", on the eve of the San Francisco Conference, just as it was made in the Cripps' adventure. The failure of that

attempt at uttering base coin is now a matter of history despite the perennial statements of Mr. Amery to the effect that that "offer" is "still open."

Greece and Poland have shown the world the bankruptcy of Mr. Churchill's Cabinet in statesmanship. Makeshift arrangements are the best that can be achieved by Britain's War-Cabinet, led by one who has been styled as "a mascot of toriyism" by the *Daily Herald* of London, though now the apprehension seems to be general that though these arrangements may have the effect of surmounting immediate difficulties, their deferred reaction might vitally affect the future of the British Empire. If the story of the British Colonel who was acting as a secret *agent provocateur* under the guise of a U.N.R.R.A. official in Greece be even partially true, then one must say that the diplomatic stock of Britain has also sunk very low indeed in the hands of Churchill and Eden. Indeed the over-all picture of British statesmanship does not induce any optimism in us regarding a new orientation in the conservative view about the Empire. There the viewpoint is still Mid-Victorian and Beaconsfield's dictum that "The Key of India is London, the majesty of sovereignty, the spirit and vigour of your Parliament, the inexhaustible resources, the ingenuity and determination of your people—these are the keys of India", still obtains. It matters not that the Parliament has never shown any vigour and very little spirit—indeed on the contrary—and that the resources are all gone, it matters still less that without a willing and a prosperous India as a partner, the Empire is sure to be shipwrecked in the not-very-distant future. All that seems to matter is the illusion of an eternal Empire shaped along the fairy-tales of Kipling and others of his ilk.

Defeat of Bengal Ministry

The end of the Bengal Ministry has come as dramatically as it had managed to smuggle itself into power. It has thrived, with the support of the Europeans, on corruption, nepotism and bribery on a scale which has probably few parallels in human history.

During their tenure, Bengal had to pass through some of the worst famines on record, the food famine, the cloth famine, the coal famine, the mustard oil and kerosine oil famine and scarcity of commodities of daily necessity of almost every description. Inefficiency and dishonesty seem to have been rampant everywhere and the administration sank to the lowest possible level. The refusal of the Ministry to sit a few minutes longer than usual for the discussion of the supplementary Budget betrayed a moral weakness in their administration. Even their British masters had hard words for the Ministers. At last the end came.

The Speaker Syed Nausher Ali has adjourned the Bengal Assembly *sine die*. In his opinion, refusal by the House of supplies demanded by the Ministry for a major department, which makes the administration impossible, is an unmistakable censure. The Speaker, therefore, declined to allow the Ministry to function as such in the Legislative Assembly and held: "The Ministry is a creature of the House which can make and unmake the Ministry and the Governor is but the registering authority of the decision of the House. Any other course would strike at the very root of democracy."

A Calcutta daily which represents foreign interests in Bengal has found "it hard to understand by what authority he (Speaker) has acted thus," and says that the Speaker's action "looks remarkably like usurpation of the Governor's functions. Sec. 51 of the Government of India Act lays down that the Ministers shall hold office during the Governor's pleasure." The Speaker, however, has ample grounds for the action he has taken. Act VIII of the Instrument of Instructions issued to every Governor by His Majesty requires him to select his Ministers in consultation with the person who in his judgment is likely to command a stable majority in the Legislature and to appoint those persons who will best be in a position collectively to command the confidence of the Legislature. In acting under Sec. 51, read with Act VIII of the Instrument of Instructions, the Governor is nothing more than the registering authority of the decision of the House.

With the prospective fall of the Ministry, cry for an All-party Ministry has again been raised. One must remember in this connection the fact that none but the present leader of Opposition, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, was more earnest in the formation of such a Ministry and in order to demonstrate his sincerity he had agreed to place his resignation letter in the hands of Sir John Herbert which however had been treacherously misused for getting rid of a progressive coalition and bringing in a Ministry on whom the Imperialist vested interests could safely depend. Let not this apparently innocent cry delude the politicians of Bengal once again.

Mr. Casey has a hard task before him. Apprehensions are already there, supported by the significant comments of the Calcutta organ of Imperialism, that the Harbertian tactics may be repeated over again for maintaining the present servants of British vested rights in power. Mr. Casey's love for democracy is on test.

Congress in Power

The emergence of the Congress in power once again may lead towards altering the whole course of Indian politics. Dr. Khan Saheb's *coup* has routed the Muslim League in the Frontier Province, one of the most strategic provinces in India with a predominantly Muslim population. The League Premier Sardar Aurangzeb Khan gave in at the first onslaught and subsequently expressed his eagerness to co-operate with the Congress. With the going down of the Frontier League Ministry came the news of the League crash in Assam. The Saadullah Ministry has been reshuffled with the Congress as its supporter. On the two frontiers of India, two experiments have been made, in the North-West the Congress accepting office and in the North-East the Congress acting as a benevolent supporter of the party in power. The former finds Gandhiji as neutral, the latter receives his blessing. The vigour with which Dr. Khan Saheb's Ministry has started work may instil more confidence in the public mind than the Saadullah Ministry is likely to do. The vigorous step taken by Dr. Khan Saheb in releasing Khan Abdul Gaffur Khan and all other political prisoners immediately on their assumption of office has had repercussions all over the country, the reaction of which has shaken Assam as well. Dr. Khan Saheb has demonstrated that a strong provincial ministry can and does secure an immediate release of all political prisoners if it means business.

Direct acceptance of responsibility and support of old diehards in a new garb has a good deal of difference between them. In Assam, Sir Md. Saadullah and his colleagues are not universally trusted and it is difficult to expect that they will become entirely new men overnight. It is doubtful how far it will be possible for a Congress party, itself remaining out of office, to maintain a set of reactionaries on the path of progress. Acceptance of direct responsibilities by the Congress might have had much better possibilities. However as things stand, it would be an interesting and educative experiment.

The Cloth Famine

The cloth famine continues unabated while the Central and Bengal Governments go on quarrelling over the calculation of quota allotted to Bengal. A recent cloth drive has succeeded in unearthing 11,000 bales of cloth from the custody of the Marwari middlemen alone, the Muslim wholesalers seemingly being left out of the drive. This cloth famine, like the last food famine, is essentially a man-made one. It has come according to calculation and one can trace definite steps through which it has come. While the cloth market was upset after the Japanese war, Government allowed the pandemonium to continue for a fairly long time. The control came at last and the price of cloth was fixed five or six times higher its normal level in spite of the fact that cost of production had not gone proportionately high. The price was beyond the reach of the poor, and the Government soon had to come in to their help. The mills were compelled to produce Standard Cloth to the extent of about 60 per cent of their total production. It was done ostensibly for helping the poor but in reality all the Standard Cloth produced were taken over by the Government for distribution and they remained locked up in their godowns. The poor did not get it, the middle and the richer classes ran the risk of finding a short supply. Thanks to Mr. K. C. Neogy's sincere efforts for eliciting relevant informations, we now know that the Government went further; they forced a large quantity of cloth out of India in spite of the protest of men like Sir Shri Ram, Sir N. Wadia and some other leading millowners. The Government action in regulating cloth supply inevitably led to acute shortage of production. This was the condition by the Pujas last year. Many will no doubt remember that by the Pujas last year, mill cloth could hardly be seen but handloom cloth practically flooded the market. Immediately the Government developed a sympathy for the handloom cloth and came down upon the weaver with their yarn control measure. The result was just as one would expect, disaster for the weavers and a total stoppage of handloom cloth.

The ground was thus being prepared for the entry of Lancashire textiles into India. Nature abhors vacuum. It was only to be expected that if the present scarcity of cloth can be maintained, Government will certainly develop sympathy for the unclothed and Manchester and Lancashire goods will pour in. Sir Akbar Hydari's visit to England coincided with an important instruction issued by the Textile Commissioner of the Government of India to the cotton mills to stop production for some time due to coal shortage. The country will remain grateful to Mr. K. C. Neogy for eliciting this important information that a number

of mills in Ahmedabad, Indore and Bengal remained closed in January for want of coal and the total loss of production in January alone amounted to 2 crore 37 lakh yards. Pressed hard by Mr. Neogy Sir Azizul Huq admitted that no other mills, jute or otherwise, were asked by the Government to stop production for some days for want of coal. One must also remember in this connection that the coal mines have been already locked up by the British vested interests and discrimination in coal supply between British and Indian factories continues uninterrupted.

Thus with the creation of a complete vacuum in cloth supply comes the news that British textiles are on their way to India. Cloth rationing will and must come as the last step in the chain for overcoming the patriotic sentiment of the people against British textiles. Rationing will serve two ends—people will prefer any kind of cloth to nudity and at the ration counter one would have no choice as regards the quality or the make.

Police Zulum in C. P.

The following is an extract taken from the report of the Inquiry Committee appointed by the Kolhapur Praja Parishad to investigate into the Pangire case and published in the *Independent*, Nagpur, dated March 12 last :

Kashibai, her husband, her children and two other persons were taken by the police to the residence of the police patil of Chikbalval on the morning of October 19, 1944. They were produced before the Sub-Inspector of Police, Mr. Ingavale, who first asked Kashibai whether she was Mallu's wife or mother. Then he caught hold of her hair and dragged her to her feet and asked his man to strip her naked. Kashibai's sari was pulled off and she was then beaten with a leather strap. Water was thrown on her body, presumably with the object of hiding the marks of the straps. The members of the committee saw that Kashibai had smothered marks on her body.

On the evidence of four Sanadis (village sepoys enjoying Inami lands) who were present when the incident took place, the committee learnt that the Sub-Inspector threatened to insert chilly powder in the private parts of Kashibai, and the subsequent evidence given by another witness goes to show that this threat was carried out either by him or by his men. The beating and stripping were repeated on Friday morning, Kashibai's husband, her two sons and the other two men were also beaten by the police. One of them was pushed against the wall so violently that some of the bricks of the wall were dislocated by the impact. The members of the committee themselves saw this wall.

The beating was carried out in the house of the police patil and one of the witnesses stated that the cries of the victims were heard during this incident and at night when they were locked up in the place without food or water. The victims were allowed to leave the place after the police party had left the village.

It is not yet known what action, if any, has been taken against this police party. It has however been announced that the Governor of the Central Provinces under whose direct rule the province is being governed at present, has been granted an extension of one year to his tenure of office which expires this year. Confidence in the Government is likely to be severe.

undermined unless the truth of such allegations is tested without a single moment's delay and speedy action is taken against the offenders.

Members for San Francisco

The Government of India have chosen two members of the Viceroy's Executive Council to "represent" India at the San Francisco Conference. Giving reason for their selection, Sir Olaf Caroe is reported to have said that all those who are to attend it are of Ministerial level. But of what level are the two delegates selected by Sir Olaf Caroe's government? Viceroy's Executive Council is sought to be passed off as a duly constituted government under a constitution drawn up in Britain by the Britishers without the participation of Indians themselves. Under this constitution, the "Government of India" has no responsibility to the Legislature, and members of it are chosen and appointed by the Governor-General who is the representative of a foreign power in this country. They have no responsibility in the matter of having the budget passed, they can stand any number of gut motions and are not called upon to resign when the entire budget demands are thrown out. The representation of the foreign government certifies the expenditure of hundreds of crores of rupees and the members of his Council merrily carry on. Nobody would have had any objection if members of this Council were sent to San Francisco as representatives of the Foreign power in India. We object to their having been chosen as representatives of the people of this country.

Objection may not have been raised if the Legislative Assembly was called upon to elect two members for San Francisco. Non-official Indians attending a War Conference is nothing new. The Imperial War Conference of 1917 was attended by Sir S. P. Sinha and the Maharaja of Bikaner. In many subsequent Imperial Conferences attended by the British and the Dominion Prime Ministers, India was represented by non-officials like Sir Srinivasa Sastri, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and others.

The hollowness of Sir Olaf Caroe's statement has been demonstrated by Britain herself. It now appears that Britain's representatives to San Francisco will be composed mostly of Parliamentary Secretaries who are certainly below the Ministerial level. There is of course a level in India to which the demi-gods of New Delhi must conform, only it is not the ministerial but the safety level.

Death Duty

It is lamentable that some members of the Central legislature oppose the introduction of Death Duty on the ground that it should not be imposed unless we have National Government. Surely their idea is that while the poor man's salt can be taxed in present conditions, the rich man's wealth can not. All countries in Europe, several countries in America and most of the countries in Asia including Ceylon have got this measure of taxation. The Taxation Enquiry Committee of 1925 recommended it and but for the vested interests in the legislature the heavy burden of taxation on the poor might have been partially relieved during these 20 years. Since the beginning of British rule the system of taxation has been so devised that the poor masses have to bear the brunt and economists like Ramesh Chandra

Dutt pleaded for the reduction of taxes falling upon the poor as the remedy for checking progressive economic deterioration. With the introduction of the policy of protection of industries, obviously at the consumer's expense, the need for the revision of the policy was imperative but nothing was done with the result that India is now the capitalists' and rich men's paradise. The Excess Profits Tax here is the lowest in the empire and no step has been taken for limitation of dividends as in Australia, Sweden and other countries or of emoluments of higher staff in industries which may be better described as plunder. It should be remembered that the higher staff in British establishments is composed of Europeans and in Indian concerns largely of the do-nothing relatives of proprietors. The pre-war Japanese model of about Rs. 500 as the maximum salary in industry should have been followed at least in protected industries like cloth, steel, paper and sugar. The cotton mills have during this war made fabulous profits and one of the contributory causes of Bengal famine has been the drain from the countryside on account of cloth increased from 12 crores of rupees per annum to 60 crores. We were the first to protest against the inequity in these columns and it is a pity that Mahatma Gandhi before his imprisonment let off the capitalists with the light sentence that "the mills may not be relied on in these times."

The Finance Member was perfectly right when he said in presenting the budget last year that the war had given rise to great inequality of wealth and that Death Duty would reduce it. Before the war the average national income per capita was Rs. 65 and the average income of an agriculturist was Rs. 22. This disparity has been vastly accentuated by war profits earned secretly between dishonest officials and military contractors and suppliers and openly by industrialists already referred to. Accumulation of much wealth in a few hands is bound to corrode society and with the disappearance of large-scale charity as of old the young sons of self-centred millionaire parents are a menace to social purity in cities like Calcutta and Bombay. Rs. 5,000 as the lowest limit of taxation recommended by the Taxation Enquiry Committee should be adhered to and agricultural property exempted as proposed by the Finance Member last year. The tax should be graduated as in Britain where a maximum of 65 per cent is imposed on property exceeding two million pounds in value. Only the limit for maximum taxation should be fixed much lower here in proportion to the average national income per capita here as compared with its British equivalent. We are opposed to any State planning in India at present but unemployment relief should be immediately undertaken and for that money will be necessary. Death duty may be used to abolish the salt tax, too. Distribution of the proceeds of the duty to the provinces according to collection in each area will be unjust as, for example, the cotton mill-owners of Bombay make money out of all provinces. Any genuine charity (which has been well defined by the Indian Income Tax Act) done by the deceased should be treated as part payment made of Estate Duty due.

S. C.

Asia—the Testing Ground

Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit, in a nationwide broadcast in America, asserted: "Asia will be the testing ground of all the theories advanced by the United

Nations but the continuation of colonial empires will be a constant danger to world peace and the progress of humanity."

Discussing the subject: 'Are colonial empires a threat to world peace'. Mrs. Pandit declared, 'the question of colonial empires is linked up with the whole question of civilisation and the fate of the world. There must be a new concept in which all people can share. In the post-war world there will be comparatively few opportunities for external aggression but the danger from movements of internal active resistance, which are growing in dependent countries as a result of denial of self-government, will be a very real one and will have to be dealt with. Military standards of security by themselves will not be a sufficient assurance of lasting peace. Political thought must change and outworn methods be discarded.'

Mr. Robert Boothley, a British Member of Parliament, who opposed Mrs. Pandit, in the discussion said that it was a fallacy to suppose that the creation of colonial empires in the past constituted a threat to world peace. His main line of arguments were as follows:

'If the British Empire had dissolved, Hitler would have imposed his own form of integration, first on Europe and then on the world. For after the fall of France, we in Britain could not have hoped to stand up to him alone. In the event, the British Empire managed by the skin of its teeth to save civilisation from destruction and humanity from another dark age. Let those who now seek to abolish it reflect on this.'

Argumentum ad absurdum is quite common in Imperialist parlance. Propagandists for Imperialism even these days are blissfully oblivious of the important historical role the U.S.A. has played in saving Britain from disaster in this Hitlerite war. The U.S.A. came to play a decisive role in favour of Britain probably because of the sole fact that she had severed herself from colonial domination and was free to build her own destiny. A free India would similarly have been the greatest powerful ally of Great Britain in the Asiatic Continent.

Lattimore's "Solution in Asia"

A former adviser to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Mr. Owen Lattimore, in his new book *Solution in Asia* says no durable arrangement in the Far East will be achieved simply "by dividing or redistributing Asia and the Pacific."

According to a *United Press* of America message, he says the only way to give an adequate safeguard against war is to provide for inevitable Asiatic developments, and do it in such a way as to make future "power conflicts" unnecessary. Besides, America must carefully calculate her part by "freeing" former colonial areas, following the attitude of Allied colonial nations. The United States should keep her record clear by not being a party to placing freed territories back under domination of America's war Allies.

The Western Colonial Powers, he thinks, may fight not only to drive out the Japanese but restore their own rule. But the United States should take no part in any such unfortunate later chapter.

The prospects of America taking an independent stand for freedom and democracy in the world is gradually receding to the background. The danger of

the United States playing a second fiddle to British Imperialism is quietly gaining ground. The culmination of the Phillips episode in the resignation of the President's *Personal Representative* for India unmistakably points out to the triumph of British diplomacy even in American politics.

Not only ourselves, but thought-leaders of England like Harold Laski are also bewildered at the contradictions in American policies. He writes:

I, frankly, do not profess to understand why a liberal democrat like President Roosevelt uses men like Mr. Robert Murphy as vital links in the chain he is building. I do not understand why he should, now that he has entered upon his fourth term, show so tender a concern for the policies of the Vatican policies which go hand in hand with those of big business for the simple reason that they have the kindred aim of stopping the advance of the common man.

To many of us in Britain, America is almost a contradiction in terms. We were glad to see the emergence of the PAC. We think the America of Sidney Hillman and Hugo Black represents a resurgence of the forces which have made the United States, a legend in European countries. But we cannot easily reconcile that America with an America in which Jesse Jones and Donald Nelson, Lec Crowley and Henry Morgenthau remain important symbols.

European progressives have already begun to ask themselves what kind of America is going to emerge from this war.

Will America Go Imperialist?

Prof. Laski continues:

There seem to be three possibilities before the American people: a redistribution of its wealth, a long-term investment in the Middle and Far East, economic imperialism backed by the greatest military and naval power the world has so far known.

It looks as though it is the third possibility that America will choose. There is little point in attempting to conceal the fact that such a choice would mean within a generation a third world war. I cannot but emphasize my own unhappy surprise that a President like Mr. Roosevelt, who knows as no President has known since Abraham Lincoln the needs of the common people, should be prepared to abdicate the high function to which he has been called.

There is no disguising the fact that many of us who care deeply for America and owe to it a debt we can never hope to repay are alarmed and disturbed at the tendencies—economic and social—which are emerging among the class which directs its destiny.

The Americans in Paris, in Rome, in London speak and act as though the world was theirs for the taking.

I cannot avoid the conviction that Mr. Roosevelt might usefully leave the strategy to the generals and admirals and concentrate his attention upon the conflict of ideas which he can do more than any living person to resolve.

For if we lose his passion for justice in these critical months, we shall have made a holocaust of the youth of the world without a proportionate hope in the years to come.

Prof. Laski, the intellectual dynamo of the British Labour Party, writes in reply to two questions put by the U. S. magazine *PM*, viz., (1) What is progressive Britain's attitude to Churchill's European policy and

2) Is there any tendency to ascribe this policy to a fear of U.S. predatory economic power? Laski has clearly expressed the impression that progressive Britishers are disturbed by Churchill's policy to save "traditional Europe". They see in it strategic imperialism to safeguard the Middle East and India against the growing prestige of Soviet Russia. The worst feature is that America is following Churchill closely and is heading for an economic imperialism backed by military power which would mean a third world war within a generation.

Progressive Britain suspects that what Mr. Churchill has in view is the relation of the new Palestine and the new Iraq, together with Egypt to India; that King George of the Hellenes is merely a facade behind which much vaster issues are being decided. By aiding the rightists in Greece Mr. Churchill probably hopes that the debt they will owe to Tory England will enable him to safeguard the Middle East against the rising prestige of Soviet Russia. At the back of Mr. Churchill's mind is the determination at all costs to maintain 'traditional' Europe and to set the four freedoms in this context. He has killed the Atlantic Charter with his own hand. He made up his mind that no reorganisation of Europe shall be carried on which endangers the kind of "democracy" to which he has been accustomed. It is not at all an exaggeration to say that Churchill has lowered British prestige to a point hardly less than the vil reputation it acquired at Munich. Mr. Churchill shows every day more clearly that he belongs to the world that is dying and not to the world that is struggling to be born. The greatest tragedy of the twentieth century is that Roosevelt, the people's man and the leader of the New World, is following the leader of an Imperialism which is fast disintegrating in spite of the latter's strenuous efforts to save it from disruption.

Bertrand Russell on Indian Freedom

Bertrand Russell recently addressed a group of Indian students at Cambridge. The meeting was organised by the Cambridge University India Majlis and Russell was invited to address the gathering because of his love for the oppressed. Expressing his hope that there will be new departure of British policy toward India in the near future, specially after the next general elections. Russell said :

We are all agreed that it is impossible to keep up our position in India. Even if it is possible it is neither justified nor desirable. As soon as we have got a Government of the people with liberal-mindedness, we can demand that we want a change for the better in India and set to work for that change. I know of the Cripps offer. I know it is still there. I know the offer of Dominion Status as soon as the war is over. But it is not what we want to do. The question is what Indians want. At any rate it is felt by a vast majority of Indians and by many other people, especially by the people of the United States, that our promise is not honest that we do not mean to keep up undertaking to Indians. Many people in the United States want an unequivocal, definite and unambiguous declaration for India. Therefore, if I were to take part in the Government, I should announce immediately at a certain date a day 12 months after the end of the Japanese war that we British shall wash our hands off India. I should announce that now, so that Indians may

have plenty of time to get together and see how best they can work together.

Continuing Russell said :

I do not think we should be too much hampered by differences in India. After all they are there, everywhere, as they are among our own people. But because we have differences nobody here wants foreigners to settle our own differences. That applies to India. It is for Indians themselves to settle their differences. It is not any of our business. I should, therefore, announce that 12 months after the Japanese war we shall abandon our responsibilities for India. I do not think we ought to insist on Dominion Status. The idea that India should become a dominion is futile and quite contrary to her geographical necessity. Other dominions had historical affinity with us, but India culturally has not and will not belong to us. Her affinity will be with Asiatic countries. Her history and culture are contrary to ours.

Summing up, Russell emphatically declared :

India belongs naturally to other Asiatic countries rather than western. Her ties with Britain are more artificial than her ties with China. The dominion of the White Man over the rest of the world since the sixteenth century is coming to an end. It will not go on any more in Asia which is awake. I am convinced of that. Our domination came into being as a result partly of our voyages, partly by a skilful use of commerce and partly as a result of science. As India develops industrially she will also develop as a military power. The era of White domination will not last. It cannot be revived. White domination has made it impossible for a stable world. You cannot have peace in the world secured as long as some people want to keep themselves in power. There will be hundred and one injustices in the world as a result of this domination. The other side has a feeling of hatred and contempt for those who dominate. Until you get approximately an equal standard in East and West you cannot go on.

The British think that they can remain in India only by the application of brute force. Indians know that but they believe that subordination of 400 millions of human beings will be a physical impossibility as soon as the people of India will be determined, with or without the sympathies of the other peoples of the world, to make an end of her political subjugation.

Kashmir Leader Overcomes Communalism

A gigantic mass movement communal in the beginning but popular and nationalistic during the latter phase of its development has gained great momentum in Kashmir. Sheikh Abdullah is her undisputed leader. It has revolutionised the entire outlook of the people and brought about a complete change in their social and political outlook. It has presented a new and progressive aspect of life and made people conscious of their rights and privileges. More than anything else the movement awakened the present masses of Kashmir to a new sense of right and wrong and has made them aware of their inherent strength and unity of interests.

A staunch Muslim himself, Sheikh Abdullah takes equal delight and pride in the religion and religious festivities of other communities. On all Hindu festivals, be it the birthday ceremony of Lord Krishna or any other important occasion, he attends the public gatherings convened on the occasion and delivers

learned discourses on the teachings of the Hindus. His is an unbiassed and robust nationalism and his love of human liberties and sentiments makes him a stout nationalist and a humanitarian.

Naturally Sheikh Abdullah became an eyesore to Mr. Jinnah. Several attempts were made to set up a communal organisation to destroy Abdullah's Kashmir National Conference, but none of them were successful. Abdullah's movement is not only a force in Kashmir, but it constitutes a great landmark in the progress of the Indian States Movement itself. Mr. Jinnah's latest move to start a Muslim communal organisation in Kashmir has also miserably failed.

After his reverses in the Punjab, Mr. Jinnah entered Kashmir as the self-appointed guardian of the political rights of the Muslims there and deceived himself by taking Sheikh Abdullah's hospitality and courtesy to mean his acceptance of the League position. His calculation proved wrong and he had in consequence to face a very ugly situation. Sheikh Abdullah told Mr. Jinnah that he was nobody in Kashmir politics and further reiterated the position of the Kashmir National Conference by stating that Kashmir politics had long ago evolved into a higher stage of progressive nationalism and had thus passed Mr. Jinnah's "milestone" of to-day over five years ago.

He further accused Mr. Jinnah of trying to disrupt the progressive forces in Kashmir and charged him with attempting to attack the National Conference "with the same weapons with which he attacks the Indian National Congress," that is that the "National Congress is an Hindu attempt to cheat the Indian minorities and the Kashmir National Conference is a Muslim attempt to cheat the Kashmir minorities." The Kashmir masses, the faithful followers of Abdullah, expressed their indignation against Mr. Jinnah by making it impossible for him to address any meeting. From one meeting he had to retire under police escort. Mr. Jinnah has therefore beat a retreat from Kashmir politics and Sheikh Abdullah's National Conference has won a final victory over the forces of reaction and communalism.

Jinnah Gets a Price for Dropping Pakistan ?

The genesis of the Desai-Liaquat formula of 40:40:20 for the centre and Mr. Jinnah's association with it, has been revealed by the *Bharat Jyoti*. Talking to pressmen in December last, and quoting some unnamed Muslim friends said to have good influence with Mr. Jinnah, Dr. G. S. Arundale had made the startling suggestion that the Muslim leader would abandon Pakistan in favour of 40 per cent representation at the centre. Dr. Arundale's formula wanted representation of 40 per cent for Hindus, 40 per cent for Muslims and 20 per cent for other minorities for the Central National Government. Dr. Arundale's solution for the Indian deadlock was "Hindus must sacrifice majority and Mr. Jinnah must sacrifice Pakistan."

The Muslim League Fund Finding Drive

The special correspondent of the *Leader* reports that in order to strengthen the financial position of the All-India Muslim League, a fund finding drive has been launched in every province under the auspices of the Provincial Muslim Leagues. The All-India Muslim

League hopes to build up substantial funds by the help of this fund finding drive. The correspondent adds that the League is anxious to give a fillip to its organisational activities and consolidating its hold on the Muslim masses, who, according to the League, are in the danger of being allured by the tactics of the All-India Muslim Majlis and the super-tactics of some powerful Muslim aristocrats subscribing to the Agha Khan School of politics.

The correspondent then continues :

Under the instructions of the All-India Muslim League council, Nawab Aizaz Rasul, general secretary, U. P. Muslim League, it is understood, has issued a circular letter to all district and city leagues of the United Provinces asking them to furnish information regarding the number of such Muslim residents as are financially in such a position that they can dispense with a portion of their income as charity (zakat). The number of such Muslims as are already giving in charity and of those who will be willing to place their contributions for zakat at the disposal of the Muslim League in case they can be given an assurance that their money will be spent in the manner they prescribe and the annual total estimate of these contributions have also been called for. Other provincial Leagues have also been asked to furnish similar information by the All-India Muslim League, which, it is added, is planning to make such use of this institution of zakat that the Indian Muslims can derive the maximum possible benefit from it.

Some time ago Mr. Jinnah had appealed for a five-crore fund but the actual amount of collections are not yet known. In Bengal, the leaders of the League are said to be much better off. The amounts of their *zakats* will be watched with interest.

Sir Norman Angell on Robot Bombs and Robot Minds

Writing in the *Free World*, Sir Norman Angell says that the most important development in recent years in the field of military technology is the robot bomb. Although it has not succeeded in altering the course of the present war, it gives a dark warning of what war might become. It gives a forecast of the prediction that ultimately the machines which man had made to serve him would turn round and destroy him. It has become literally so. Both sides can no doubt use the weapon which means that each could destroy the other, with immense margin of advantage to the side which gets its blow in first. Sir Norman says that in the form in which we know them, the robot bomb is, of course, a mere beginning. The London experience is just a foretaste of what the 10-ton, or 100-ton rocket shell of the future, travelling through the stratosphere, has in store. Add to this the possibility of explosives based on the release of atomic energy (which reputable physicists have declared to be perhaps round the corner) and one can see that the stratospheric robot bombing of a New York or a Chicago into so much bloody rubble is something more than a possibility of the future.

Of course, this development is going to affect the peace-making. Every one of these developments makes geography, regional considerations, of less and less importance. It is no longer a Wellisian fantasy to foresee the time when robot or rocket bombs, travelling through the stratosphere, can be launched from almost

any spot on the earth to any other spot, delivering free and equal partners in a common world order. loads of explosives which can destroy all life within a radius of several miles. International criminal violence cannot be stopped so long as colonial exploitation and empire grubbing is allowed to continue.

Sir Norman then goes on to explain his ideas about the methods of controlling the human mind. He says that the problem is not merely one of creating a central power; it is to see that this power is not abused, does not itself become the enemy of freedom; that its function is limited to the prevention of violence. He emphasises that before we learn to control the robot bomb we must learn to control the human mind, its fallacies, blind spots, the passions which arise out of nationalism and doctrinal fanaticism. He then says: "We speak commonly as though it sufficed to take power from the hands of Germans and Japanese, and give it into the hands of the British, the Americans, Russians, French, Africans, Chinese, Irish, Indians, Arabs, Jews; that these latter could never disagree as to the use of power, never abuse it. Which means that we take over, holus-bolus the "superiority" doctrine of the Nazis, except that we become the superior people and they the inferior. All of which, of course, is nonsense. Biologically—in blood, glands, hormones, grey matter, muscular tissue—we are exactly like the Germans. The difference is in certain ideas which, for reasons we do not know much about, infected them more than their immediate neighbours. Education and "learning" did not protect them against the infection, for the Germans are among the most learned, the most scientific people in the world, having produced great philosophers, musicians, religious teachers, from Luther to Karl Marx; and very brave and efficient soldiers."

Failure of the United Nations to Control Criminal Violence

According to Sir Norman Angell, the supreme failure of the German people as a whole is the failure to control their own criminal minorities. To say that the German people as a whole have no responsibility for the crimes of the Nazis means that they did not know how to control their criminals. Such an excuse indicts the German people as incapable of the first function of civilised governments which is precisely to restrain criminal violence.

Discussing the corresponding responsibility of the United Nations, Sir Norman says:

"But if we bring this charge with justice, as we must against the German people, it is incumbent on us to face the fact that as nations we have been guilty, in our international relationship, of a similar failure, a similar incapacity to restrain criminal violence in international affairs.

"The power of Germany and Japan represented a quite small fraction of the civilized world. Had their victims—thirty-four (at present) United Nations—been capable of uniting for mutual defence, the aggressors would never have been tempted to commit aggression, and if they tried would have been promptly stopped. But the non-German, non-Japanese world did not have that capacity for unity. It had sufficient potential power to defend itself; it could not unite for the use of that power for common defence."

Next he asks: Will it be able to unite to make impossible the use of a perfected robot bomb? To banish its terrors from mankind? But we believe that no such unity is possible unless and until all the countries of the world meet on the same platform as

World No Longer Dominated by European Powers

Mr. W. G. Mackay, a progressive British writer writes in an article that the Governments of Britain and America in resisting Nazi aggression, are trying to bolster up a European system which, if it worked during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, certainly does not work in the twentieth. He points out that the world is no longer dominated by European Powers. The people of Russia, China, India and America are going to play a much larger part in world politics in the twentieth century than they played in the eighteenth and nineteenth. Although the Nazis will be overthrown and the United Nations' victory will be secured, it will be a defeat both for France and for Britain, if one conceive those two countries in nineteenth century terms. Mr. Mackay clearly states that India must be granted independence; so also the colonial people of Africa. The following passage is quoted to illustrate the breadth of his thought:

The war of 1914-1918 was a defeat for the France of 1914. By 1918 she had become dependent on Britain, America and Russia for her independence and freedom, and she had lost so much in manpower and investments overseas that she was no longer the first-class Power she had been according to the standards and traditions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The British Empire will meet a similar fate at the end of this war. Mr. Churchill is trying to perpetuate a geographical and political entity which, however great it may have been (again according to the standards and traditions of the eighteenth and nineteenth century and their conceptions of world politics), is bound to come to an end in the near future. India must have its independence; the colonial peoples of Africa must be given their freedom and a democratic government for Africa established; the other colonial peoples must be treated in the same way. This has to be made clear to the British and the French, and, for that matter, to the Belgians, the Dutch, the Portuguese and the Spaniards.

Mr. Mackay believes, and so do we, that an attempt to perpetuate the nineteenth century set up of European domination of the world is to try to put a roof on a house which has lost its foundations and has not got any walls.

Indian Art Collections in Moscow Museum

There are several collections of Indian objects of art in the USSR, the biggest and most interesting being those of the museums of the Academy of Sciences and of the Hermitage in Leningrad. The collection of Indian art treasures brought from the "Indian Circle" in East Turkestan by the expedition of the late Academician Sergei Oldenburg and from the dead city of Khara-Khota by the famous Russian explorer Peter Kozlov are of world-wide significance. There is, however, also an Indian Art Collection in Moscow and it forms part of the State Museum of Oriental Culture.

One of the most valuable sections of the collection is the miniatures from the Persian manuscript version of Sultan Babur's Memoirs. There are about 70 of them and they are in an excellent state of preservation. They were painted at the end of the 16th century in the Emperor Akbar's palace workshop and are typical examples of the Moghul school of Indian painting.

Another series of miniatures in this collection dates back to the 17th century and constitutes a whole gallery of representatives of the Moghul aristocracy. The museum possesses the famous 16th Century miniature, already published, signed by the artist Baljid (also read as Balchand) which shows an acrobatic wrestling scene.

Indian applied arts are very extensively represented. There is a series of sculptured details from the Car of Jagan-Nath (Juggernaut) of the 17th Century. There are also some beautifully decorated specimens of lacquer work—cases for mirrors and for reed pens. There is one pen case of the middle of the 17th Century which deserves deeper study. The artist depicts a number of Europeans in addition to the local people. Lastly there are some Indian silks embroidered with gold and silver threads.

Imperial Library Books Sent Out of Calcutta

In reply to a question, Mr. J. D. Tyson told Mr. K. C. Neogy that the most valuable publications of the Imperial Library, numbering about ten thousand were removed from Calcutta in February 1942 as a precautionary measure and deposited with the Aligarh Muslim University for safe custody. No proper inspection of the books seems to have been carried out by opening the boxes. If the boxes are not sufficiently airtight, there is a likelihood for the deterioration of the books. Now that the danger of bombing in Calcutta has passed off, the Imperial Library ought to bring the books back. The Calcutta University had brought back all their books sent outside for safe custody. The Asiatic Society of Bengal has also sent a number of books out of the city and it is high time they should be brought back as well.

Give Women 50-50 Share in Politics—G. B. S.

Writing in the British weekly *Leader*, Bernard Shaw pleads for giving women a 50-50 share in politics. He says, "I advocate human government by women and men in equal numbers because I want the enormous power at present exercised by women to be made public, responsible and continually under fire from public criticism. If public affairs could be managed by one sex alone, I should vote for leaving them to women. Having always had to feed and manage men they are trained to it until it has become an instinct with them, whereas men have never been able to manage women. Matriarchy is the law of nature; and now that it is no longer necessary for men to hunt and fight every day to feed and protect their squaws and piccaninnies the natural man is a pampered drone. I have been dependent on women all my life, and am quite conscious of it, and keenly aware of the fact that if I do nothing to make me worth their care, they may wake up to the situation like the bees and kill me when they have no further

use for me. The danger in an exclusively female Government is that women, who love power more than men do, would jealously disfranchise and droneify me at whatever cost of pampering, dressing-up and glorifying him."

To Shaw the need for human government and the dangers of sexually unilateral rule are plain enough. He believes that they are obscured merely less by male vanity than by men's subconscious dread of women leading them, to a conviction that they must either enslave women or be themselves enslaved by them which they very largely are.

Burning for Purification

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai told the Central Assembly that he had heard the B. B. C. announces saying that Berlin was burning for purification. If Berlin desire to purify herself for her sin in attempting to take away Britain's freedom, Britain in her turn would have to purify herself in respect of many other similar sins. The time had come for penitence to be expressed in the form of action."

Dinabandhu Andrews

On the 5th of April next falls the fifth death anniversary of Dinabandhu Andrews. There was never time when there was so little confidence and trust as between Indians and Britishers as now nor was ever there so much want of a man in whom both could trust. The passing of the Dinabandhu was a calamity for the British and Indians alike though only the Indians seem to be partially aware of it. There was never a British official in the history of British India who did one-tenth as much for Indians as did this true servant of the Lord. The Indian estimate of his worth could perhaps be best summed up by a translation of a part of a radio broadcast in Bengali by the late Ramananda Chattarjee, on the occasion of the first anniversary of his death, given below:

The name *Dinabandhu* given to Mr. Andrews was literally true. To the last moment of his life he had endeavoured to preach the Christ-ideal which he cherished in his heart, not by words but by his life.

We never thought that his death would come so soon. For I remember that up to only a few days before he came to Calcutta for medical treatment I used to see him coming to Santiniketan from Sriniketan on foot and go back walking—covering a distance of about four miles. But it is vain to grieve over what has happened.

He lived his noble life in such a manner as if he was atoning for the sins of his nation in relation to India. But we ought not to think of his life and service in that way. We should specially consider in how many ways and to what a great extent we are indebted to him. I am not now referring to my personal debt of gratitude to him. The arduous labours which he went through for India, particularly for the oppressed and humble Indians who live in the Colonies, no Indian ever went through;—only Mahatma Gandhi did similar and greater things for the Indians in South Africa, but he could not do so much for those in other colonies. He was so large-hearted and so liberal that among his intimate friends there were Hindus, there were Muslims, there were Jains, there were Buddhists, the

were Jews and there were Christians and Parsis. Persons belonging to all the various religious communities in Calcutta joined in his funeral service today, and perhaps, if the public had received previous intimation, so many would have been eager to join that the gathering would have reached unmanageable proportions. He has now been blest with the peace which he longed for.

He has not been able to see that amity between independent India and independent Britain which was the desire of his life, established during his life-time. But whenever this friendship between a free India and a free British becomes a reality, then undoubtedly his soul in heaven will enjoy supreme bliss and peace ineffable.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE War in Europe has entered into its climax. At the time of writing the Allied assault on the Western front has mounted to its peak. According to all reports received (up till 29.3.45) the German defence in the West has crumpled up and General Eisenhower has gone further in stating that the Germans have no further chances of staging another defensive battle in the West. London reports go still further in claiming that the Wehrmacht has little hope for regrouping its forces for another stand. Regarding the Eastern front no definite break-through has been reported so far, though two new offensives are said to be in progress. In the U.S.A. people started celebrating the end of the War until they were stopped by official warnings that the war is not yet over. In general the picture that has been conveyed by the news-correspondents is that the dim shape of victory can already be seen to be looming through the smoke and fog of war, though it cannot be gauged as yet as to how near it has come.

Judging from the actual reports in so far as they convey definite news, which are scanty in the extreme due to news-blackouts, one can make out two facts. The first is that the Allies have been able to surmount the obstacles of positional warfare that were imposed upon them by the German defence plan and that now they are throwing in all their armour, artillery and man-power in the battle so as to deliver a knock-out to the German defending forces. Mobile warfare on a very large scale is, therefore, indicated, where the five-fold supremacy of the Allies in armament and man-power will be allowed to use its full weight for the first time since the landings on the coast of Normandy. The second is that the Germans now face for the second time in three months, a total disruption of their defence plans through the wholesale breach of their positional defences over a very wide area. The great arsenals of the Ruhr and the Saar are now threatened, as happened in the case of Silesia a few months back.

Judging again purely from the nature of fighting, the Allied advance has differed a great deal from the Russian break-through of a few months back. That was a spectacular assault and the break-through that followed was purely on the lines of the blitz-krieg methods followed by the Germans in their French and Russian campaigns at the outset of the war. In this Russian blitz too the armoured spear-heads raced ahead of the supporting infantry and artillery, changing direction as needed to avoid hedgehogs or to bye-pass great con-

centrations of enemy forces, thus penetrating deep into the rear-communications and threatening to disrupt the whole defence organisation without giving the defenders the chance to regroup or to organise a concerted defence along a continuous line. It failed to achieve the finale desired because the Germans had replied with the Russian answer to the blitz problem and could improve on it because of their immensely superior organisations of supply and communication. But all the same this Russian blitz had bitten deep into the vitals of the German defence, depleting their reserves and straining their resources to the extreme in supporting their forces that had been bye-passed and isolated far behind the Russian spear-heads. It is doubtful indeed if the Allied successes on the Rhine would have been attained so early and at that cost, if the Russian blitz had not torn up the German defence plan in the East in that fashion. The Allied advance has been achieved mainly by the weight of arms and preponderance in numbers. It has delivered its assaults step by step and as the weight of arms and men told had widened the breaches and had thus pushed back the line until it broke in places due to the extreme tension. It is through these breaches that armour is pushing through now, and probably para-troops are also being employed to break up enemy resistance at strategic points. The problem that the Wehrmacht faces is the repair of these breaches and the replenishment of depleted fighting strength of the defence.

The question is whether Germany has any substantial reserves left with which to obtain a condition of liquid stability as was done on the Eastern front a month back. It is well-known that of the Axis forces actually in the field, by far the greater portion are in the East, engaged in an attempt at holding up the Russian armies. What reserves there are in Germany's central pool is unknown, but judging from General Eisenhower's statement, they are not expected to be very substantial. Of natural defences in the West, the most difficult have either been surmounted or are being subjected to assault at the present moment. The rest, according to news reports, do not seem to be of much account since London reports claim that "all Germany lies open" before the Allies. The picture, therefore, as presented by the news reports, is one of Germany on the immediate eve of collapse, with its defences shattered in the West, while in the East they are being rapidly reduced; with its fighting forces being over-

whelmed and torn up in the West while in the East the process of attrition is rapidly lowering its strength, and with its central pool of reserves being depleted to the vanishing point. The Wehrmacht is said to be at the end of its tether, which does not call for any stretch of imagination in view of the picture presented. All that is left to complete the picture is the chaotic condition of desertion by fighting forces and frantic fleeing of civilians out of the battle zones, clogging up the arteries of troop movements, and the closing down of the arsenals. The question now being asked is not so much as to when the end will come but as to how?

The answer to that question should be known to the world within the first fortnight of April, if the Allied estimates are correct. The Allied armies, on the West and the Russian forces in the East, are now working in full concert and both are now exerting the maximum pressure that they can deliver by the weight of arms and by the manifold superiority in numbers. The battles on the East have raged with unabated fury for some months now at the last defences before the very vitals of the Reich, and are now showing distinct signs of pulsating in intensity—which means prolonged warfare. In the West they have mounted to extreme violence, on a scale never hitherto attained on this front, and if there be a lull or lack of resistance from the Germans, it can only mean either total collapse or an attempt by the Wehrmacht to regroup all the forces at its command for a mobile battle on a gigantic scale to fight the Allied armies to a halt. If General Eisenhower succeeds in preventing this regrouping, then indeed the end is in sight. The turn of events within a few days—at most a very few weeks—will give the waiting world the answer.

In Asia the war is approaching the mainland of Japan in a steady progression and the fury of the battle is increasing with the approach. The latest reports are rather indefinite and confused but there can be no doubt now that Admiral Nimitz is pushing forward relentlessly with his schedule for the Pacific War. It is being progressively revealed that the Japanese navy is no longer in a position to challenge the American supremacy on the waters of the Pacific. But on the other hand the Japanese air-force is now definitely attempting a show-down as between land-based planes and carrier-borne craft. This new development will probably soon show the possibility—or otherwise—of a sea-borne invasion of Japan along the very thin island-route across the vast stretches of the Pacific. In any case the consolidation of the American hold on these islands of the Pacific is essential for the final assault, be that delivered straight across the waters of the Western Ocean or be that launched from the coast of China. The strategy of this island warfare across the Pacific is not yet fully revealed, that is to say it is not yet clear whether these stages are merely means to an end, or whether they are actual progressive steps of the final assault. There are many gaps left as yet in this most extraordinary chain of communication lines, and until the final wiping out of the Japanese resistance takes place on the Philippines, the Bonins and the islands further out, the channel for the vast flow of arms and armed forces, requisite for the final assault on Japan,

cannot be said to be quite clear. Until that stage is reached it would be futile to speculate on the master-plans of the Allied Supreme War-Council regarding the battle of Asia. Meanwhile the aerial assault on Japan is being intensified, but as yet it has merely assumed the preventive stage, that is to say it is now actively obstructing the Japanese attempt at stepping up the production of armaments. It is premature to say that the actual "softening" process is in action, as that would entail far more intensive raids on a vastly greater scale.

The question of a direct sea-borne invasion of Japan across the Pacific is a gigantic and extremely complicated problem in logistics. Japan seems to have come to the conclusion that it is impossible of solution and that even with complete mastery over the Pacific the American Pacific Command will not be able to mount a major offensive direct on to Japan without any considerable bases on the coast-line of China. The Japanese are no doubt apprehensive of major attempts on the part of the U.S.A. Pacific Command at landings in force on the mainland of Japan. But it seems to be certain that such attempts would be co-ordinated with operations on the south-coast of China which might precede or immediately follow such action. The latest Japanese drive from Hankow can have no meaning otherwise. This drive clearly shows that the Japanese are aware that the sands are running out fast and they have to consolidate their hold on the Peiping Hankow railway soon or else it might be too late.

This Japanese bid for the consolidation on the great continental rail-artery is being pressed on with such force that it leaves no doubt that it is a vital part of Japan's defence plan. With a land-route to the raw-material sources firmly in their hand, Japan hopes to be able to carry on with a long war of attrition on the mainland of China. For even if the sea-lanes are cut by the U.S.A. Navy, sufficient supplies can be carried by the rail-route to enable Japan to carry on the vaster resources of the Allies being counter-balanced by the immense difficulties of their supply route. It is premature however to speculate on all that since it is not yet clear as to which of the three routes to Tokyo would be taken by the Allies. The fighting that is going on now in Burma has not up to date given any hopes of Burma being made into a major base for Allied operations against the Japanese. Indeed the problem of maintaining great armies fighting in China by means of air-borne and land-borne supplies seems to be unsurmountable for the present judging by the extreme difficulties of the aerial route across the "hump" and the tortuous and difficult intricacies of the Burma Road. Therefore, the sea-route to China has to be cleared up to Singapore and Saigon before the drive against Japan from this side of the world can carry much weight. This route, therefore, will take some good time, whereas the Burma-Kunming route is likely to remain constricted for all time so far as the present war is concerned. The third route is the Pacific route of which the possibilities are as yet not fully revealed. There has been some speculation on that point but that also has not been of a very convincing nature.

MY MOTHER

Reminiscences*

By C. F. ANDREWS

[Five years ago Dinabandhu C. F. Andrews passed away on April 5th, 1940, but he will be missed by his innumerable friends and admirers for many a year to come. We reproduce here the compliments that were paid to him by Mahatma Gandhi and the Poet Tagore as forewords to a Hindi biography.

"C. F. Andrews, who to me is dear Charlie, is a living embodiment of Christian principles. But by the singular purity of his life and his never-failing service to the poor and the lost, he has ceased to belong to any particular sect or nation; he has become one of the world.

"He is too near to me by bonds of co-operation and love to allow me to say anything about him in a detached spirit of criticism. Pandit Bénarasi Das has worked with him closely for a number of years and it is quite appropriate that he should write a biography of Andrews. In these days of destructive class-struggle and of blatant nationalism his life has a special lesson for the world. May it not pass away unheeded!"

"Uttarayan"

Santiniketan, 29-3-34

Rabindranath Tagore

"It is not an easy thing for me to write a foreword to a life sketch of C. F. Andrews between whom and me there exists a tie closer than between blood brothers. But if I may say without presumption, I would like to note down my conviction that there does not exist in India a more truthful, more humble, and more devoted servant of hers than C. F. Andrews.

"May the lesson of his life prove to the youth of India an encouragement for greater devotion to the motherland."

Santiniketan, 17-9-20.

M. K. Gandhi]

This time that I have had in England, after so many years' absence, has brought back to me the memory of my mother as nothing else has ever done before. It was nearly twenty-five years ago since I left England for India on one bitterly cold morning in February 1904 with the snow coming down and the sky dark and threatening. I had just left my mother on the previous evening after I had knelt at her side in prayer as I used to do every morning and evening as a little child. My heart was chilled through and through at the thought of parting from her and I must confess that I looked back and repented for a brief moment that I had set out on such a distant voyage. She was failing in health and I wondered whether I should ever be able to see her again. It seemed cruel on my part to leave her. The whole scene of our parting came back to me while I was alone in the railway carriage, shivering with cold and trying to collect my thoughts. No journey in my life was sadder to me. Again and again in thought I turned back and wondered whether I had taken the right step.

Two things sustained me during that inner struggle. The former was that God's voice had been calling me and I could not disobey. The second was that my mother had always put 'duty' first in every thing she taught us and even when she had shed silent tears on the night before when we had said 'good-bye', she had never for a moment ceased to encourage me in what I was about to do. From the very first moment, when I had broken the news to her that I was going out in Christ's name to India, she had encouraged me to go. So great was her faith and so complete was her self-sacrifice of love!

It was not, after all, to be the last time that I should see her on this earth. That was to come in 1912 and I shall write about it later. But when the heart is very deeply touched with grief, fears often loom large and I confess that the hardest part of all in the determination which had come to me to go out to India as a Christian missionary was the anxiety, bordering on fear, that I shall never be able to see my mother again.

Let me go on a little with that story as I remember it vividly still. The snow-storm still descended while the train left Victoria Station in London. A small group of friends had collected to bid me farewell and then I was all alone. It was then at last that the pain came most, and it has always been possible for me to sympathise with the loneliness of home-sick Indian students on their way to England because of that personal experience of my own. If I had not suffered myself, I should not have been able to suffer with them.

The crossing of the English Channel was rough and the cold was still intense. Somehow the physical misery for a time was almost welcome, because it took my mind from the spiritual agony, which I was passing through. The night in the train, sitting up and cramped for room, was spent almost sleeplessly. Then at Basle, in Switzerland, the train stopped for nearly an hour in the very early morning, between 5 a.m. and 6 a.m. I was able to get a cup of steaming coffee, filled up with boiling milk and a Swiss roll of bread with butter. Somehow this revived me and made me cheerful again as nothing else could have done at such a time.

I must make another confession. On my way to Geneva from Marburg in Germany during the present tour I passed through Basle. Two German friends were with me and they wished to entertain me with a full meal. We had fasted all day. But when they asked me what I would have, I asked them to provide hot steaming coffee with boiling milk and a Swiss roll of bread with butter simply in order that I might be able to recapture that incident, which happened nearly twenty-five years ago, when I had left my mother for the first time in all my life to go abroad and was heart-sick and home-sick, beyond all words, on that early morning, in that same railway station of Basle and had found some comfort in hot coffee and milk and butter and a roll of bread!

II

It has been a very strange and deeply moving experience to me to visit one by one the places where I used to live as a little boy and bringing back to memory the days that are no more. In every place it has been the picture of my mother that has come back to me most vividly of all and that is why I have felt the desire to write about it.

I can realise now more clearly how very great the actual poverty must have been in which I was brought up. There were two different streets where my father took us to live in turn in Birmingham in two very small houses which could hardly contain his ever-increasing family. This happened after his removal from Newcastle. Both of these houses were so small that it is hard to realise how a family of thirteen children could have found room in them! In former of the two houses there was literally no garden at all and the street was our only play-ground. Certainly this was a great

* These reminiscences were contributed by Dinabandhu C. F. Andrews to the *Vishal-Bharat* in 1929 with instruction that they should be published in *The Modern Review* afterwards.—B. Das Chaturvedi.

deprivation, which I shared with millions of other town children. It was very good for me to have this experience of complete poverty, but at the same time it had a rather stunting effect on some of the finer instincts in me, which were ready to blossom forth if a congenial soil had been provided.

I can be fairly certain of this, because I can remember still today the almost mad joy which used to come to me as a child when my father took me into the country. My mother rarely came, because her household duties were overwhelming and she could not neglect them for a single moment. She was so self-sacrificing that she never even thought of herself or her own pleasure.

Up to this day I can remember with a vividness that is almost photographic in its clearness of detail two incidents connected with my mother, which seem to show what kind of child I was.

The first of these was when a fowl was being killed on the opposite side of the road near the open street. I did not see anything of the dying agonies of the fowl. It was only the sound that I heard. At first I did not know what it was. Then one of my playmates told me I heard the sound die down and the horror of the cruelty of it all forced itself upon my young imagination. When I went into the house, I sat in misery by my mother's side and told her all about it. Then I tried to bury my thought in a story-book, but that cry of the fowl's dying pain would never leave my imagination. For days and days it haunted me! Since then I have forgotten thousands of other things. But when I went to see that street, where we used to live, again once more the strange thing was this that the one memory which came back to me was that fowl's cry of pain and now I could not bear it but ran into the house to my mother and then tried to bury my horror in my story-book. The very place where I heard the cry was known to me as I stood once more in the street. All sorts of changes had gone on. The house we lived in has been turned into a workshop. But just that one turn of the street had remained unchanged amid all other alterations and as I stood at that point in the road, the memory of what happened more than fifty years ago came back with a vivid flash to my mind.

The last house into which we moved was bigger than the former I have mentioned. It had one inestimable advantage for us in our childhood. It had a back-garden in which we could play all day long when we were not at school. What games we had! The favourite game, into which I used to coax my younger sisters to take part, was 'Swiss Family Robinson'. This story book used to live with me as my one dearest possession. It was illustrated. We used to act every part of it in that garden. It was not very easy to manage the ship-wreck, where there was no water. But a child's vivid imagination very easily gets over trifling difficulties of that kind. I must, however, tell the whole of that story at another time. It is too long to tell here.

What remained most vividly in my mind when I went back to this second house, where I had lived in my early childhood, was the memory of one day when I had come back to my mother in eager excitement from Sutton Coldfield. There was a park there with four or five long pools. Nature had been allowed to continue in its wild state. The incident I am about to mention must have happened when I was about twelve years old. One day I had walked over with my elder brother

to Sutton Park by road. The walk was a long one for a boy of my age. It was over seven miles and I was a somewhat weak child when I was young. There was a pool, close to the park entrance, on the far side of the park, which was first approached when we walked over. My brother and I had gone across some treacherous marshy soil eagerly seeking some adventure amid the wild natural scenery. We were playing together at 'Swiss Family Robinson'. Then I discovered a wild bird's nest with three eggs in it, whose colour was light blue with little dark spots. I had never seen such a nest before in such a wild place. In my excitement I took the eggs in my cap and on my return home when I was tired almost to death with the long walk and all my excitement was over, I showed my mother all the three eggs, expecting her to admire them. She said to me, "Oh, Charlie, what have you done? Just think of that poor mother hen-bird coming back and finding all her beautiful eggs stolen! Even now, perhaps, she is flying and flying round her deserted nest making a sound of pain. Could you not have taken only one, and left her two behind,—if it was necessary to take one at all? Oh, Charlie, my dear little boy, what have you done?"

Before she had finished, the picture of that poor mother-bird flying round and round the deserted nest, crying with pain, gripped my imagination. All that night I could hardly sleep at all, though I was very tired. Then my memory is not quite clear what happened next, but I feel almost certain that it was surely next morning that I went back to Sutton Park with the three blue speckled eggs. What happened later was this that I did not find the nest and so my conscience did not get the relief it needed; but had to bear the burden, until the child's habit of forgetfulness blotted out the memory of my conscious mind. All the agony I had suffered sank down into the sub-conscious.

Let me end this picture, therefore, with the portrait of my dear mother, as she drew me to her side and said to me, with her tender chiding voice, which was the greatest punishment I could possibly receive, "Oh, Charlie, what have you done?"

III

One of the most beautiful things to witness in my own childhood was the absolute devotion which my father had towards my mother. There are always in married life differences of temperament and disposition. My father was at all times impulsive, warm-hearted, generous to an almost extravagant degree, and ready to believe any one who came to him with a pitiable story of distress. He was also exceedingly chivalrous and always wished to take up the cause of the oppressed and the afflicted.

My mother understood all these sentiments and shared them, but she always had the better judgment. As a mother of a very large family, she had to consider her own children and their needs. Therefore, though no one could be more open-hearted and open-handed towards real distress, she was not taken in, as my father not seldom was, by those who merely came to beg, because they were unwilling to do honest work. Thus, as years went by, my father used to rely more and more upon my mother's judgment. Indeed—shall I dare say it without any irreverence to his dear memory?—she became almost, as it were, a mother to him as well as a devoted wife. While the authority of our large house-

hold was entirely in his hands, he often would unconsciously delegate that authority to her in forming his decisions and would act upon her judgment rather than upon his own.

This made the loss all the harder to bear for my father when my mother died, after an ideal married life of nearly fifty years as husband and wife. He literally pined away after she was gone from him and the terrible days of European war hastened his own death. It would be difficult to find a more perfect example of a wedded love which was all in all.

It happened that while I have been in England this summer, I came across a bundle of my father's letters written after the death of my mother. They were so pathetic in their patient fortitude and tender longing

*We knew that their joy could not last, dear
That its gladness must soon pass away.*

*But there's one thing that never can change, dear
A gift that has come from above,
Which has welded our hearts into one, dear
The gift of unfaltering love.*

*Though our life here on earth fade away, dear
Though our bodies be laid in the dust,
Even then, this shall never decay, dear
For it liveth in Him, whom we trust.*

*Now alas! You are taken away, dear
And I'm left to linger below,
But the stream of my love does not stay, dear
Its fountain shall never cease to flow.*



C. F. Andrews (standing on the left) and his father, mother, brothers and sisters

for my mother's presence that it was difficult to read them without tears. He tells the story, which my sisters had corroborated, how he had turned in his distress and solitude to the composition of poetry. Never in his whole life had he written a line of poetry before and now at the age of eighty-five he would spend day after day in writing down his thoughts in verse and giving them a very simple poetic form. It touched him very deeply indeed when anyone wrote to him and said that these simple verses had given them comfort in sorrow. He wrote not only to assuage his own grief, but also to help others to bear theirs.

One of the most touching of these simple poems is before me in his own handwriting. It runs as follows:

*When we think of those years so long passed, dear
When we both were so happy and gay,*

*In those heavenly mansions above, dear
Where all shall be glory and peace,
We shall still live the life of that love, dear
In fulness that never shall cease.*

It is quite possible to criticise this poem from the point of view of literature and to fail to appreciate it as such. But my own criterion is a simpler one. For I can realise in it how every word, that he wrote about my mother in this poem, was written with tears and how those tears were able in a slight measure to assuage his own grief.

We, who were her children, joined with our father himself in giving this honour and reverence to my mother. Whenever we went over the wide world, it was to our mother that we always wrote those long letters of ours that were handed round to all the family circle.

There was not a single week in which I did not send by the steamer from Bombay a long letter to my mother. Not seldom I would write to my father also, but my mother always had my longest letters. Once when I had some doubt whether my letter had actually gone by the main steamer, I sent a cable to explain. For I could not bear the thought that my mother in her weakness, during her declining years, should have the least anxiety on my account. Again and again, I used to warn her that the mail delivery was not infallible and it was well I did so, because inquisitive eyes sometimes were wont to scan my letters just before they departed from the Indian shores and at one period their delivery became irregular. That episode could not be avoided, but what I could avoid was to fail, by my own fault, to catch the mail. Therefore practically I never missed the mail during all those years before she died.

IV

I cannot remember where I left off in my reminiscences about my mother and I shall run the risk of repeating myself. Here where I am living among the Hindustani exiles from the United Provinces, who came out to British Guiana, more than ten thousand miles away from India, under the indenture system, wherever I sit down in company with them, they always ask me two questions. The former is, "Mr. Andrews, are you married?" When I tell them that I have been all my life a bachelor, they express surprise and tell me that they thought that I had many children in India. The second question is this: "Is your mother still living?" I tell them, "No. She died when I was in South Africa with Mahatma Gandhi." Then they ask for the story of my mother's death, which has reached some of the educated Indians of this country and I tell it to them as I shall tell it in due course in these reminiscences. It is true to say that nothing brings our hearts more closely together than these stories about my own mother.

I cannot remember whether I told the story of those very early days in my life when we were still living in the North of England. There were already very many children born in our family and I came in the middle of them all—with brothers and sisters who were older than myself and many also who were younger. When I state the fact that we were fourteen in all, of whom only one died in infancy, I can imagine the surprise of my readers. But no greater blessing ever came to me in life than to have such a mother and to belong to such a large family. Truly I pity very much indeed the spoilt children today, who are either the only children of their parents, or who belong to a very small family of two or three children. We were a supremely happy family circle, with delightful companionship within the same home. In India the joint family system gives some happy relationships such as we had in our family and the fact that all through my childhood I had so many brothers and sisters has made perhaps the home-life in India more easy for me to understand than if I had been an only child in my own home in England.

But the story I wanted to tell was this—will you forgive me if I have told it already and listen to it again?—One day when I was quite young, probably not more than five years old, I was with my brothers and sisters in our play-room, when suddenly I felt burning hot and ill. My knees began to pain me so much that I sat down on the floor in the middle of our game and began to cry. I can remember vividly just how I sat on the floor and looked at my knees and saw how

red and swollen they had become. My brothers wanted me to go on with the game and said, "Charlie, get up!" But I could not rise.

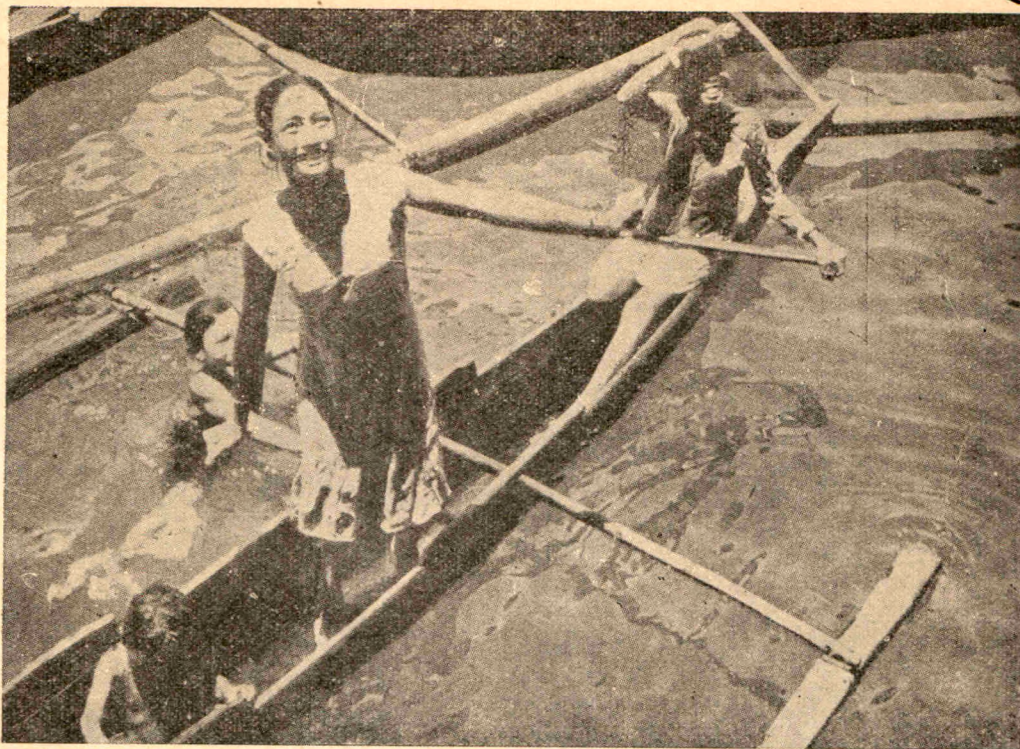
At that moment my mother came in and I can picture her tender, beautiful face, while I write down these words. Without an instant's delay she knelt down on the floor by my side and kissed me on my forehead and looked at both my knees as I pointed towards them through my tears. She saw at once that I was very feverish. She then carried me in her arms to my cot and called the doctor.

When he came he shook his head sadly and said that the illness was rheumatic fever in an acute form and that my life would be in danger. He wrapped my knees in bandages made of flannel. That night I lay in delirium with very high fever indeed.

My mother has often told me how the high fever kept up, month after month, till my body had become a mere shadow and my life was despaired of. All that I can remember of those months of suffering was my mother's face looking down on me with wonderful love and tenderness. She prayed for me by my bed-side, night and day and God in His great mercy heard my mother's prayers and restored me to her arms in love.

By far the greater part of all that suffering is merely one blank to me to-day. Probably I passed many days and weeks almost unconscious just hovering between life and death. The crisis at last came and every one thought that I was going to die. Then one day I opened my eyes after a long period of unconsciousness and saw a flower on a little table close to my bed. If I remember aright, it was a white flower. It looked so beautiful that I seemed to wake into consciousness of life again and to wish to live. Of one thing I am sure. It was that flower which gave me the first impulse of life, just at the very time when my spirit was flickering between life and death. From that day onwards I rapidly recovered.

We all have very curious memories of our earliest childhood. So much is absolutely forgotten. Yet other things are as clear and vivid as if they had happened yesterday. It will easily be imagined what a weak and tiny child I remained for some time after that terrible illness. We have a proverb in English: 'Troubles never come singly.' This was true with me. One day I was standing outside the drawing-room door listening to my father singing inside the room. My mother was playing the piano. So far my memory is uncertain, but what follows could never be forgotten. In a foolish childish way I had put my finger into the crack or hinge of the door, which was half open. My father paused in his song and shut the door sharply, while my finger was still in this crack or hinge. When the scream I gave told him what had happened my poor finger on my right hand was smashed to a pulp right up to the first joint. Fortunately I was so young at the time that there was no bone yet fully formed but only soft tissues. Yet so severe was the accident that for six months, while I was still weak with my former illness, I had to help my hand in a string until the finger recovered. It is easy to see on my right hand the place where the accident was even today. But the long strain of recovery always afterwards made my right hand weaker than my left. Therefore when I began to play games, I found I had become left-handed. It was this accident which in this peculiar way made me left-handed all the rest of my life.

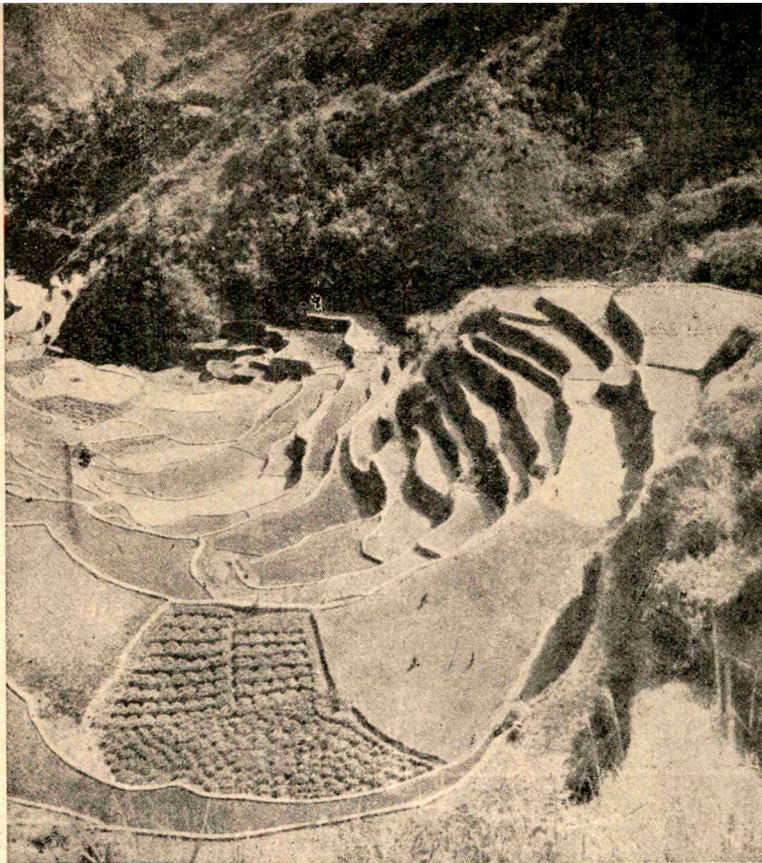


The Filipino girls are diving for coins flung from steamers that ply between the islands

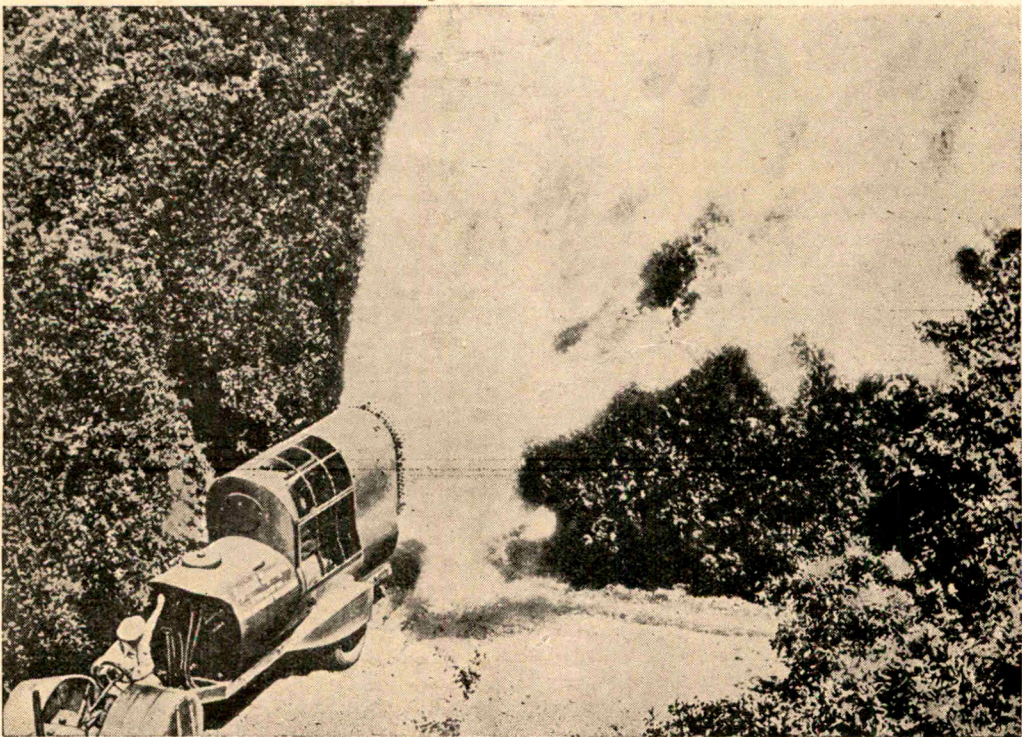


Sampan carry American Red Cross supplies for China

Courtesy: USOWI



Rice terraces in the Philippines cut out of the mountainside and strongly reinforced with timber



A new power sprayer developed in the Southern U.S. throws a germ and insect killing spray

During all these childish illnesses and troubles, my mother seemed to come nearer and nearer to my heart. Probably on account of the fact that she had almost seen me die, my mother had a fondness for me that perhaps she did not have in the same degree for her other more robust and healthy children. At any rate I seemed to think so and the love which she gave me was returned superabundantly from my side. There has never been anyone throughout all my life, who could compare with my mother in my heart for the depth of my affection. For though I have had many friends whom I have loved closer than my brother, their love for me and my love for them cannot compare even for one moment with love which I had for my mother and my mother had for me.

V

I would like to tell some more incidents in my mother's life which I can never forget. They will help at the present time to sweeten our thoughts when there is so much bitterness on every side owing to the critical struggle in which India is engaged. For it is not a good thing to dwell entirely on the harsher sides of life without any relief.

My mother was one of those who believed in bringing up her own children herself with as little help from outside as possible. She would get up very early indeed every morning and was at work in the house preparing for the duties of the day long before we ourselves came down from our rooms. She was very devout in her own life and when we were children we would never miss a single morning or evening saying our prayers beside her. She would sit in her chair and each one of us in turn would kneel down and close our eyes and then repeat after her a simple prayer to God for protection and blessing through the day or through the night as the case might be. It is quite impossible for me even to forget her own reverence on such occasions. The time was never hurried, however busy she might be. It was sacred to God.

We had a sweet custom of getting up very early indeed on my mother's birthday, which came on May 25th every year, and singing outside her door. She would wait in her room that morning, because she knew what was going to happen. Then at the end of our song she would come out with a radiantly happy face and greet us all. We will then give her our little presents, which we had kept in store for that special occasion. She would be intensely delighted with them, however insignificant they might be, and there would be a great joy in her face all day long. Her birthday came at a very beautiful time of the year, when all the spring flowers were in blossom and we used to deck her room with flowers. One such birthday I can remember when we were all quite young. The sun was shining all day long in a blue cloudless sky. It remained for me for many years afterwards an ideal recollection. I would recall my mother's face radiant with pure happiness in the knowledge of her children's love for her and the love which my father had for her and for us his children crowning our home. I remember how the tears were in her eyes often on the morning, but they were tears of happiness in her deep emotion, not tears of sorrow.

We were always discovering something which she had silently done for us out of her endless store of love—some little gift she had prepared with her own hand, some happiness which she had devised. I have often wondered with pity since at solitary families,

where there is only one child or perhaps two children. We were a big family and we had to learn the art of living together. It was our mother who was the real teacher. For her own unselfishness was contagious and we became unconsciously like her in little things. In this manner we were ready to give way to one another instead of thinking only of ourselves. Sometimes I think that the joint family system in India has some of the advantages which we had in our own home. I am sure a great deal is lost in these solitary homes in the West, where there are hardly any children at all.

When in later years we had to scatter and some of us were living in distant parts of the world, it was a wonderful bond between us that our mother was always there at the centre uniting us together. We used to get her letters as regularly as possible. She would know exactly when to post them and she never missed the post. During all my years in India, I cannot remember once having missed her letters by the weekly mail, until at a certain time I came under the observation of the C.I.D. Then I found my mother's letters becoming erratic. They would not arrive when the mail came, but a few days later. It was hard to keep from bitter thoughts when this happened. I have no doubt in my own mind as to the culprit, though when I publicly protested, it was told me that such an interference with my letters had never happened. But this was by no means convincing. It was, however, some recompense to know that I was receiving the very same treatment that hundreds of educated Indians have received from that secret and inhuman society, the Criminal Investigation Department. What really troubled me was to find that my own mother had not received at the proper time my own letters and that this had caused her very great anxiety indeed. This to me was almost unbearable and I used to chafe under it. What happened at a later period I must leave over for another issue.

[Unfortunately Mr. Andrews could not continue these reminiscences any further. The following extracts have been taken from his notes dictated to me in 1920 for his biography.—Benarsi Das Chaturvedi.]

VI

At that time when I was nine years old, there came about an event of my life. The chief trustee of my mother's property proved to be a scoundrel. He was a great friend of the family and my father trusted and loved him as a brother. Then one day my father suddenly discovered that he had speculated and robbed my mother of all the money she had. This was discovered in the afternoon by telegram by my father asking the manager of the Bank if there was any money in my mother's account and the reply came that there was none. And I shall never forget the great shock that it was to my father. I think he felt it most because it was my mother's money and also because the friend whom he loved most had so deceived him. My father was very silent and my mother told me all about it. She was more anxious about my father than about the loss of money. Then the evening time came and we had our evening prayers together. That evening my father read a passage of the Bible in which the words came, *If it had been an enemy then I could have borne it, but it was thou my familiar friend in whom I trusted.* After reading the passage he remained quite quiet and I could see that he was trying to keep back his tears. Then we knelt down to pray and I shall never forget how his whole prayer was on behalf of his friend that

he might be forgiven for the wrong he had done and that he might be brought to repentance and to a better life. He used to speak to us and tell us that we must not feel any bitterness against his friend, because although he had done that great wrong still he hoped that he would, in time, come to see the wrong. When people urged my father to prosecute him, he indignantly refused and those who suggested never asked him a second time. This incident had a very great effect indeed on my life. It made me love my father as I never loved him before and my mother also who was entirely of one mind with my father in this matter. It seemed to bind the whole family together in love and was in this way a great blessing. But the greatest blessing of all was that we became exceedingly poor—so poor that we children often had to eat dry bread and nothing else for our meal and we were obliged to live in a very small house with the poor people of the town. Thus from being fairly rich we were reduced to poverty and the struggle that my father and mother had to make to educate us during the next few years was very great indeed.

VII

On the way down from Johannesburg to Durban I had fever in the train. It was a touch of the old malarial fever and I was quite exhausted by the time we reached Durban. There we met the Indian ladies who had just come out of jail. It was the first time I had seen Mrs. Gandhi. But at that moment I was quite upset because Mr. Pearson put into my hands a letter

stating that my mother was not expected to live. I showed it to Mr. Gandhi and he told the ladies themselves. The next morning was a terrible ordeal. I felt certain that my mother must have died and was waiting for a second cable in answer to my own. There was an immense gathering of Indians waiting to be told about the settlement and I had to speak. It was very very hard indeed, to speak at such a time. In the afternoon the cable came to say that my mother was dead.* I sent the cable to Mr. Gandhi and soon afterwards Mrs. Gandhi accompanied by all the Indian ladies came to see me. That was the greatest comfort that I received at that time. It seemed to me that they were my mothers and I felt in a strange way that those Indian ladies were to be my mother in future. Often and often I have felt this to be literally true and I am sure that my mother's love for India has been returned to me in the affection which I have had from Indian mothers wherever I have met them.

"Go and help the Indian cause in South Africa and do not come back till your work is done." These were the words that Mr. Andrews' mother wrote back to him when he asked her whether he should be by her side during her illness in England or proceed to South Africa to help Mahatma Gandhi there.—*Benarsi Das Chaturvedi*.

* Died on 9th of January 1912.

A REVIVALIST*

Our Debt To The Swami Shradananda

PART II

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

XII

A shock was awaiting me—a psychological shock. With the turn of the century I had ceased to be a provincial—at least, to be so in my own sight. I had become a metropolitan (not, of course, in the Church of England sense). Lahore—the capital of the region of my birth, not yet hacked by George Nathaniel (later the Earl and later still the Marquis) Curzon (of Kedleston)—had become my home, temporarily.

"Home" was only a cubicle. That word I had to learn. Now I would describe it as a poky little place—bare and ugly. Then, however, it spelled to me independence. Thanks to my father's generosity—and father, as I was later to understand, was not wealthy—I was not one of the common herd, as so many of my fellows (to my notions) were, who dwelt in dormitories.

Nor had he sent me to one of the cheaper colleges maintained by private agency. No. The institution I had entered was the first of its kind in Lahore. The initiative for it had come from the State. The Government still ran it.

How soon I was to sicken of all this officialdom! That, however, is "another story," as Rudyard Kipling would put it. He, I had just discovered, had lived and laboured for a time not far from the Government College Hostel, and not so many years before. I was to meet him in the course of the travels upon which I was to embark somewhat later.

Whether one lived in a cubicle or in the dormitory, there was precious little privacy. That I learnt almost immediately after I had taken up residence at Lahore.

Of a bookish turn of mind and something of a prig, I was not a little irked by the gregarious sense in the Punjabis fast emerging towards manhood. It was assertive—aggressive—undeniable. Since there was no avoiding it, I had soon to come to terms with my neighbours.

What the professors and assistant professors tried to ram into my mind, already cluttered with much miscellaneous pickings from books and periodicals, was to me, educationally, of little value compared with what my compeers taught me. This teaching went on mostly at night. It took place in a sort of open-air forum.

This forum was the unpaved oblong on all four sides of which the hostel and college offices had been built. As the gloom gathered, cots (*charpais*) were carried out of the cubicles and halls into it. At first, with the rolled-up bedding serving as a huge pillow for me to lean against, conversation proceeded. Later the *durri* was spread on the string-webbing, my newly made friends and I lay talking till, one by one, we fell off into slumber. Every one within ear-shot joined in.

XIII

Lala Munshi Ram's name leapt into the conversation hardly had the shyness of provincialism thawed in that heart-cockles-warming college-hostel cordiality. I

* For Part I of this article, please see *The Modern Review* for March 1945.

cannot, for the moment, recall who started the discussion or how it began.

So challenging a personality must indeed have been under frequent discussion long ere I came upon the scene. Something that he had said or done must have provoked some one to subject him to sharp criticism. The attack must have been met with equally stout defence.

It is, of course, not at all improbable that I may myself have started the polemics on this particular occasion. As I related earlier in the course of this article, I was proud of Uncle Munshi Ram. I was ever trotting out the one triumph he had achieved of which I wrote earlier. This was the victory at a verbal joust—that he had won over “Ratee-geen.”

Upon coming to Lahore I had dropped that manner of murdering that legal luminary's name. What I heard about him must inevitably have whetted my desire to relate this incident. As becoming an undergrad who (in his own esteem) was already something of a journalist on the side, I must have put my imagination as well as my heart into the telling.

Whether in this or in some other way, the psychological shock came. Of its coming I have a vivid recollection. Something of the sickening sensation that overpowered me at the time returns to me, in fact, as I pen these words.

XIV

Some six years before there had been a great contest. In this the man whom I was representing as wiser than the wisest lawyer in the Punjab of that day had been worsted.

The conflict had been between men who had elected to tread the path of the Swami Dayananda's making. The man who emerged as Lala Munshi Ram's “opposite number” (to use a pregnant phrase of my wife's native land) hailed from the Bist Doab—the tract lying between the Beas and the Sutlej rivers—as he himself did. Hans Raj¹ by name, he was the principal of the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College from its inception.

There were, of course, others. To some of these I shall refer presently. Munshi Ram and Hans Raj were, however, the principal contestants, so far as the general public was concerned.

Some bystander of a humorous turn of mind summed up the struggle in terms of comestibles. Munshi Ram and his followers, he said, fancied only *tori*—a long, narrow vegetable of the gourd species, with a flat taste. Hans Raj and the people ranged behind him insisted, however, upon *jal-tori*—the long, narrow vegetable that grows in the water (fish). Or, alternatively, Munshi Ram's was the *ghas* (grass) party; while Hans Raj's was the *mas* (meat) party.

Animal food was, indeed, a point of controversy. It caused friction—ruffled tempers. Had it, however, been the only, or even the main, issue, it is to be doubted that there would have been a split. Hans Raj was, in fact, not very partial to meat; he is known to have quit eating it not long afterwards. But for the contentions, he might have abjured it sooner.

In essence the struggle was over the custody of the very considerable resources that had already been acquired by Arya Samajists from brothers of their faith. These were being steadily (and even quickly) added to.

Who was to control the coffers? Who was to conduct the institutions—religious, propagandist and educational—that had been and were being set up? Whose was to be the supreme voice? Whose the masterful hand?

XV

Despite his legal acumen and experience, Munshi Ram was “frozen out.” He was not the man to suffer defeat in silence. For a time it looked as if violence was inevitable.

An attempt to seize the principal institution—the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College—was, indeed, made. Shouting

“*Agar dharam ke liye jan jati hai to jane do*” (If faith demands life that sacrifice must be made), a knot of young men attacked the college gate. They found it barred and locked from the inside. Students armed with stout *lathis* (cudgels) stood to defend it.

At sight of the first trickle of blood, however, there was “disengagement.” The fray fizzled out. The attackers retired. The “hans” retained the “fort.”

Opposed to Munshi Ram were lawyers of no mean merit. To mention two: There was Lala Lal Chand, who, a little later, was elevated to the Chief Court Bench. There also was Lala Lajpat Rai², whose name, within a quarter of a century, became known and esteemed in every town and village in India and often found its way into papers abroad and in the “Mother of Parliaments” in London.

It was, however, Hans Raj with whom, in the last analysis, Munshi Ram had to reckon. Thin as a rail, with muscle that had known little, if indeed any, of the stiffening and suppleness that exercise gives, he could stand not a ghost of a chance if pitted against his rival in a physical contest. Behind his spectacled, myopic eyes was, nevertheless, a restless, resourceful brain and a little way below that brain a leonine heart. So long as he chose to stay at the college, almost wholly of his own creation, he dominated it, though, according to the letter of the constitution, he was at the beck and call of the Managing Committee. Not only the college, but also the entire organization of which that college was the most active organ.

This continued, indeed, almost to the day of his death. Of him I have written elsewhere, and intend writing at greater length at the first opportunity. A large section of the Punjab of the last and, to some extent, of this generation, is largely of his making.

XVI

Uncle Munshi Ram once gave me his interpretation of this battle royal. There was, between Hans Raj and him, a difference of outlook. This difference was as fundamental as it was radical.

Hans Raj was content, according to his opponent, to run an institution that was largely a copy of the College established by the Government some years earlier. In his institution the fees were lower: therefore young men flocked to it. The attraction was much more of an economic than of a religious nature.

Sanskrit and Aryan culture did not receive there anything like the emphasis that the *Maharishi* or he, the *Maharishi*'s followers, would have liked to see them given. They certainly did not constitute its heart. It was, therefore, hopeless to expect that institution to provide the Arya Samaj with an adequate number of

¹ Known during his working life as the Principal Hans Raj, he, after “entering the forest,” was acclaimed as the Mahatma Hans Raj.

² See my article “Lala Lajpat Rai” in *The Modern Review* (Calcutta) for January and February, 1934.

workers who would selflessly devote themselves wholeheartedly to the propagation of the faith.

Such, indeed, was the pull exerted by economics that the College had bound itself hand and foot to the University. Who could say that the University was an independent body—that it was managed by Indians untrammelled by official leading strings? Power was wielded, moreover, by officials non-Indian almost to a man.

Why had Hans Raj sacrificed independence? The answer was that he hankered after students. These could be had in large numbers only if the college was "recognized." This meant that it must be tied down to the University. Without "recognition" the graduates would not have the piece of parchment that was the passport to the services and professions alike. That lure kept him from organizing—from running—an institution that could have been an efficient instrument for furthering the *Maharishi's* ideals.³

XVII

This was all very well, I said to myself, but it could not explain away the disparity between the achievements of the two men. While Uncle Munshi Ram was talking, Bhaiya⁴ Hans Raj was building. How much he had already built!

As instructed by my father, I took the earliest opportunity to go to the "D.A.V." College to see him. After a talk with him in the "Principal's Office," I was taken over the institution.

If I had the eyes that I now carry in my head, I would have been shocked at the sight that greeted me. The buildings would have appeared to me to be squat and shapeless, lacking the dignity that form gives, even without ornament. I would have set them down as the work of some P.W.D. subordinate, may be a sub-overseer, who knew naught of architecture save to calculate stresses and strains. Then, however, they impressed me by their very multitude and substance.

I was even more struck by the life and bustle going on all about me. The whole place was astir—alive.

Whosoever I talked with—whether student or professor—was filled with Dayanandic zeal. Myself not possessing it, I looked upon them as *Katta* (bigoted) Aryas.

I wondered why Uncle Munshi Ram cavilled at the institution. Was he jealous of all this achievement? If envy did not set his tongue wagging, why must he decry it?

Why, in any case, did he not bestir himself? If he had ideas, then why did he not get busy? Was he wanting in the ability to carry them out? Talking—just talking—while Bhaiya Hans Raj was working!

The impatience of my mid-teens found vent in such uncharitable questionings.

XVIII

Soon I was to have my answer. Hardly had this century begun to toddle about, Uncle Munshi Ram seemed to tire of this negative attitude. He had already looked up his law-books. No longer content with preaching and journalising, he concentrated his attention upon devising a body in which his ideas could function. He projected an institution such as he would have had

Hans Raj run, if Hans Raj only would. It was to be in the semblance of the *ashramas* (residential universities) of which he had read in olden works. The picture—or was it a vision?—he carried in his mind was something like this:

In the heart of the forest there would be a clearing. In that clearing there would be a few huts. The pillars and rafters would be made of wood hewn in the vicinity, that also would yield the materials for the walls and thatch. The floor would be of earth, as God made it.

In the central hutment would live the *acharya* (preceptor) with his *ardhangini* (equal half). To him would come young men thirsting for knowledge in which he specialized.

Among the applicants would be princes of the blood royal and courtiers' sons. There would likewise be the progeny of merchants and artificers. And peasants' offspring, too. Anybody's. Everybody's. None who desired and deserved *vidya dan* (education as a gift) would, indeed, be turned away. Not even a harlot's nameless brat, provided he was worthy.

Each applicant would approach the *acharya* with a load of wood upon his back. Placing it in front of the preceptor, he would beg for the gift—the greatest of gifts—the gift of knowledge.

Raising the boy from the ground the *guru* (teacher) would take him into his *kukh* (literally womb). He would now be of the *guru's kula*.

Teacher and pupil would thereafter live and labour together. Roots, leaves, berries, nuts, honey and the like, gathered from the surrounding forest during the intervals of study, would be their fare. This would be partaken of in common from salvers made of green leaves, while seated upon deer skins spread upon the floor.

Before the *Ushas* (Dawn's myriad daughters) fetched out their tubs filled with paints more delicate than the onyx or mother-of-pearl, the day's routine would begin. After ablutions the fire would be lit in the pit deemed sacred and to the chanting of the *sandhya*,⁵ clarified butter and sweet-scented herbs would be ceremonially cast into the living flame.

That flame symbolized the institution. Knowledge imparted there must likewise be pure. Without commercial taint, it must be. Only then could it burn all the dross out of a man's spirit.

It was meant also to illumine his mind. His mind was, in fact, to be turned into a light that would brighten all upon whom it, of design or even chance, fell.

XIX

Once the resolution was made, Munshi Ram—about this time acclaimed Mahatma—bent his giant physical, mental and spiritual energies upon the creation of the *gurukula*. With begging bowl in hand he proceeded from place to place. He had vowed that he would not recross his own threshold till he had secured a certain sum—a lakh of rupees, I seem to remember.

An Arya Samajist—Lala Aman Singh—who shared his faith, caught the enthusiasm from him. He gave him a tract of land that seemed to be just the site he needed. As Ganga *Mai* emerged from the mountain fastnesses in which she had descended from Vishnu's heaven upon earth, she swished past the point, cutting it off from Mayapura—magnet for pilgrims for ages

³ These are not necessarily my opinions.

⁴ Punjabis address an elder brother as *Bhaiya Ji*. Owing to the association between his and my family, I regarded Hans Raj in that light.

⁵ Literally conjunction—conjunction of night and day; figuratively prayer fitting for the hour.

now a suburb of Hardwar. Most of its acreage was under copse or forest. Kangri was the name it bore.

Clearances were soon made. Hutments were run up. The most impressive among the humble structures was the *havanshala* (fire-hall), for use at daybreak and sunset for the chanting in the Vedic father's style of the ages-old prayer.

Boys ranging from eight to twelve years of age took leave of their tearful mothers in homes scattered mostly over the Punjab and its eastern neighbour. From them they would be away for twelve or fifteen years. No reunion was to be expected during that long period.

In tow of their fathers, also unhappy at the proximate parting but proud to be in the vanguard of this revival, the boys were taken to the nearest railway station. Thence they were conveyed to the sacred stream, very shallow at this time of the year, and transported (I seem to recollect in bullock carts) across its bed, to this spot.

XX

Munshi Ram—now a full-fledged Mahatma—received these youngsters with ancient ceremony into his *kukh* and made them of his *kula*. Through Yama's (the god of death's) action, the *kula* was minus its woman member.

In 1891 he had lost his wife. That dear, gracious lady had, largely with silent sympathy, helped him to accomplish the transition from the kingdom of flesh to that of monogamic bliss. She also had been his loving, if sometimes somewhat bewildered, companion through his progress away from the world.

All the men that the Guru needed to start the institution accompanied him to Kangri, however. His magnetic personality had pulled them away from their homes.

Even if they had been permitted to bring their women-folks along with them, which I seem to remember, they were not, they preferred to come by themselves. At least most of them did.

Kangri, at that time, was hardly the place for women, especially women of the Punjab, with their strongly developed gregarious instincts. The Mahatma was eager, in any case, to keep the *ashrama* free from the distractions and allurements that boys graduating into men find in the other sex.

XXI

One of my life-long friends elected to follow the Mahatma to this "wilderness," soon after this experiment was begun. He was, strangely, a first cousin of the Principal Hans Raj. Rama Deva by name, he had been born and "raised" within a few miles of the place where I first learnt to call Munshi Ram "uncle"—Hoshiarpur.

When the time came for Rama Deva to enter college, there was for him but one institution in the province of the five rivers—in fact, in the whole world. This was the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College. He had progressed only about half way towards graduation when an emotional squall rose there.

Rama Deva had begun preaching to the students, even older than himself, doctrines that any person possessed of prudence would have left severely alone. These doctrines were dear to the heart of Mahatma Munshi Ram, as they had been to that of Guru Dutt⁶

upon whose pattern Rama Deva had been modelling himself since he entered his teens. In the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College they were, however, heresy.

In his partisan zeal it never occurred to him that his espousal of that cause was in the nature of a rebellion against his cousin-Principal. If it had occurred to him, it is not likely that he would have temporized. Temporization and he were utter strangers, especially at that stage of his life.

Highly emotional by nature, this activity carried on, as it were, in the very citadel of the opposite party, must have appeared to him to be very clever. It must have afforded him no small amount of fun.

The cousin who had to conduct the college, already large and rapidly growing, viewed matters from another angle. As soon as the news was carried to him he sent for Rama Deva and tried to impress him with the error of his ways.

The Principal found the pupil as obstinate as he was obtuse. To the lecture he read him, Rama Deva read him another.

Hans Raj was in no mood to listen to the younger man's concept of how the D.A.V. College should be run. So he laid down the law. There was to be no haranguing *a la* Munshi Ram. If one single word were uttered, Rama Deva, cousin though he was, would be flung out of the college.

Rama Deva quit on the spot. He might have gone to another college: but disgust at what he considered to be man's perversity took him away from Lahore. After a time he again began his studies. Through sheer will-power he subsequently got through the Baccalaureate of Arts examination. Studying pedagogics at the feet of Dr. Wright, a great trainer of teachers, he got a real insight into boy psychology and the technique of drawing out of the faculties of young persons.

He was teaching in Jullunder when Munshi Ram's *gurukul* propaganda shook him to the core of his being. He resolved to pack up and go to Kangri.

His kinsfolk tried to interfere. This, they declared, was madness. If he stayed on, he had a brilliant future ahead of him. If he went, he would lose both money and prestige.

Munshi Ram, they said, was only a visionary. He had never made a success of anything he had undertaken. At the *gurukul* he would fail, just as he had failed elsewhere.

Rama Deva was determined, however. Go he would. Go he did. He was to prove a great acquisition to the *Gurukul* at Kangri.

XXII

So did his life-mate—Shrimati Vidyadhari. Some years after she, as a child, had been conveyed to the home of her in-laws, her husband being only a boy and economically dependent upon his people, she entered the university that never fails to sharpen intelligence and develop character. This was the "U" of Social Revolution—bloodless, but nevertheless effective.

As her man, in choosing whom she had exercised no volition any more than he had done in electing her to be his spouse, became irresistibly drawn into the Arya Samaj movement, there were ructions in the "joint family", several members of which I personally

⁶ In early years he was spoken of as the *Vidyarthi* (student) and later as the *Pandit*. The latter title was in the nature of a

challenge, for it contravened the conception that only Brahmans could be so distinguished from the common herd. Death at an early age

knew and esteemed. A time came when she was told that she could continue to stay with her in-laws only if she desisted from having anything to do with that scamp she called "husband".

Refusing to knuckle under, Rama Deva had been suffered to go his own way. She stayed on.

This tension eased in time. Ere the *Gurukula* opened, she had taken her stand alongside her mate, affectionate and generous to a fault, mercurial in temperament and consumed by an intellectual craving that she, unfortunately, could not share.

XXIII

Among the teachers who flocked to the *Gurukula* there was a Kayastha—Mahesh Charan Sinha. He had studied philosophy (I believe), at one of the universities on the Pacific Coast of the United States of America.

He had just left Seattle, Washington when I

arrived there nearly thirty-nine years ago. Many Americans whom I met talked to me of him.

One day while travelling in a trolley (electric tram) car, they told me an American woman got it into her head that Sinha was trying to mesmerise her. At her hysterical appeal the conductor stopped the car and called an officer (constable), who arrested the Indian student. Produced in court, the young man was honourably discharged.

So high-minded was Sinha that he "buried himself in the jungle", as his kinsmen who had cherished hopes of his great worldly success said. In return for the work he did he received a pittance that, had he remained in the United States of America, would not have sufficed to keep his boots shined.

With such enthusiasm from a band of selfless workers, the *Gurukula* was to get a good start. It did.

(To be continued)

THE NEGOTIATIONS AND AFTER

Britain's Responsibility and Duty

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I

IN my three preceding articles¹ in this series, I have examined the position taken by Mr. Jinnah and Gandhiji during their negotiations with each other and afterwards, with special reference to the question of the two-nations theory as enunciated by the former. In this article I propose to consider Britain's responsibility and duty in relation to the Indian problem. It will appear from what follows why I have given priority to Britain's responsibility in the matter over its duty in relation to it.

II

COMMUNAL ELECTORATES

Towards the end of October last, the *London Economist* was reported² to have observed, among other things, in connexion with the break-down of the Gandhi-Jinnah negotiations:

"No doubt should be left where the British Government stands. The complaint is often made against the British policy that it has deliberately fostered Moslem separatism as an obstacle to Dominion Status. The charge is untrue, or at least unproven."

And at a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on October 26th, 1943, Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, stated in the course of his remarks on a paper³ read there by Professor R. Coupland:

"This country through its Government and Parliament had come to the conclusion that it was no longer for us to prescribe India's future Constitution, but to treat India as the Dominions were treated in the past

and leave her to decide for herself that most important part of her destiny, namely, the Constitution under which that destiny was to be carried forward in future years."

Previously to this, Mr. Amery had expressed more or less similar views on a number of occasions. For instance, he stated⁴ in the House of Commons on 28th April, 1942,—

"What, indeed, is needed, perhaps even more than new constitutional methods, is a new spirit of compromise. It is by making Indian statesmen conscious that the solution of the (Indian) problem is *their own undivided responsibility and not ours* that both the right methods and the right spirit are most likely to emerge."

Also, in the House of Commons on 1st August, 1941,

"It seems to me there is today a call on Indian statesmen for a new and different effort, for a new technique of consultation and conciliation with each other rather than that of addressing demands to this House or belabouring the Government of India. . . . Having deliberately, and I venture to say rightly and even necessarily, remitted to Indian hands the framing of India's future Constitution, His Majesty's Government wished, etc. . . ."

Again⁵ in the House of Commons on 22nd April, 1941,

"It is upon Indian statesmen, in the main, and not upon us, that the time-table of future constitutional progress depends . . . the time-table of India's constitutional advance depends far more upon Indian agreement than upon ourselves."

Or again⁶, in the House of Commons on 14th August, 1940, in connexion with the Declaration of 8th August, 1940,

¹ See *The Modern Review* of December (1944) and of January and February (1945).

² See *Reuter's Report*, dated at London 27th October, 1944, in *Hindustan Standard*, of 30th October, 1944 (Dak Edition).

³ The paper was entitled *Possibilities of an Indian Settlement*. See *The Asiatic Review* of January, 1944.

⁴ See Amery, *India and Freedom*, Oxford, p. 104.

⁵ The italics are mine.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 83-87.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 73-75.

"Subject to these matters (i.e., the obligations of His Majesty's Government referred to in the Declaration), the desire of His Majesty's Government is that the new Constitution of India should be devised by Indians for themselves. . . . Agreement, consent, is, indeed, the foundation of all free government, of all true democracy. . . . The responsibility for securing a speedy as well as a satisfactory result (in the matter of finally settling the new Indian Constitution) rests upon Indians themselves."

It may also be mentioned here that in his speech in the House of Commons on 28th July last Mr. Amery again laid stress on the necessity of an "agreed future Constitution" for India, and that, in the course of a letter⁹ to Gandhiji, dated at New Delhi, 15th August, 1944, Lord Wavell, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, too, laid emphasis on an "agreement in principle between Hindus and Muslims and all important elements" in India. "This agreement", Lord Wavell added, "is a matter for the Indians themselves. Until Indian leaders have come closer together than they are now, I doubt if I myself can do anything to help. Let me remind you too that minority problems are not easy. They are real and can be solved only by mutual compromise and tolerance."

What I have shown above typifies the attitude of the British Government as well as of the British public in general, towards the Indian problem. In a mood of self-complacency they declare that they have done their duty to India, and that it is now India's turn to solve its own political and communal problem. Apparently, this attitude is quite unexceptionable, and those who do not know the real facts of the case may rightly think that the Indians alone are responsible for the present situation in this country, and that it is, therefore, their duty to find a way out of it. But to those who know the facts, this attitude appears to be both funny and strange, if not lacking in political sincerity and honesty. A deliberately creates a highly complicated problem for B, C, D, etc., and then wants to retire from the scene of action in an unctuous mood that it has done its duty, leaving it to the latter to find a solution for the problem or to fight it out. What I really mean to say is that, although the Indian people have their own share of responsibility in the creation of the problem that has arisen in this country, the present situation in India primarily owes its origin to the policy which Britain has pursued in regard to it even during this century, not to go further back.¹⁰ And this policy—very natural to an existing ruling authority, particularly when it is alien to the country over which it rules—has often been a policy of deliberate exaggeration and exploitation of the differences between the two major communities of India, namely, the Hindus and the Muslims, and now also those between the so-called caste Hindus and that section of the Hindu community which is unfortunately labelled, often with a sinister motive, as the Depressed Classes or the Scheduled Castes. Perhaps one or two examples may be usefully cited here to establish my point.

9. In reply to Gandhiji's letter to the Viceroy, dated at Panchgani 27th July, 1944.

10. Those who want to study in detail the problem and history of communal representation in India should read K. B. Krishna, *The Problem of Minorities or Communal Representation in India* (George Allen & Unwin), and Asoka Mehta & Achyut Patwardhan, *The Communal Triangle in India* (Kishorens Allabhad).

In the first place, I may refer to the present vicious system of separate representation through communal electorates—the evil system which, as I have stated in another connexion,¹¹ has, ever since its introduction into this country, acted as a cancer in the body politic of India. It has intensified our differences, driven communities farther apart from one another by "stimulating communal interests", and has now led to that suicidal agitation—its inevitable culmination—by a section of our countrymen for the partition of our Motherland, on the basis of a so-called two-nations theory. What do we find to have been the origin¹² of this fatal institution? I first find in a letter¹³ from Mr. (afterwards Lord) Morley, Secretary of State for India, to Lord Minto, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, dated 6th June, 1906,—

"Everybody warns us that a new spirit is growing and spreading over India; Lawrence, Chiorl, Sidney Low, all sing the same song: 'You cannot go on governing in the same spirit; you have got to deal with the Congress party and Congress principles, whatever you may think of them: be sure that before long the Mahomedans will throw in their lot with Congressmen against you',¹⁴ and so forth and so forth."

And I next find in the *Indian Journal* (October 1st, 1906, Simla) of Mary, Countess of Minto,¹⁵—

"We are aware of the feeling of unrest that exists throughout India, and the dissatisfaction that prevails amongst people of all classes and creeds. . . . The younger generation (of Mahomedans) were wavering, inclined to throw in their lot with the advanced agitators of the Congress,¹⁶ and a howl went up that the loyal Mahomedans were not to be supported, and that the agitators were to obtain their demands through agitation. The Mahomedans decided,¹⁷ before taking action, that they would bring an Address before the Viceroy, mentioning their grievances."

Accordingly, about seventy Muslim delegates arrived at Simla from the different parts of India, and on the morning of the 1st of October, 1906, His Highness the Aga Khan read the Address in the Ball-room of the Viceregal Lodge, stating the "grievances and aspirations" of the Muslim community.¹⁸ "Minto then read his answer, which he had thought out most carefully." "It was impossible," writes Mary Minto, "to promise them (i.e., the Muslims) too much for fear of offending other communities, but as he spoke, in very clear distinct tones, murmurs of satisfaction passed through the audience."¹⁹

Among other things, Lord Minto said to the Muslim Deputation:²⁰—

"I am grateful to you for the opportunity you are

11 See my article entitled *Should our Legislatures be constituted on the Functional Basis?*, in *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Conference Number, 1943.

12 Also see Mehta and Patwardhan, *The Communal Triangle in India*, Chap. IV. and Gurmukh N. Singh, *Landmarks in Indian Constitutional and National Development*, Chap. XX.

13 See Morley, *Recollections*, Vol. II, pp. 173-74.

14 The italics are mine.

15 See her *India, Minto and Morley*, 1905-1910, MacMillan, pp. 45-48.

16 The italics are mine.

17 See in this connexion a very interesting revelation in Mehta and Patwardhan, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-63.

18 See Mary Minto, *India, Minto and Morley*, pp. 45-46.

19 See *ibid.*, pp. 45-46. The italics are mine.

20 *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

affording me of expressing my appreciation of the *just aims of the followers of Islam* and their determination to share in the political history of our Empire

"You go on to tell me that sincere as your belief is in the justice and fair dealing of your rulers, and unwilling as you are to embarrass them at the present moment, you cannot but be aware that 'recent events' have stirred up feelings amongst the younger generation of Mahommedans which might 'pass beyond the control of temperate counsel and sober guidance'

"Your address, as I understand it, is a claim that, in any system of representation . . . in which it is proposed to introduce or increase an electoral organization, the Mahommedan community should be represented as a community . . . and you *justly* claim that your position should be estimated not merely on your numerical strength but in respect to the political importance of your community and the service it has rendered to the Empire.

"*I am entirely in accord with you.* Please do not misunderstand me: I make no attempt to indicate by what means the representation of communities can be obtained, but I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be, that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement, regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent. . . .

"The Mahommedan community may rest assured that their political rights and interests as a community will be safeguarded by an administrative re-organization with which I am concerned"²¹

Thus in 1906 Lord Minto sowed the seed of separate representation through communal electorates. Duly watered and nurtured by interested parties, the seed has since grown into a very big tree with far-spreading branches, profusely producing the poisonous fruits which could be easily anticipated, and which are now so well-known to us all. And what was really behind the assurance given to the Muslim community by Lord Minto? Thanks to Mary, Countess of Minto, we know it now. "This evening"²², she²³ writes, "I have received the following letter from an official . . .

"I must send Your Excellency a line to say that a *very, very big thing* has happened to-day. A work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year. It is nothing less than the *pulling back* of sixty-two millions of people²⁴ from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition."²⁵

The letter was really prophetic. "It is," however, evident from it that it was not so much the love for the Muslim community of India as the consideration of Imperial interests that actuated Lord Minto to make the Declaration he did on 1st October, 1906. Even Mr. Morley first took more or less the same view about the Declaration as had been taken by the official referred to by the Countess of Minto. On receiving an account of the proceedings of the 1st of October, 1906, he wrote²⁶ to Lord Minto on 26th October, 1906:

"All that you tell me of your Mahommedans is full

of interest, and I only regret that I could not have moved about unseen at your garden party."²⁷ The whole thing has been as good as it could be, and it stamps your position and personal authority decisively. Among other good effects of your deliverance²⁸ is this, that it has completely deranged the plans and tactics of the critical faction here, that is to say it has prevented them from any longer representing the Indian Government as the ordinary case of a bureaucracy *versus* the people. I hope that even my stoutest Radical friends will now see that the problem is not quite so simple as this."

It may, however, be stated here to the credit of Lord Morley that he was originally not in favour of the principle of communal representation of Mahommedans through any *special* or *separate* electorates. And he actually suggested to the Government of India a plan of joint electorates with proportional reservation of seats, operating through the machinery of Electoral Colleges.²⁹ But pressure from Simla and Calcutta and from some other quarters, proved too strong for Whitehall, and he ultimately yielded to it. The result was that Electoral Regulations³⁰ framed under the Indian Councils Act, 1909, provided for the separate representation of Mahommedans through a system of special electorates. Lord Morley apparently did not feel very happy over it; otherwise he would not have written the following lines to Lord Minto on December 6th, 1909.³¹

"I won't follow you again into our Mahometan dispute. Only I respectfully remind you once more that it was *your* early speech³² about their extra claims that first started the M. hare. I am convinced my decision³³ was best."

27 On the afternoon of 1st October, 1906, "a tea-party was given for the Deputation in the garden of Viceregal Lodge." *Ibid.*, p. 47.

28 *I.e.*, Lord Minto's Declaration before the Muslim Deputation on 1st October, 1906.

29 See the Dispatch from the Secretary of State (Lord Morley) to the Government of India, dated at London 27th November, 1908; para 12.—P. Mukherji, *Indian Constitutional Documents*, Vol. 1, pp. 314-15. Clarifying his ideas in this connexion in the House of Lords Lord Morley said on 23rd February, 1909:

"We suggested to the Government of India a certain plan. . . . It was the plan of a mixed or composite electoral college, in which Mahomedans and Hindus should pool their votes, so to say. . . . to the best of my belief, under any construction the plan of Hindus and Mahomedans voting together in a mixed and composite electorate would have secured to the Mahomedan electors, wherever they were so minded, the chance of returning their own representatives in their due proportion. The political idea at the bottom of that recommendation which has found so little favour was that such composite action would bring the two great communities more closely together and this idea of promoting harmony was held by men of very high Indian authority and experience who were among my advisers at the India Office. But the Mahomedans protested that the Hindus would elect a pro-Hindu upon it . . . the Government of India doubted whether our plan would work, and we have abandoned it. I do not think it was a bad plan. . . ." See Keith, *Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy*, Vol. II, 1858-1921, pp. 91-92.

It is really very unfortunate that Lord Morley showed this weakness even though he was convinced that his plan was not a bad plan.

30 It appears that Lord Morley had to exercise his casting-vote to get these Regulations through his Council. See Morley, *Recollections*, Vol. II, pp. 316-17. (Under the Indian Councils Act, 1909, the Electoral Regulations were to be made by the Governor-General of India in Council, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State in Council).

31 See Morley, *Recollections*, Vol. II, p. 325.

32 Obviously it refers to Lord Minto's Declaration of 1st October, 1906.

33 *I.e.*, his earlier view referred to above.

21 The italics in this quotation are mine.

22 *I.e.*, the evening of 1st October, 1906, the day on which Lord Minto made the Declaration before the Muslim Deputation.

23 See her *India, Minto and Morley*, pp. 47-48.

24 *I.e.*, the Muslims of India. Their number at that time was presumably sixty-two millions. See *ibid.*, p. 45.

25 The italics in this paragraph are mine.

26 See *ibid.*, p. 48.

In 1917-18 Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, and Lord Chelmsford, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, re-examined³⁴ the question of communal electorates in the light of their new policy, and also because they had been pressed to extend the system of communal electorates in a variety of directions. Referring, in this connexion, to the Minto Declaration of 1906, they observed³⁵ that it was probable that "the far-reaching consequences of this decision and the difficulties which it would create at a later stage" had not been "fully foreseen". They could not, regard being had to their position, use a stronger language of condemnation of the Declaration. And with regard to the general question of communal electorates, they first held that such electorates were "opposed to the teaching of history." "We conclude unhesitatingly that the history of self-government among the nations who developed it, and spread it through the world, is decisively against the admission by the State of any divided allegiance; against the State's arranging its members in any way which encourages them to think of themselves primarily as citizens of any smaller unit than itself."

Secondly, they observed that communal electorates would perpetuate class divisions. "India generally has not yet acquired the citizen spirit, and if we are really to lead her to self-government we must do all that we possibly can to call it forth in her people. Division by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organized against each other, and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citizens; and it is difficult to see how the change from this system to national representation is ever to come. The British Government is often accused of dividing men in order to govern them. But if it unnecessarily divides them at the very moment when it professes to start them on the road to governing themselves it will find it difficult to meet the charge of being hypocritical or short-sighted."³⁶

Thirdly, they remarked that the communal system would stereotype existing relations. "A minority which is given special representation owing to its weak and backward state is positively encouraged to settle down into a feeling of satisfied security." "On the other hand," the stronger majority "will be tempted to feel that they have done all they need do for their weaker fellow-countrymen, and that they are free to use their power for their own purposes. The give-and-take which is the essence of political life is lacking."

Finally, they stated: "We regard any system of communal electorates, therefore, as a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing principle."³⁷

These are very weighty arguments, effectively expressed, against any system of communal electorates. Yet Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford assented "to the maintenance of separate representation for Muhammadans," as they did not dare to go back on "settled facts." Any attempt to do so, they said, "would rouse a storm of bitter protest (from the Mahommedans), and put a severe strain on the loyalty of a community which" had "behaved with conspicuous loyalty during a period of very great difficulty, and which" they knew

"to be feeling no small anxiety for its own welfare under a system of popular government." "How can we say to them" (i.e., the Mahommedans), they continued, "that we regard the decision of 1909 as mistaken, that its retention is incompatible with progress towards responsible government, that its reversal will eventually be to their benefit; and that for these reasons we have decided to go back on it? Much as we regret the necessity, we are convinced that so far as the Mahommedans at all events are concerned the present system must be maintained until conditions alter, even at the price of slower progress towards the realization of a common citizenship."³⁸ Thus principle was sacrificed to expediency. *Politics* had led to the Minto Declaration of 1906; *Politics*, again, determined the maintenance of the system of communal electorates in 1917-18.³⁹ I really feel tempted to quote here a saying of Joseph Mazzini:⁴⁰ "To be mistaken is a misfortune to be pitied; but to know the truth and not to conform one's actions to it is a crime which Heaven and Earth condemn."

Concession granted and renewed to the Mahommedans, had, by force of logic, to be gradually extended to other communities in India. "We have been pressed," write Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford,⁴¹ "to extend the concession to other communities. . . . Any general extension of the communal system, however, would only encourage still further demands, and would in our deliberate opinion be fatal to that development of representation upon a national basis on which alone a system of responsible government can possibly be rooted. At the same time, we feel that there is one community from whom it is inexpedient to withhold the concession. The Sikhs in the Punjab are a distinct and important people; they supply a gallant and valuable element to the Indian Army; but they are everywhere in a minority, and experience has shown that they go virtually unrepresented. To the Sikhs, therefore, and to them alone, we propose to extend the system already adopted in the case of Mahommedans."⁴² Again, principle was sacrificed to political expediency. Lord Chelmsford was perhaps not very happy over all this. In the course of a speech in the Indian Legislative

38 *Ibid.*, para 231.

39 It may be argued against this position that under the Congress-League scheme of December, 1916, the Indian National Congress was a party to a compromise which provided for special electorates for Mahommedans. The Congress certainly committed a blunder in agreeing to the principle of communal electorates even though it restricted them to the Mahommedans alone. Presumably, it could not prevail against the baneful consequences of the Declaration of 1906 on the Politics of this country. But that does not justify the action of those who, as Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford said, were leading the people of India to self-government, in starting them on the wrong road to governing themselves. Moreover, did Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford follow the Congress-League scheme in many other respects? We all know that they did not—and in some cases very rightly. There was, therefore, no point in attaching any special importance, as they appear to have done in para 231 of their *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*, to the particular action of the Congress, namely, its assent to special electorates for Mahommedans, when such electorates were considered by them "as a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing principle". They should have, therefore, recommended what they themselves thought would soon conduce to "the realization of a common citizenship" in India.

40 See his *Duties of Man and Other Essays*, Everyman's Library, p. 7.

41 *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*, 1918, para 232.

42 The italics in this quotation are mine.

34 See *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*, 1918, paras 227-232.

35 *Ibid.*, para 75.

36 The italics are mine.

37 See *Ibid.*, para 231.

Council on 4th September, 1918, he observed, in reference to the recommendations, on the vexed question of communal representation, made by Mr. Montagu and himself in their *Joint Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*:

"We wished indeed to make it clear that, in our opinion, communal electorates were to be deprecated for the reasons set out in our report. But it was in the main to the method of securing communal representation by communal electorates that we took exception, and not to communal representation itself . . . I am most anxious that the fullest representation should be secured to the various classes and communities in India; but I am frankly doubtful myself whether the best method for securing that representation is through a system of separate electorates."⁴³

Nevertheless, the Franchise Committee to which the whole question of the proper method of the representation of minorities had been referred, and over which Lord Southborough had presided, went a step further, and recommended—or rather had to recommend—in its Report, dated 22nd February, 1919, the extension of the system of communal electorates to Indian Christians in Madras, Anglo-Indians in Madras and Bengal, and to Europeans in Madras, Bengal, Bombay, the United Provinces, and in Bihar and Orissa. In recommending, however, communal representation for these and other communities,⁴⁴ the Committee expressed the hope—a very pious hope in our view—that it would "be possible at no very distant date to merge all communities into one general electorate." And in the Fifth Despatch⁴⁵ to the Secretary of State, dated 23rd April, 1919, the Government of India stated: that it felt "the objections of principle to the communal system as strongly as the authors⁴⁶ of the reforms Report," but that India was not prepared to take the first steps forward towards responsible government upon any other road. Under the then existing conditions it could, therefore, see no ground on which it could question the recommendations of the Franchise Committee regarding the representation of minorities. But it expressed the same hope in regard to the future of the communal system as the Committee had done before.

As a consequence of all these, provision was made in the Electoral Rules framed under the *Government of India Act*, for the separate representation of Mahomedans, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, and Sikhs through their respective communal electorates.

It may be noted here that, instead of being abolished or even modified as hoped for by the Franchise Committee and the Government of India, the system of communal electorates was confirmed, and even extended in several directions till then unaffected, by the Communal Decision of His Majesty's Government, dated at London 4th August, 1932, upon which the electoral provisions⁴⁷ under the Government of India Act, 1935, now in force, have been practically based except in regard to one matter.⁴⁸ Even an attempt was seriously made by His Majesty's Government to drive

a wedge through the Hindu community itself and to split it into two sections—the so-called 'Depressed Classes' and the rest of the Hindu community. Paragraph 9 of the Statement setting forth the said Communal Decision, provided for the assignment of a number of special seats to the Depressed Classes in several provinces. These seats were to be "filled by election from special constituencies in which only members of the 'depressed classes' electorally qualified" would be entitled to vote. Fortunately, this attempt to divide the Hindu Community was to some extent frustrated by what is known as "the Poona Agreement between the Caste Hindu and Depressed Class Leaders." I may add that the said Communal Decision and the Electoral Provisions based thereon, have introduced a new category of constituencies, namely, "Backward areas and Tribes," and that, thus, the principle of separatism has been extended in various directions, poisoning the whole political atmosphere of this country.

Before I leave this subject of communal electorates, I should like to quote the following extract from an interesting discussion⁴⁹ in which Lord Lytton,⁵⁰ Mr. Wickham Steed,⁵¹ Mr. Kingsley Martin,⁵² and Sir Atul Chatterjee⁵³ took part.

"Lytton—I would like to mention one subject. . . It's the question of where religion and politics become indistinguishable.

"It was Lord Willingdon's policy in Madras to establish Governments on a definitely religious community basis between Brahmin and non-Brahmin; and in the first reformed Assemblies,⁵⁴ the parties in Madras were Brahmin and non-Brahmin."

Martin—"This point, I suppose, being that caste is a matter of birth?"

Lytton—"Yes. That was the point I took up with Lord Willingdon. I objected rather strongly to his encouragement of the division of parties which depended upon the accident of birth and could never be altered. A man is born a Brahmin or a non-Brahmin and nothing can change his caste. . . For the same reason I gave Lord Willingdon I have often objected to communal franchise because in my view it makes for intolerance, since a man who is elected in a Muslim constituency is judged by whether or not he's a good Muslim. If he's elected in a mixed community on mixed franchise he's judged by whether he is equally considerate of the interests of Hindus and Muslims, and that tends in the course of time to create political toleration."

Steed—"In other words, instead of being a mandator he becomes a trustee?"

Lytton—"Yes, and although I have said that there is in India great religious toleration there is also great political intolerance."

Steed—"Is that because politics involves a struggle for power?"

Lytton—"Yes, and the best way of getting rid of that,

⁴⁹ See *India and the Four Freedoms* (B. B. C. pamphlets No. 1), Oxford, pp. 86-87.

⁵⁰ Under-Secretary of State for India (1920-22), Governor of Bengal (1922-27), and the Acting Viceroy of India in 1925.

⁵¹ Sometime Editor of *The Times*, London.

⁵² Editor of *The New Statesman and Nation*.

⁵³ I. C. S. (retired). After 20 years' varied service and experience, he "represented the Government of India in different capacities at Washington (1919), Geneva (1921), London (1925-31) and Ottawa (1932)."

⁵⁴ Obviously, under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.

⁴³ The italics in this quotation are mine.

⁴⁴ I.e., the Muslims and the Sikhs.

⁴⁵ Para 18.

⁴⁶ I.e., Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford.

⁴⁷ See the Fifth and the Sixth Schedule to the Government of India Act, 1935.

⁴⁸ Affecting the so-called Depressed classes.

I thought, was that a man should represent his constituents, whether they were Hindus or Muslims, and study their political interests regardless of their religious faith. . . ."

Martin—" . . . I have always believed that Morley's⁵⁵ introduction of the communal franchise caused

⁵⁵ As shown before, Lord Minto was more to blame than Lord Morley for the introduction of communal electorates into India. The latter, however, showed weakness in yielding to the former, and not sticking to his own view on the question. If he had done so, the history of India would have been different to-day.

a great deal of trouble. It was a disastrous mistake, in my view."

Chatterjee—"If I may say so, I entirely agree with Lord Lytton's analysis of the effects of a system of communal electorates."

Unfortunately, the "disastrous mistake", to quote the words of Mr. Kingsley Martin, was persisted in by Lord Morley's successors in office. As a consequence, the communal franchise has not only made for intolerance in India, but is also primarily responsible for the ugly situation that has arisen in this country today. However, I shall further deal with this point later on.

(To be continued)

REFLECTIONS ON RECENT ART-EXHIBITIONS

By "KAUNDINYA"

THERE was a time in the history of Indian culture when the Fine Arts in all their phases formed a vital and essential part of life, particularly through the rites and practices of religion, very much in the same way as operating in the life of the Middle Ages in Europe. During the nineteenth century the decay of religious beliefs and the destruction of the old social structure have divorced Art from Life, and the artists have been thrown out of employment and lost their independent status, having to compete with other secular trades and professions. During the last few years various new movements in Art have cropped up in several parts of India, which appear to have brought together the artist and his appreciative public in somewhat auspicious relationship which may lead to a more wider recognition of the value of art in the practical and non-practical business of life and help to restore the independent status of the artist in the structure of society. The conditions brought about by War and Famine appear to have roused in the hearts of so-called uncultured and uneducated people a conscience for the values of art as a spiritual and dynamic force which does not end with the termination of life and that messages of beauty do not stop short with the given span of any individual life but are transmitted across the shadows of death, which punctuates, as it were, the successive acts of a human drama on its way to its inevitable climax of its supreme spiritual fulfilment—the human life lost and fulfilled in the divine. For, is not beauty a transcendental attribute—a property of being—one of the divine attributes? As St. Thomas Aquinas has pointed out: "The being of all things *derives* from the Divine Beauty." In that respect, then, the artist imitates God. Who created the world by communicating to it the likeness of His beauty. This element of Divinity in works of Beauty is very happily explained by Jacques Maritain who believes that the great artist is sure to put himself really into his work and is sure to stamp it with his own likeness and take justified pride in the fact that "*not all of me will die.*" In this permanent and spiritual quality Art transcends the baser hungers in life. As Andre Gide has remarked: "The artist is asked in only *after* dinner. His task is to provide not food but spiritual intoxication." In its insistence on the sense of proportions, on the sense of values, on the sense of harmony and rhythm, Art provides the essential

standards for the conduct of life, thus justifying Renan's assertion that Morality is "a branch of Aesthetics." Oscar Wilde had remarked pretty much in the same sense but with greater dignity of expression: "The highest Art rejects the burden of the human spirit."

The above reflections are suggested by visits paid to a series of Exhibitions of Pictures held in Calcutta during January and February last. The exhibits offered in these shows somehow avoided the abnormalities of War—so vividly rendered in the War Pictures shown in several shows arranged by the Services Art Club. It is claimed by a class of critics that peculiar stimulation begets peculiar inspiration, so that beneath the impact of war, the artist produces works possessing technical



Mother
By S. Sen

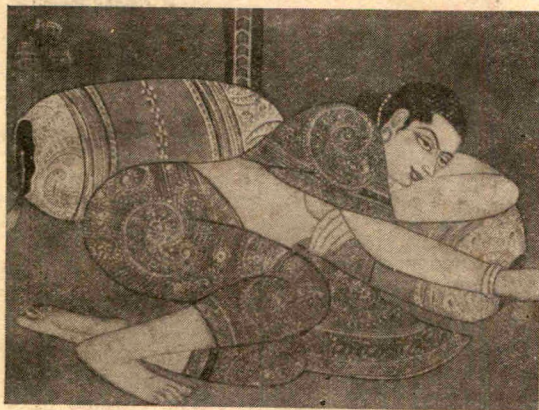
merit greater than any which he showed in time of peace. To judge by the shows in Calcutta, Indian artists, and at least a group of Western artists working in India, (there were several distinguished works by Brunners and others) do not appear as a rule to have been affected, at least, mentally and aesthetically by war conditions with the exception of a small group of artists (Zainul Abedin, Hassan and others) concentrating on

the lurid scenes created by Famine in Bengal. Many and varied subjects, gay, picturesque, contemplative and sombre, mythical and mythological, realistic and naturalistic were assembled in the Exhibition of Indian Academy of Art with a formidable number of about



Sakuntala
By S. Ghose

550 items very badly hung and badly exhibited. There were not very many masterpieces but this is the only show which claims to be representative of artists from all parts of India, east, west and north or south, although in this year's show many of the well-known artists were not represented owing to difficulty of transport. The authorities of the Academy have promised to make their next the most representative Exhibition to which all artists of repute are being asked to contribute. The section of Indian painting (there are Indian artists some



Reclining Woman
By Bunshilal

of whom speak in the Western language while some prefer the vernacular of Indian Art) was a very interesting and stimulating section, full of interesting items—many contributed by new artists (Indra Dugar, Bansilal, Ram Gopal Ghose, S. Bhowmik, Samar Ghose), some-

what eclipsing and replacing the recent shows of the Indian Society of Art which at one time specialized Indian pictures in Indian style. The enormous sales of pictures at this year's Academy show have revealed a very satisfying and significant fact that there is a growing circle of persons interested in pictures, and hungering for works of art and ready to pay reasonable prices to patronize the works of artists. This itself is a phenomenon of valuable consequences on the social and political economy of Art. The two other exhibitions—the one-man show of Mr. Kurt Larisch, and Mr. Jamini Roy—stood on a different footing from the Academy show which they excelled and rebuked in the quality of showmanship with excellent taste in arrangement and in lighting. Mr. Larisch is the local representative and interpreter of the modernistic doctrines in Art—offering a new approach to form and a search for new forms of expressions—which abjure the academic literal accuracy of naturalistic presentation. Jamini Roy clings slavishly to the forms and formulas of the old *pat*-painters of Bengal, with their folk-



Natir Puja
By Tara Prosad

mentality and folk-art technique, limited to two or three grades of primary colours and stereotyped patterns and conventional curves to spell out human or sub-human figures with rounded shoulders and wasp-waisted forms. These major exhibitions were interspersed with a number of smaller but by no means less significant shows of Gopal Ghose and Nirode Mazumdar sponsored by Subho Tagore, the good angel of all struggling artists, and by the exhibition of the works of Chaitanya Dev Chatterjee (sponsored by the Indian Society of Art and supported by the Swamis of the Ramakrishna Institute, which richly deserve an All-India appreciation. Art abjures and abolishes communal differences and pacifies political strifes. For, in the company of artists, as "in the company of saints, all sense of otherness departs: there is no stranger, there is no enemy, there is a feeling of oneness with all." —(Guru Nanak).

THOMAS HARDY

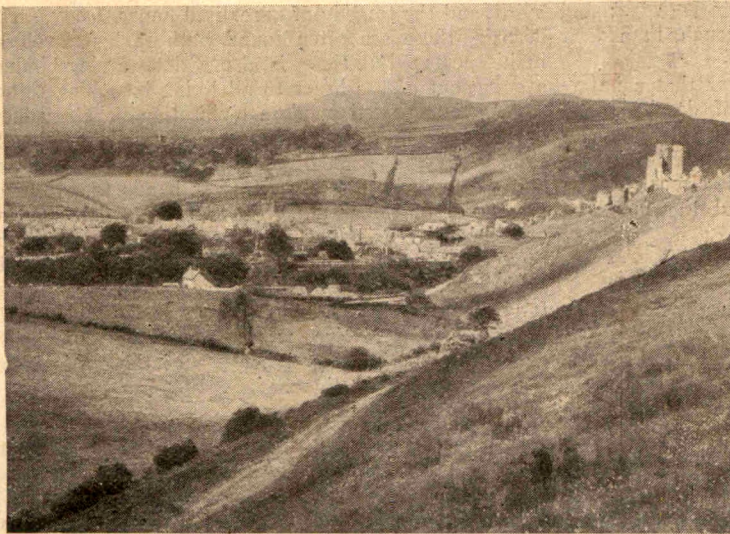
By AUGUSTUS MUIR

BECAUSE Thomas Hardy lived and worked right on into novels; this is the period when they were written. the present century and the uneasy days of peace that Nearly half a century will soon have passed since he separated the two great European wars, one is apt to wrote the last of them, *Jude the Obscure*, and turned ignore the atmosphere of the time when his own his creative energy to poetry. In those great novels,

therefore, we must not look for a modern technique. Some of his workmanship may even seem a little heavy-handed in detail; but the labour of an honest craftsman went into them; and they stand four-square and enduring, like an old parish church in the English countryside.

It was indeed as an architect, with a particular interest in churches, that Thomas Hardy began life; and the publication of his first novel at the age of 31 opened the gate to a new way of livelihood. His second book, *Under the Greenwood Tree*, helped to establish him. This realistic idyll of country life (which Hardy himself described as "a rural painting of the Dutch school") is probably the best introduction to his novels, and its scenery is the countryside that forms the background of all his greatest work.

That countryside was Wessex. It was an ancient kingdom of which Shakespeare's *Lear* was the legendary



A Wessex tower, surrounded by the bare, open Downland so described in Hardy's work

thoughts and artistic impulses were developing. The ebb and flow of contemporary thought and events had an influence on him that was probably a good deal less than that exerted on many other writers of the front rank; but to appreciate the essential qualities of his art, and to place it in a correct perspective, we must remember that he was born only two or three years after Queen Victoria came to the throne, and that those who are now figures of the remote past were the people he read about when he opened his morning newspaper.

Dickens and Thackeray were in their hey-day when he was a young man; he was 27 when Anthony Trollope's *Last Chronicle of Barset* appeared; 36 when George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda* came from the press; and among the poets, Tennyson and Browning and Swinburne were busily at work. Swinburne, indeed, was only three years older than Hardy; and Robert Louis Stevenson was his junior by 10 years.

Having thus grouped some of his own contemporaries around him, and having got the man himself into a true focus, we must remember something else if we wish to derive the fullest enjoyment from his



A typical Wessex village, with old thatched cottages in a woodland setting

king, and extending over the central counties on the southern English coast. Hardy was born and he died in the very heart of that countryside; and through Admiral Sir Thomas Hardy, Nelson's flag captain, he

could trace his descent back to a Thomas Hardy of Dorset in the sixteenth century: so his roots were deep in Wessex soil.

Excepting the pleasant holiday towns on the coast, this part of England has never been widely popular amongst tourists. There is indeed little to catch the eye of a sightseer—unless he appreciates the charm to be found in gentle hills, quiet dales, green woods, and pellucid streams. Today, Wessex is a well-cultivated land; the farmers there have answered the call to grow more food, and thus save cargo-space in convoys; and more Wessex acres are under the plough than ever before.

But when Thomas Hardy roved over that countryside as a boy, there were stretches of desolate land which gripped his imagination with a power that never relaxed till the end of his days. In the opening chapter of *The Return of the Native* he describes Egdon Heath, so lonely and so timeless; and the mood of such places dominated all his work.



Thomas Hardy

But there is something timeless also about his characters. One feels that they might have lived in any century; theirs was the heritage of folk-lore, superstition, and ballads handed down from generation to generation. The shadows of an older world seem to fall across Thomas Hardy's pages: strange influences bear upon the destiny of his people; and they are born, they labour, love, suffer, and die, in a rhythm that has all the inevitability of the slow coming and going of the seasons.

Sometimes, indeed, the ironic laughter of the gods can be heard in faint but haunting echoes: this was but

Hardy's personal reaction to man's impotence to comprehend the ways of nature. Such laughter can be heard in the tragic *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, his most widely read book, in *The Woodlanders*, and in the rather harrowing *Jude the Obscure*, which Hardy himself considered to be his greatest novel.

In "*Tess*," he depicted a woman who was pure and sweet at heart, but who perished in the end, her lovely qualities wasted by the stupidity of the world; and in "*Jude*," the novelist depicts the war between flesh and spirit, and the tragedy of unrealised hopes. Irony, sorrow, despair—these are often found both in his novels and in his poems. But there is also a deep loving-kindness, a going out of the heart to all living breathing things.

As time passed, modern civilisation penetrated ever deeper into Wessex; and Thomas Hardy noted the slow changes that it brought. In his novels, the men and women who stretch out their hands to welcome a new order of things are often the ones who suffer the most bitterly—as if nature were taking vengeance upon those who deviate from the ancient paths. The beautiful Bathsheba, in *Far From the Madding Crowd*, longed for brilliant action and high romance; Eustacia, in *The Return of the Native*, was eager for life of thrilling event: and both suffered because of the restless spirit that burned within them.

But most of Thomas Hardy's country folk have the plodding step and deliberate tongue of men who have time in plenty for the tasks before them. Birth and death, with all the joy and sorrow that lie between, do not call forth ecstatic words from these Wessex people: they accept life as they accept the closing down of winter upon their land and the breaking of the frosts under a spring sun.

Whatever changes the last half century may have brought to the face of that land, the hearts and minds of the country people have changed little. Hardy himself—and he was a shrewd observer—said he thought that modern Wessex folk were even more like some of his characters than the generation that had gone before. That staunch and sturdy peasantry, which forms a nation's backbone, has all the old qualities bred by the centuries—and by that invisible but potent thing which is called tradition.

In the *Dynasts*, one of the great epics in English literature, Hardy shows how these simple folk talked and went about their business under the menace of invasion, in much the same way as they did for many long months at the beginning of the present war. The epic covers 10 years, and is accepted as Hardy's masterpiece, but unfortunately too many readers give it no more than a reverential bow and pass on. It is a long work, but it is a deep well of wisdom and insight and noble poetry.

"No Englishman since Wordsworth has heard the still sad music of humanity with so fine an ear as Thomas Hardy." Thus wrote the late Henry W. Nevinnson, himself a great Englishman. And he added these words about his friend: "One of the most keenly imaginative, creative, humorous, and profoundly sympathetic natures who have added a lasting glory to English literature."



WAR BRINGS NEW LIFE TO BRITISH ART

By KENNETH MONKMAN

WHEN this war began the valuable pictures from Britain's art galleries were taken and hidden in the country-side, safe from bombs.

So instead of turning their backs on the war, the artists of Britain were stimulated, and began to paint. They painted the flames, the shattered ruins, the little

bird-like machines twisting and turning high in the blue sky, the people sprawled in long rows in air-raid shelters, the women building tanks and bombers in factories; they painted these and a hundred such subjects, not only as they saw them, but as they *felt* them. That is where the artist beats the camera.

Many of the younger artists were called into the fighting forces, and some joined the fire brigades and air-raid services. But they still painted whenever they got the chance. Others, the ones who had already made a name, were employed by the Government as official war artists; some were sent to sea in battleships, some to aerodromes, some abroad to France or the Middle East.

One of the finest paintings, done by an artist called Charles Oundall, shows the evacuation from Dunkirk beaches. No camera could have equalled the drama of this wide panorama of sand dotted with

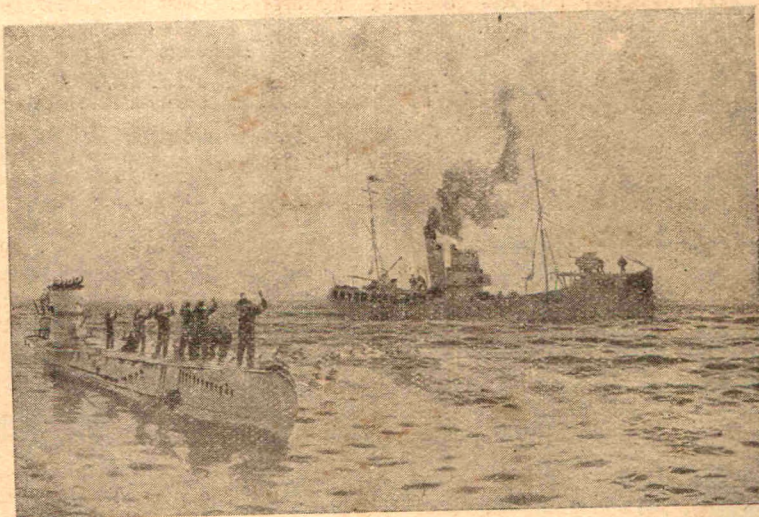


"Burners" at work on the steel plates of a ship. This is one of Stanley Spencer's war pictures as a series entitled "Ship-building on the Clyde"

Many people thought that living artists would act on the same principle; would turn their backs on the war, so to speak, and go on painting the peaceful subjects that artists have painted for centuries—flowers, faces, animals, country scenes, and the like.

But war has been different from any in our history. Not only have the weapons been swifter and more terrible, but all of us have been on the battlefield. We have all tasted smoke and fire. We have all seen the good things that war produces, too: the incredible courage of quite ordinary men and women, the endurance, the unselfishness, and the high sense of comradeship found among people who suffer a common misfortune.

No one was more closely aware of these new experiences than the artists. That is what artists are for to see things and feel them more clearly than ordinary people, and then to put them down in paint so that ordinary people can share the same clear vision and feelings.



The surrender of a "U" boat to a British Trawler This picture is painted by Charles Pears, one of Britain's leading marine artists

vivid bursting bombs, wrecked aircraft, and thousands of khaki figures waiting their turn to embark for England.

Another unforgettable painting is "The Dead Sea",

by Paul Nash. The artist got the idea when he came across a big dump of wrecked enemy bombers shot down in the summer of 1940. He saw the mass of



This is one of the war pictures by Dame Laura Knight, R.A., of two officers of the Women's Auxiliary Air Force

twisted and painted metal as an ocean of angry black and silver waves; and that is how he painted them—as a sea of enemy bombers breaking against the impregnable coasts of Britain.

Another artist, John Armstrong, symbolised his faith in the future even when the bombing was at its worst by painting a large serene-looking tulip growing against a background of devastation.

These are only a few paintings out of many thousands that have come from British artists during the war. Not all these thousands are good pictures by any means. But the fact that they were turned out at all is very significant. They were painted, every one of them, because the artist felt deeply enough about something to want to tell other people about it with paint and canvas—even though paint and canvas are often as difficult to obtain in wartime as are the opportunities for sitting down and using them.

And what of the public, the people with whom the artist wants to share his experience? Undoubtedly there has been a big increase since the war in the number of people who enjoy looking at paintings. Though the London National Gallery is without its world-famous masterpieces, there is always an exhibition of the new war pictures instead, and crowds throng to see them. Four similar exhibitions have been touring Britain, and others have been sent to America, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

Many of these war pictures have also been published in a series of booklets which have enjoyed a wide sale. Others are available as coloured postcards.

The growing interest in art was still further emphasised early this year when the National Gallery took the risk of staging an exhibition of French Impressionist masterpieces. It was packed throughout the weeks it was open.

All this is significant because it may well foreshadow a big revival of painting in Britain after the war. English painting has a quite distinctive charm of its own to offer to civilisation; and the fact that it now seems well set on the road to reaching another of its best periods is one of the very pleasant surprises of a war that has given us so many unpleasant ones.

THE LAND OF THE PANDAVAS

Jaunsar-Bawar

(EXCLUDED AREA 1935 ACT)

By A. V. THAKKAR,

General Secretary, All India Harijan Sevak Sangh, and President, Aboriginal Welfare Works

I could snatch four days from my routine office work of the Harijan Sevak Sangh and Kasturba Memorial Fund and spend them in a study tour of the condition of the hill-people residing in Jaunsar-Bawar, the northern subdivision of Dehra Dun district of the U.P. My guide, friend and philosopher, was Shri Dharma Dev Shastri, who has started for the last two years a mission of service to the people residing in the hilly region.

The area of the subdivision is comparatively small, a little over 400 square miles and also sparsely populated, less than 60,000 souls; but it is very interesting, both geographically as well as socially. The altitude begins with 3,000 feet at the bottom of the hills and goes up to 7,000 feet, where the Military Cantonment of Chakrota is situated, and some peaks rise up to nearly 10,000 feet. The river Jumna passes along the eastern boundary and crosses it on the south near Kalsi, an important

ancient town at the foot of the hills. It is here that one of the famous edicts of Emperor Asoka is found inscribed on a huge boulder of quartz near the bank of the Jumna. The inscription is yet in a preserved state, as the rock is very hard, having successfully stood the weather for over 2,200 years. A motorable well-tarred road winds up from Dehra Dun to Kalsi and to Chakrota, a distance of about 60 miles, having been built as early as the eighties of the last century.

THE PEOPLE

The people inhabiting this area of Jaunsar-Bawar are very ancient and have been touched little by the changes that have taken place in the constitution of the Hindu society and also by the Western civilization. Brahmins and Rajputs not only freely inter-dine with each other, but also inter-marry without any reserve and freely take water from the Harijans except the very

lowest. Bonds of caste do not sit so tight upon them as on the Hindus in the plains, with whom they have little contact socially and economically. Brahmins do not put on the sacred thread as a rule. The people rarely migrate to the plains, much less do they mix with the Hindus of the plains of the same status as themselves.

Economically speaking they are very much self-sufficient and depend upon imported articles as little as possible. They use the timber of their forest in the make-up of their houses, the floors and the roofs being made of Deodar planks. The walls are built of stones which are so plentiful in the hills.

As the country is very hilly, level fields are rarely to be seen and they have to be carved out of the hill-sides, gentle or steep, at a heavy expenditure of time and labour. The fields thus prepared are sometimes too steep for working the plough drawn by bullocks and therefore ploughing is often done by hand. One finds fields in terraces, rising one above the other on the hill sides and the terraces are supported by dry walls 4 to 10 feet high. Rarely you will find a small table-land on the top of a hill, and that too will be very limited in area. Maize, wheat, rice, ginger and turmeric and even poppy are grown. Now-a-days potatoes are grown to a large extent and exported to the plains.

POLYANDRY AND COMMON WIVES

The population here consists mostly of Brahmins, Rajputs, Bajgis and Koltas, the last two being Harijan castes. The former consider themselves to be the descendants of Pandavas and Kauravas and the hills are said to be full of temples dedicated to Pandavas. There are various legends connected with the times of the Mahabharata. The practice of polyandry is prevalent even at the present time and the people believe that it is economically beneficial for them. Though a few of the educated people have taken to monogamy, they have no objection in giving a daughter in marriage to all the brothers in one family. Just as in the case of a Hindu family where a man has two wives the children address both of them as mothers, the children in this area address all the 2 or 4 or 5 husbands of the mother as their fathers. Sometimes there is a large difference in age between the eldest and the youngest of the brothers who have a common wife, the child born of the eldest addresses the youngest brother of the family as his father, even though he may be younger than the first child. Besides the practice of having one wife between several brothers, there is also the practice of several brothers having 2 or 3 wives in common. The children have in such cases several fathers and several mothers all of whom they treat as equals socially speaking. The reason advanced in favour of this polyandry is that the family property is not divided in minute fragments, which it would be, if each brother took a wife and had his own family to maintain out of the scanty land they can cultivate. The cultivable land on the hills is very limited, and very little new land can be brought under cultivation and hence it is said that this system of polyandry restricts the families and is therefore preferable to monogamy.

Marrying of girls at a very young age is also very common. It is said that this had led to barrenness in women and hence a family consisting of several brothers with one wife has to take a second or third wife. Much of the agricultural work, except the hard labour of ploughing falls on women and hence the practice of taking more than one wife for a number of brothers is growing.

HOSPITAL FOR WOMEN

It is said that venereal diseases in syphilis, acute and chronic, extend to about 70 per cent of the people and if other reports can be believed, extend even to 90 per cent of the people. No medical facilities—Ayurvedic or Allopathic—exist in the hills, except in the military cantonment of Chakrota. The result is that syphilis has grown to an alarming extent and womankind is the greater sufferer. This has led to barrenness among them. A very great necessity therefore of this area is a hospital for women with a Lady Doctor-in-charge with a staff of itinerant midwives and *dais*. The mortality amongst women in confinement is said to be heavy and this can be prevented by anti-natal and post-natal clinics. It is the ambition of Shri Shastri's mission, called "Ashok Ashram" to establish a hospital for women somewhere in the hills, where women can take advantage of the same. He is in need of funds for the same and in search of an Indian Lady Doctor who will be prepared to reside in that unfrequented area at some sacrifice.

Illiteracy exists here to a very large extent, the number of District Board schools being negligible. It is said that the people require the services of their children for field work and would not spare them for the school. This is not a new argument, but it has to be met with by some propaganda in favour of literacy. Hindu missionaries can overcome this disinclination to literacy by some effort and residence in their midst.

SEMI-SLAVERY

The system of semi-slavery exists here by which the lower classes of Harijan called Koltas are bound down to Brahmin and Rajput families for small sums of money and often for whole life. Similar tribes of bondsmen are found in other hill parts of the country, in Bihar and even in the plains of Gujrat and Rajputana. It is high time that somebody took up this work of educating the Koltas and raised them to the full stature of a human being and made them respected citizens of India. At present they possess no land, have no vision outside their hills and their intellect is undeveloped. Even the great demand for labour in the war-time has not attracted them and they remain where they were, wedded to their masters for doing their agricultural toil and who feed them like their animals.

ASHOK ASHRAM

A few words about Shri Shastri's mission popularly known as *Ashok Ashram*. He has enlisted a few young men as teachers and Vaid and planted them in the hilly villages as missionaries among the simple folk of these unfrequented hills. Some of his workers who come from towns and are accustomed to town amenities run away after a few weeks' residence in hills. Even Christian missionaries are said to have failed in these hills. A band of young men and women determined to live in these hills and to bear the inclemencies of weather, with a passionate love for service for this ancient people, is required and badly required.

As already mentioned a Women's Medical Mission is the greatest necessity. Other reforms like the abolition of polyandry, of semi-slavery, of prevailing illiteracy and the uplift of womankind in general will follow in course of time. May the attention of the rich people, of the plains who frequent Dehra Dun and Mussoorie, situated in the same district, be attracted to this important problem, may I say, a most neglected problem of bettering the lot of these hill-men!

TEERAT SINGH AND THE KHASI REBELLION (1829-1833)

(Based on the original records preserved in the archives of the Government of India)

By PROF. REBATI MOHAN LAHIRI, M.A., B.L.

In the early decades of the 19th century, Assam was given over to confusion and disorder which led to the intervention of the Burmese in the affairs of Assam. Assam was virtually conquered by the Burmese in 1819. Soon the overbearing Court of Ava came in collision with the East India Company whose North-Eastern frontiers overhang the newly conquered Burmese territories. The British Government declared war against the Burmese in 1824 and expelled them from Assam in less than a year. By the treaty of Yandaboo concluded in 1826, the whole of the Brahmaputra valley passed into British hands.

The Assamese nobility whose ancestors had ruled the valley for more than six hundred years and had a proud history of their own, did not take quietly to the permanent occupation of their fair valley by the British forces. The British, who had declared on the eve of the Anglo-Burmese conflict that they had had no intention of annexing any part of the valley, preferred to stay as conquerors and even did not condescend to hand over the upper portion of the valley to one of the princes of Assam though strongly recommended to do so by their newly appointed Agent. The Bengal Government tried to soothe off the opposition and hatred of the disgruntled nobility by employing them in the reconstructed Judicial and Revenue Departments of Assam. But the Assamese nobility were not to be so easily reconciled with. Their intriguing brains were in action and the result was the outbreak of a series of insurrections and rebellions in which "all elements of the country including the hill-tribes combined to drive the English out of the valley." This interesting and eventful chapter of the history of Assam has been totally omitted by the historians like Gait and Mackenzie.

The first rebellion broke out towards the end of the year 1828 under the connivance of the Burmese authority and under the direct leadership of the ex-functionaries of Assam who set up one Gadhadhar, a Prince of the royal blood, as their King. The first rebellion was soon crushed. Undaunted, the nobility rose in rebellion again under the standard of a new pretender named Rupchand in 1830. The English were given no breathing time, troubles were also brewing in the west and the Khasis broke out in open rebellion towards the beginning of 1829. It was the most formidable and long-protracted rebellion and caused alarm and consternation and the whole of Assam was in a state of excitement. The Singpho incursion (which took place in 1830) and the second resistance of the Assamese nobility were easily beaten off, but the hardy and sturdy Khasis kept the fight going on in their mountain homes and fastnesses and the Brahmaputra valley saw the prospect of pacification only when their leader Teerat Singh made his submission towards the beginning of 1833. The Khasi rebellion testifies to the organising ability and freedom-loving spirit of the Khasis and Garrows who made a determined and persevering attempt to subvert the new regime. They had no resources in men and money; they fought under the most baffling circumstances against a highly superior and organised power yet they put up a heroic fight and produced leaders who extorted high praises even from their adversaries. Of the heroic figures

who dominated the Assamese history during these troublesome periods—Teerat Singh was the most noble and patriotic and his career reads almost like romance. Strangely enough this heroic hill chieftain has got scant recognition from the hands of the European historians who have treated him as an ordinary rebel—a savage and blood-thirsty barbarian.

To understand Teerat Singh and to form a real estimate of his exploits, we must know something of the Khasi people and their form of Government, because it is in the background of their national character and constitution that we should trace the true genesis and causes of their insurrection which though a failure was tinged with the halo of martyrdom.

Between the district of Jyanteah and the hills on the west occupied by the Garrows is a tract of mountainous territory seventy miles in length and more than fifty miles in breadth covering roughly an area of thirty-five hundred square miles inhabited by the Khasis, a bold and independent tribe. The Cossyas possess a superior type of civilisation than is generally found amongst other hill-tribes inhabiting the north-eastern region of India. When pitched against the English, they exhibited the same stubbornness, independence of character and the hatred of a foreign domination which generally characterise the mountaineers throughout the world. Their democratic constitution again gave additional stimulus to their freedom-loving spirit. There were as many as 30 little states in the Khasi hills before the advent of the English. The Chiefs of these states were in no sense territorial sovereigns with unlimited power. They were merely elected heads of village confederacies each having a council of his own whose advice they were bound to follow on all important matters. The Khasi nation as a whole presented the appearance of a congregation of little oligarchical republics—subject to no common superior. Matters of common interest were discussed by their assembly where every member was entitled to speak and vote. A representative of the British Government who was present on one such occasion was simply struck with wonder at the order, decorum and propriety with which the debate was conducted for several days and he openly admitted that he had not seen these surpassed in any European society. Democracy was the very breath of their nostrils. When that democracy was in danger—they were prepared for any sacrifice. Such was the country and the people with whom the Britishers came in contact and conflict.

On the acquisition of Lower Assam in 1824 the ingenious mind of Mr. Scott, the first British Agent in Assam, conceived the bold idea of establishing a direct communication between Assam and Sylhet through the Khasi hills. The bracing climate of the Khasi hills tempted him not a little. An agreement was entered into with Teerat Singh (1826)—the king of Nunklow, one of the confederating states, by which he not only placed his territory under the British protection, but also agreed to supply materials for the construction of a road running through his principality. The road was accordingly cleared and a Bungalow was constructed at Nunklow for the reception of invalid soldiers. When

the British soldiers began to pass through the road displaying grandeur and might of the British Raj, the Khasis began to realise the impolicy of their action and they began to look indignantly at the fetters they had forged with their own hands. Teerat Singh was evidently rueing the consequences of his impolitic act and was ready to join any scheme "that was aimed at to drive away the lowland strangers from his territory." And a plot was hatched under the leadership of Barmannick, the chief of Moleem and all hill chiefs combined to effect the expulsion of the English from the hills.

Mr. Scott got the scent of the impending danger and hurried towards Cherapunjee towards the end of March 1829. His object was to chastise Burramanik. But the hill chiefs, contrary to all expectations, stole a march over him. They had a ready-made plan. On 5th May 1829 a party of Khasis perpetrated "what is known in history as the Nunklow Massacre" in which one invalid European and a number of Bengalis lost their lives. The Khasis then burnt down the Bungalow, released the convicts employed on the road and proceeded towards Cherapunjee in search of Mr. Scott. The insurrection had begun. The reverberation of their first success had gone like a thunder-clap through the whispering galleries of the Khasi and Garrow hills and the hill-people came in thousands to join the standard of revolt. Both Gait and Mackenzie treat the massacre at Nunklow "as cold-blooded murder—the mere outburst of the fury of a savage tribe." It was not an incident by itself. It was a part of a general plan to drive out the English. The real causes of the Khasi insurrection lay deeper. It was their universal antipathy towards the foreign domination that caused a general flare-up in the Khasi mountains.

The chief persons concerned in the rebellion were Teerat Singh, Burramanik and Mukund Sing of Mosing. Their plan was worked out skilfully and showed organising ability of a very high order on the part of the hill chieftains. Burramanik and his party were entrusted with the work of guarding the passes opening to Assam and Teerat Singh himself guarded the Sylhet side with a view to prevent supplies and reinforcement reaching Mr. Scott from the plains of Bengal. The whole adult population numbering more than ten thousand were armed with bows, swords, and shields and Khasis were excellent marksmen. They were joined by a large number of Garrows—their kinsmen. Their first act was to demolish the road constructed by Mr. Scott. And to render it impassable, they obstructed it with trees and poles, erected palisades at places and destroyed the bridges on it. They did not depend upon their own strength alone. Teerat Singh made elaborate preparation to drive out the English. His views and plans were of a most extended nature. He sent emissaries to Raja Chandra Kanta, to the Bhots and to the Singpos. He sent a special message to Raja Chandra Kanta exciting him to throw off the British yoke. Raja Chandra Kanta sent his blessings. Teerat Singh also despatched special informers to Gauhati and other places to ascertain the military strength of the British in Assam.

The first effect of the insurrection was indeed embarrassing. The collection of revenue was, in many places, stopped. The whole of Assam was in a state of excitement and slightest reverses, on the part of the British would have thrown the whole of Assam into a state of rebellion. No help could be sent from the Assam side.

Happily for Mr. Scott and his followers, succour came from the Sylhet side. Captain Lister advanced towards Cherapunjee with a lightning speed and saved Mr. Scott and his party.

When the Calcutta Council was informed of the Nunklow tragedy, feeling ran very high. They empowered the Agent to adopt such measures as would overawe "the petty chiefs." With regard to Teerat Singh they issued order to treat him as "a savage blood-thirsty murderer" deserving capital punishment. The Bengal Government thereby not only under-estimated the strength of these petty chiefs, they could not also realise the nature of the Khasi disturbances—far less they could dream that one day a representative of the mighty British Government would descend down the steps of a mountain-cave to have an interview with he seditious and half-naked savage blood-thirsty monster who strangely speaking appeared to many of the local British officials a patriot of a very high order.

Operations were conducted as usual against Teerat Singh and other rebel chiefs. Their territories were occupied and confiscated. Many Khasi villages were burnt down and rewards were declared for the apprehension of the rebel leaders but the rebel chiefs made no submission and the war went on with vigour on both sides. Mr. Scott died in 1831 in the third year of the war. His successor Mr. Robertson on taking charge of the Assam affairs embarked upon a new policy to end "this wretched warfare." He held out the olive branch of peace and empowered Singh Manik, a friendly Khasi chief, to open negotiations with Teerat Singh. He saw the rebel chief several times. Finally, it was agreed that an official representing the British Government and having a power to negotiate should meet the rebel chief Teerat Singh on an appointed date. And accordingly truce was declared and on 23rd August 1832, Captain Lister, representative of the British Lion, met the Lion of the Khasis at his den. It was an historic interview no doubt—only there was no mighty pen of Todd or Cunningham to depict as such before the world at large. Teerat Singh was seen in company of his ministers. Alluring promises were held out to him. Teerat Singh was not the man to be bought off by promises. He boldly demanded the abandonment of the line of the road passing through his kingdom and also demanded the restoration of his territory. As the British representative was not authorised to deal with those points, the party broke off without achieving anything substantial. The British Government then offered "mildest terms" to the followers of Teerat Singh and tried to make a separate treaty with them on condition that "Teerat Singh must be given up." But nothing came out of this move as the followers of Teerat Singh declined to swallow this bait. Mr. Robertson fearing that nothing would come out of the peace negotiations "completed the economic blockade" by tightening the cordon round the belt of Khasi hills and made elaborate preparations to round up the rebels.

Raja Singh Manik was all this time busy in convincing Raja Teerat Singh of the futility of further resistance. His party was being thinned away through death and desertions. And at last on 13th January 1833, he surrendered to the British as advised by the friendly Khasi chieftains on conditions that his life should be spared which the British gladly undertook to do. Even when he surrendered he did not forget his beloved country and requested the English officer to

make proper arrangement for the administration of his territory.

Teerat Singh was sent down to Gauhati where he was ordered to be transported to the Tenasserim province by the political Agent. But the Bengal Government revised the order of their Agent and sent him to Dacca for detention. His territory was given over to his nephew. When Teerat Singh arrived at Dacca the Khasi King had nothing with him except a blanket to cover his body. He was at first confined in the ordinary jail but later on he was removed to a separate house and was given a monthly allowance of Rs. 63. He was allowed the privileges of two servants. There remained the last independent King of the Khasis to wear away his last days in confinement and solitude till death delivered him of all ignominy in 1841. Thus ended the

career of one of the most heroic but little known figures of the Indian history. He was destined to play his part on a stage—small beyond all proportions. Even Mr. Scott whom he antagonised most paid glowing tributes to the patriotic impulse of this great Chieftain. It was admitted by one of the British officers who was deputed to deal with him that "had all the Khasi chieftains joined in the general conglomeration that followed the Nuklow massacre, it would have been very difficult for the British to bring them under control." With Teerat Singh also departed the independence of the Khasi states.*

* Abridged by the writer from his book, *The Annexation of Assam*, to be shortly published.

THE GANDHIAN PLAN

By AMIYA NATH BOSE

PRINCIPAL AGARWAL'S *The Gandhian Plan* may well prove to be a document of historic importance. For the first time a complete plan of economic and social reconstruction of India has been placed before the nation with the full approval and authority of Mahatma Gandhi. Principal Agarwal's Plan is, in essence, a socialist plan with the necessary modifications to suit the needs of our country and the genius of our people. It is to be hoped that on the basis of this Plan complete unity will be forged inside the Indian National Congress.

At the very outset, Principal Agarwal makes it clear "that independent India must be the first postulate of economic re-construction." He hopes that his brochure will "evoke honest and constructive thought on these problems, at a time when other schemes of post-war re-construction are being seriously studied, discussed and formulated." I hope I shall be forgiven, if I may suggest some minor modifications in his Plan in course of this article. I hasten to add that I find myself in complete agreement with the basic ideas of his scheme.

India is fundamentally a land of the peasants. It is, therefore, natural that in any scheme of reconstruction the problem of agriculture will find the first place. The central problem of raising the productivity of land could only be tackled on the basis of a number of radical reforms suggested by Agarwal. The first of these reforms is the nationalisation of land and a system of long-term tenancy to the actual tillers of the soil. He stresses "the urgent need for a systematic planning and improvement in agriculture on scientific lines." He also advocates the development of co-operative farming.

But even a most successful development of agriculture on the lines stated above will not solve the crucial problem of India—the problem of unemployment of nearly fifty per cent of our people. This will only be solved, if there is a simultaneous and parallel development of our industries. As R. C. Dutt pointed out in his *Economic History of India*, the history of India under British rule is a history of "progressive ruralisation" and the gradual destruction of our native industries. It is, therefore, agreed on all sides that for

raising our national productivity, we must develop our industries. In this development, India can follow either of the three following methods:—

1. The traditional capitalist method.
2. The traditional socialist method.
3. The modified socialist method as enunciated by

Principal Agarwal.

The protagonists of the first method hope that Indian capitalists and financiers will develop large-scale industries on modern lines and by the operation of economic laws surplus labour will gradually flow from land to industry. As a result, there will, of course, be large cities, palatial buildings and dirty slums and a complete concentration of economic power in the hands of a few. It will mean opulence on one side and misery on the other. It will convert a very large number of people into robots and will reserve culture as a privilege of the privileged class. Such a method Principal Agarwal rightly repudiates.

It has been suggested by the supporters of the second method that the National Government might take upon itself the task of carrying through a programme of socialist industrialisation. In that event the state will take over the present private industries and in addition, will develop other industries owned and controlled by the state. Under this plan, industries will be developed on a large scale and there will be a planned transference of labour from land to industry. If large-scale industries are developed under such a plan, they will lead to a development of large cities throughout India. There will be a growing differentiation between cities and villages, which in turn will create acute sociological problems. In any case too much mechanisation will mean a life of monotony for a very large number of people. Work for most of the people will be reduced to a ceaseless repetition of mechanical movements. It might mean economic efficiency, but it will surely result in cultural bankruptcy. The full effects of such a mechanical life are becoming apparent in America, where people are producing huge battleships but little culture. No, India must not follow the road to cultural bankruptcy. We must give full scope to human personality. We must not produce machines

men with a craze for efficiency. Further, such a plan will mean a tremendous concentration of power in the hands of the state bureaucracy. It will curb the initiative of the people; it will reduce democracy to a farce.

This brings me to Principal Agarwal's *The Gandhian Plan*. He does not deny that a number of basic and key industries must be developed on a large scale. These "key industries shall be owned and managed by the state in the interests of the nation as a whole." All the public utility services will, of course, be owned and managed by the state as well. Only those industries, which for technical reasons cannot be organised on the basis of small units should be allowed to develop on a large scale. The criterion in this case is not economic efficiency, but technical need. The rest should be organised on the basis of cottage industries and dispersed throughout the villages. As a general principle, all the consumption goods, according to this Plan, will mainly be supplied by "cottage industries." For instance, there is no technical need to organise-textile industry on a large scale. The result of this policy will be to bring employment to villagers, who are wholly or partly unemployed today and will make it unnecessary to transfer large number of workers to congested cities. The cottage industries need not, of course, be run on primitive lines. Indeed, we must fully utilise our present scientific knowledge to modernise these industries. According to Lewis Mumford "the recent achievements of science can make small workshops situated in small garden cities spread all over the country side, the most efficient, healthy and wholesome units of industry and of society." Such a decentralisation of industries will be facilitated by a proper development of electric power. Indeed, in my view, the success of *The Gandhian Plan* depends on a complete electrification of India. As Mahatmaji puts it, "If we could have electricity in every village home, I shall not mind villagers plying their implements and tools with electricity." Under the direction of the National Planning Commission, the state will develop electric power on the basis of India's river systems and will bring power to every village home. It will then allow private or co-operative enterprise in the organisation of village industries on the basis of power provided by the state. The organisation of these village industries will be under the direction and control of the 'Gram Panchayat.' To re-capitulate, therefore, under *The Gandhian Plan* a number of basic industries, like the defence industries, power, mining, metallurgy, machinery, heavy engineering, chemicals, transport will be owned by the state and controlled by the National Planning Commission in the interest of the nation as a whole. The rest will be organised on the basis of village industries with the help of electric power. There will be scope for co-operative enterprise in these village industries and the control of these industries will be vested in the village Government. The beneficial effects of such a Plan on the life of our people can hardly be over-estimated. The villagers will have a large measure of control over their economic and other activities and democracy in that case will become a reality. The unity of India and equal development in all parts of our country will be guaranteed by the control of the state of our basic and key industries. This Plan will prevent the development

of large cities and excessive mechanisation with all their evil consequences. Industry will be merged in agriculture. Factories and workshops run by electricity will grow up in the very heart of corn-fields. Recent scientific achievements will be utilised fully to promote "good life" and machine will become the servant of man.

This picture of India of tomorrow will, I feel sure, arouse great enthusiasm and command the approval of all who think in terms of a democratic and socialist India. But this plan is not merely a statement of future intention, it is also of immediate political importance. There have been in the past and there are at the moment, a number of political groups inside the Indian National Congress. These groups have held different and often divergent views in regard to social policy. But they have all united on the platform of the Congress for the common problem of Indian independence. But if *The Gandhian Plan* is accepted by the Congress as the basis of its social policy, it is highly probable that the ideological differences inside the Congress will largely disappear and complete unity inside the Congress will be achieved on the basis of this modified socialist plan.

The Gandhian Plan will fulfil another distinct need. The Congress, in spite of the tremendous support it has received from the masses, has not quite succeeded in linking up the struggle for every-day existence of an Indian peasant with the wider struggle for political freedom. In view of this fact, emotionalism has played an important part in our technique of political propaganda. But it has never been quite patent to our peasants and workers that on the success of Congress struggle for independence depends the ending of economic misery and exploitation of our people. And the people will never be ready for supreme sacrifice, unless they are convinced that the struggle for political independence of India is also a struggle for their economic and social emancipation. *The Gandhian Plan*, once it is accepted as the programme of the Congress, will make it quite clear that the Congress stands for an all-round economic and social development of our people on a socialist-democratic basis. But the plan must not remain the intellectual property of a few political workers, it must become the conscious desire of the common people of India. What is necessary, therefore, is a systematic and continuous presentation of the fundamentals of the scheme to the vast masses of our countrymen throughout the length and breadth of India. This, of course, can only be done by a unified Congress under the supreme leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. This planned propaganda will mean a considerable extension of Congress power among the masses of our people. The emphasis on village democracy and economic and social reconstruction of India will reduce the problem of minorities to insignificance. If effective political power passes to the village communities, organised on a democratic basis, communal problem will have no meaning. India's unity will be achieved on the basis of de-centralised Government and well-developed village communities. A new and fruitful social experiment will, then, be India's contribution to world thought.

MATERNITY AND CHILD WELFARE IN THE USSR

By M. MALINOVSKY

MOTHERS and children are surrounded with great care and solicitude in the Soviet Union. Already, in December 1917, in the very first months of its existence, the Soviet Government passed a law by which women workers were granted pre-natal and post-natal leaves with full pay and nursing mothers were given the right of two hours' interval at work everyday for the purpose of nursing their infants. At the same time began a wide-flung construction of maternity hospitals, nurseries, consultation centres, homes for unmarried mothers, children's homes, child welfare and milk distributing centres.

The Soviet rule freed women from the age-old yoke which had oppressed them, raised their human dignity, opened wide roads to them for participation in state activities, in economic, cultural, social and political life of the country. This right has been firmly established by the Constitution of the USSR.

The first link in maternity and child welfare service is the prenatal clinic where women can get advice on how to take care of themselves during the entire period of pregnancy, get medical attention and, in case of need, may see a specialist.

As result of the work of these antenatal clinics, a sharp decrease took place in the number of abnormal confinements, postnatal complications, still-born infants and abortions. Healthier mothers and sturdier babies were born: the average weight of the newly born infants increasing from year to year.

The antenatal and postnatal centres have become true schools for mothers hundreds of thousands of women having learnt here how to take proper care of their newly born infants.

In Tsarist Russia there were no child welfare centres. Now they exist in the most outlying corners of the vast Soviet Union, as well as in central regions of the country.

Since the establishment of the Soviet rule the number of maternity hospitals and wards shows great increase, and service in them has improved radically. Thus, in 1913 there were only 6824 beds in maternity hospitals and at the present there are 141,873, that is an increase of more than twenty times.

Matters were particularly bad with regard to medical attention during confinement in the so-called national regions of the Tsarist Russia. Now thousands of women in eastern republics of the Soviet Union go to well-equipped maternity hospitals. Painless birth methods are widely applied in maternity hospitals in the USSR.

Once the baby is born it comes under the care of the postnatal clinic. Doctors and nurses of each clinic observe the growth and development of all infants in their district, whether ill or well.

In the USSR there are over two thousand and eight hundred child welfare centres with special kitchens preparing babies' food for infants up to the age of three, and this milk is daily distributed to tens of thousands of children.

Nurseries are highly popular in the USSR. Women workers and collective farmers can attend to their tasks in enterprises and on fields without worrying, when they know that their children are well-fed and cared for in the nurseries.

There were only five hundred nursery cots in Russia in 1913. At present there are in the USSR over eight hundred thousand in permanent nurseries and up to four million in seasonal nurseries which function in the villages during the periods when field work is at its height.

In addition to medical workers of general public health service, the health of children is guarded by some seventeen thousand special children's doctors and tens of thousands of nurses.

The solicitude of the Soviet Government for mothers and children is particularly marked by the recent edict of the Supreme Soviet, USSR: "On increasing the State aid to expectant mothers, mothers of large families and unmarried mothers; protection of motherhood and childhood, institution of the honorary title of Mother Heroine, Order of Glory and Motherhood Medal."

According to this law, which was passed during the present war, every mother of two children is entitled to State allowance on birth of the third child and this grant is proportionately increased on the birth of each succeeding child. The antenatal and postnatal paid leaves are increased to seventy-seven days. In cases where complications set in, or twins are born, two weeks are added to this leave. The additional rations which expectant and nursing mothers receive are now doubled. From the sixth month of pregnancy up to four months after confinement women now receive additional rations.

According to the new law, unmarried mothers have the right to place their infants in homes where these will be brought up and maintained at the cost of the State and withdraw their children from the home at any time they wish.

The law also provides for a further widening of the network of mother and child welfare institutions. This year in Moscow alone fifteen hundred beds will be added to maternity hospitals and a considerable number of nurseries and antenatal and postnatal clinics opened. Children's dining rooms now provide special diet for a hundred and seventy-five thousand Moscow children. In Belo-Russia new children's homes are being opened to accommodate an additional fifteen hundred kiddies and in the Minsk region for another three-hundred children. Rest-homes for expectant mothers have been opened in Moscow. Obstetrical and gynecological wards and consultation rooms have also been opened.

In the Soviet Union the mother is honoured by the State and by the people. Motherhood has been put on a level with services deserving to be rewarded by orders or medals.

WALTER DE LA MARE

By B.

Among contemporary British poets, Walter de la Mare has gained a distinguished place owing to his delicate and individual style. He is regarded by critics as a master of fantasy and symbolism, and a true follower in the Maeterlinck tradition. Among his more important works are his *Songs of Childhood*, *The Listeners*, *Motley and Other Poems*, *The Veil*, *Poems for Children* and *Memory*.

Born in 1873, Walter de la Mare first embarked on a business career, but took up writing as a hobby. After publishing several successful poems and a novel, he finally gave up business in 1908 to devote himself entirely to his literary work. Here are two of his recent poems:

A QUIETIST

*He lies one, who, hating strife,
Kept to a peaceful, private life.
Rare gifts were his to share; but none
Will keep him from oblivion.
It was his weakness, and his grace,
Always to choose the lower place.
There, if he shone, for a natural wealth,
Like glowworm 'twas—as if by stealth.*

*Men in the world there are called great
Who win at length to high estate.
He shunned that fiercer light, lest he
Should lose the quiet of privacy.
But even a lift of the eyebrow proved
How much he valued what he loved;
There peered from those hazed eyes
A self by solitude made wise;*

*As if within the heart may lie
All the soul needs for company;
And, having that in safety there,
Finds its reflection everywhere.
Life's tempests must have waxed and waned;
The deep within at peace remained;
Full tides that silent well may be
Mark of no less profound a sea.
Age proved his blessing, since it brought
What, half unwitting, he had sought
Life long; and found him reconciled
To die, as he had lived, a child.*

*He had come full circle; now is gone.
Stranger, respect his all; this stone.*

THE SOLITARY BIRD

*Why should a bird in that solitary hollow
Flying from east to west
Seem in the silence of the snow-wanned sunshine
Gilding the valley's crest,
Envoy and symbol of a past within me
Centuries now at rest?
Shallowly arched the heavens rise beyond it,
Of turquoise green and blue;
Not even a whisper irks the magic of the evening
The narrowing valley through;
No faintest echo brings a syllable revealing
The secret once I knew;
Down whisks the snow again, cloud masks the sunshine
Bird gone, and memory too.*



Pearl S. Buck, Nobel Prize Winner, in accepting election as Honorary President of the India League of America, made the following statement: "I have joined the India League of America because I have been brought to the conviction, finally, after long, close and continuing experience with people and events in Asia, that India has become an immediate test-case for world democracy, in the eyes of all the darker peoples, everywhere."



Indian scientists who were on a visit to U.S.A. have returned to India. They are (front row): Sir Jnan Chandra Ghosh, J. N. Mukherji, Dr. Nazir Ahmad; (back row): Prof. Meghnad Saha, (Frank S. Coan, of the U. S. State Department), Prof. S. K. Mitra and Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—
Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

POST-WAR CONSTRUCTION : By D. Pant, B.Com., Ph.D. (Dublin). Published by Kitab Mahal, Zero Road, Allahabad. Pp. 165. Price Rs. 2-8.

Explaining that reconstruction in his view implies an attempt to restore pre-war conditions by building upon old values which, as everybody must agree with him, is more or less an impossibility by reason of the new forces let loose by the present war and the radical changes in our ideas created by them, the author pleads for construction by which he understands the total scrapping of the old social, economic and political organisation and its replacement by a New Order which will have Man for its foundation. For the attainment of this purpose, certain axioms and postulates, the necessity of the observation of which is self-evident, are laid down in the second chapter. The politico-economic, the socio-psychological, the educational, and the administrative basis of the New Order are explained in the next four chapters. Then follows a discussion of the problem of unemployment, overt and masked. In the last chapter but one, we have the author's suggestions as to the way in which the above ideas could be applied to the world, British India, and India while, in the last chapter, he gives details of his plan of Construction which, in his language, "shorn of its trappings and frills, . . . simply demands Security of Livelihood, Human Standard of Living, Impartial Justice, and Political, Religious and Cultural Security for Man."

One infers that Dr. Pant has very definite ideas as to how the world can be made a better place to live in, that he is conscious that his views are not always orthodox, that he has the courage of his convictions and is not afraid to give expression to them. He does not lack optimism and offers his solution of our difficulties in a style always striking, picturesque, and emphatic.

GANDHISM: A SOCIALISTIC APPROACH : By A. N. Agarwala, M.A., Lecturer, University of Allahabad. Published by Kitab Mahal, Zero Road, Allahabad. Pp. 56. Price As. 12.

The respect in which Mahatma Gandhi is held by thousands of Indians has induced them to follow unquestioningly the political lead given by him. While as yet we do not know whether the technique evolved by him will give us complete freedom, it cannot be denied that it has taken us far and that as yet its possibilities are not altogether exhausted. But Gandhism has its economic aspect also where it is paralleled by the acceptance of socialism as our next step forward in the sphere of social organisation. The author contends that much is common to both these movements which are influencing each other and he envisages the time when there will be a happy amalgam between them. The arguments in support of this opinion are well put and the size of the book is no indication of its value as an exposition of this particular point of view.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

PRINCIPLES OF ECONOMIC PLANNING : Edited by Dr. P. S. Lokanathan. Published by Eastern Economist Ltd., New Delhi. Pages 54. Price Re. 1.

This is another small publication on principles of Post-War Planning in India with a foreword by Mr. G. D. Birla. Although the war is not yet over, the Post-War Plannings and Schemes of reconstruction have caught the imagination of economists and Governments of Allied Nations and although India is not yet a nation, capitalists of this country are not slow in preparing their schemes for Post-War India.

In the present pamphlet, the principles have been discussed in a balanced and scientific manner and with some amount of caution so as to avoid extreme hardship of the people in case of a quick industrialization. The questions of food supply, agriculture, clothing, housing, education, and public health including water supply have been discussed and lessons from the Soviet Gosplans have been brought in for comparison. Post-War India is taken as capitalistic with a State-Socialistic bias. Under a sufficiently democratic State Control of basic and key industries, private capitalists shall be allowed to invest money in metals, machine tools, machinery, heavy engineering, heavy chemicals, etc., but the State will nationalise all public utility industries and concerns.

After all had been said in favour of private enterprises it is admitted that planning must mean socialism sooner or later, more sooner than later, but to avoid the rigour of totalitarian and dictatorial socialism private capitalistic enterprises, and even cottage and small industries must continue for some time till they merge in the New Order. The plan will require a vast amount of external capital and the author has an eye upon the sterling balances in that connection. But as long as England controls the destiny of India, economic reconstruction of the country must be subordinated to the Imperial interest and as such all plannings by non-official authorities are more or less academic unless they find favour with the British masters of India.

However, students of economics will find this pamphlet interesting, the subject-matter having been very ably handled and statistics cleverly utilised.

A. B. DUTTA

THE JAPANESE PARADOX : By N. J. Nanporia. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay, 1943. Pages 136. Prices Rs. 3-12.

Japan is a land of paradoxes. It is indeed hard to reconcile her westernization with her primitive Shinto Cult and patriotic fanaticism, her tremendous national virility with her social backwardness, her kimono and geisha with *harakiri*, her artistic creativities with her instinct of expansion and plunder. Most of these contradictions, so apparent to Western observers arise, however, from an imperfect appreciation of Japanese history and culture. They are by no means inherent in the Japanese tradition, but are symptomatic of the

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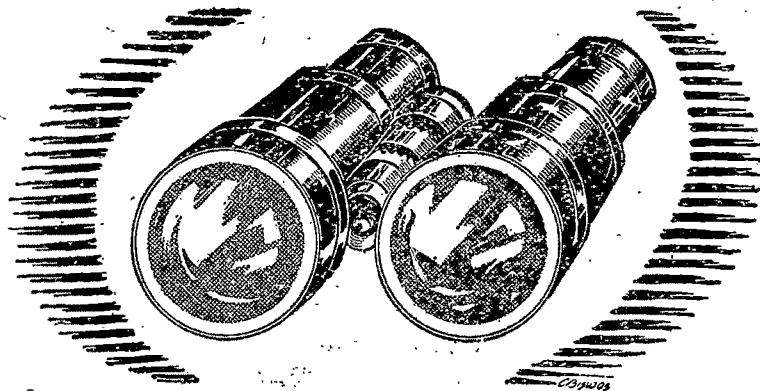
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dis harmony which the hasty assimilation of an alien culture has wrought in Japanese national life. The author has attempted in this book a correct appraisal of those typically Japanese phenomena which particularly baffle Western observers. He does not emit the familiar propaganda stuff which scarcely carries any conviction with discerning readers. The treatment of women in Japanese society hardly does any credit to this proud nation, and the cruelties of her industrial system are a disgrace to her social conscience. But the Shinto is not so primitive as is usually imagined; it is the Shinto that has helped to Japanize Buddhism and Christianity, and has transformed primitive religious beliefs into an aggressive and fatalistic patriotism. The Shinto is a great assimilator. An interesting revelation that Mr. Nanporia makes is that the Japanese Emperor is a man of culture and liberal sympathies. "He is the only man in Japan who laughs openly at his own divinity and regards Shintoism with derisive amusement. . . . It was not incorrectly stated that on December 7, 1941, there was not a more miserable man in the East than Emperor Hirohito, descendant of the Sun God—dess" (page 132).

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

HINDUISM AT A GLANCE : By Swami Nirvedananda. With a foreword by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. Published by Vidyamandir, Dhakuria, Bengal. Pp. 229. Price Rs. 4-8.

The author, who is a learned monk of the Ramakrishna order, is already known as a thoughtful writer by his maiden work on spiritual Renaissance. The book under review is a fitting addition to the former and is a comprehensive outline of the fundamentals of Hinduism as a whole. The volume is very correctly printed and attractively got up: A glossary of Sanskrit words used in the book with their suitable synonyms, as well as an index, are annexed in the appendix. The book is divided into two parts: the first part having thirteen chapters and the second part, eight. The first part deals with the doctrine of Karma and re-birth, transmigration and salvation, path of Pravritti and Nivritti, four Yogas, as well as the sacred books of Hinduism. The second part surveys the Hindu prophets, Hindu idea of God and Soul, projection and pralaya, rituals and mythology. The subject is treated from a broad standpoint, from where this ancient religion can be viewed in its full grandeur. The treatment sparkles with transparent clarity and breathes throughout a freshness that will at once appeal to the modern mind, Hindu or non-Hindu. The book may be safely laid down as an excellent manual of Hinduism and unhesitatingly depended upon as a very good guide to the immortal faith. The erudite author has done well in retaining the Sanskrit terms in his exposition, as they are almost untranslatable and indispensable for an understanding of Hinduism. In the concluding chapter, the Swami, who is an experienced teacher of Hinduism, earnestly appeals to Hindus of all classes and schools for a new understanding of our age-old Dharma according to the changed conditions of our times. Hinduism through the ages, the author rightly points out, has shown extreme rigidity with regard to the essentials but remarkable elasticity in the readjustment of externals. He is firmly convinced that the foundations of Hinduism cannot be shaken by either scientific or historical criticism of the moderns. He exhorts every Hindu, man or woman, to be initiated into the true Hindu view of life, to make our religion dynamic in our private and public life, and to adopt a synthetic outlook—which alone can save us

from the present crisis and pave the way for Hindu unity and wider expansion of Hinduism.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE PHILOSOPHY OF VISISHTADVAITA : By P. N. Srinivasachari, M.A., Principal, Panchaiappas College. Published by the Adyar Library, Adyar. Price Rs. 10.

This book is the outcome of deep study and great devotion. In it the author has dealt with the whole of philosophy in an exhaustive manner and according to a definite plan; he has begun by showing that *Visishtadvaita* is not a vain, speculative system, but is "a philosophy of affirmation and valuation", the end of which is the knowledge of *tatva*, the realisation of *hita*, and the attainment of *purushartha*. But *purushartha* cannot be attained without correct knowledge; hence follows the discussion on Ramanuja's theory of knowledge; next comes the discussion on the nature of Brahman as well as its relation to *Chit* and *Achit*—of Brahman as *Adhara*, *Niyanta* and *Sesin*. Surely all this discussion is to be found, even if briefly, in all works on Ramanuja's philosophy; but for an exhaustive explication of the doctrine of Brahman as *Saririn*, as well as for brilliant criticism of the different kinds of *Bheda-bheda*, both Indian and European, this book stands unrivalled. Metaphysical knowledge alone does not satisfy the hankering of the human soul; hence the discussion on Brahman as *Bhuvana Sundara* follows next; herein the author gives us the Vedantic interpretation of Brahman as the Beautiful. The knowledge of Brahman as the controller and sustainer of the universe, as well as the realisation of His beauty filis the human soul with an overwhelming love, which culminates in *Prapatti* or complete surrender, and in the discussion which follows next on *Prapatti Yoga* we reach the very heart of the philosophy of Bhakti. Then there are the chapters on the life and teachings on *Visishtadvaita* teachers as also on Ramanuja's influence on the religious systems of India. These are, in themselves, valuable contributions to the history of Indian philosophy. In the last chapter the author has given a summary of the whole book, for the benefit of the readers.

The book is therefore a monumental work and will be found indispensable by every one interested in Indian philosophy and religion.

The style of the writer reaches at times a rhythm which is not generally found in philosophical works.

ISAN CH. ROY

BENGALI

SAMAJ O SAHITYA : By Kumar Bimal Chandra Sinha, M.A. Messrs Das Gupta & Co., 54/3, College Street, Calcutta. Pages 388. Price Rs. 3.

This is an introduction to the study of modern Bengali poetry in twelve Chapters with an Appendix on ancient Sanskrit poetry. Literature of any country cannot but be a mirror of contemporary society and poetry is no exception. But the author's is no materialistic interpretation of poetry although he admits social and class conflicts as factors determining the trend of literature. He cannot be in the wrong when he says that every literary man of importance must be in himself both the creator and the representative of his age—personality alone determines in which he is greater (page 305). A poet of talent represents only his age whereas a poet of genius not only represents his age but also creates beauty which is eternal. It is admitted that a poet must be an idealist, but for that reason he cannot draw his nourishment from the air. He must have the roots of his poetry in the soil of actual and contemporary experiences. Even Rabindranath Tagore who on occasions mocked at things contemporary and tried to overcome the passing

influences of his time, is but the best exponent and the most perfect representative of, his age, country and society with a vision for the future and a beauty of his own that surpassed all contemporaries in the field of literature. In the words of the author 'successful creation in literature has certainly a beauty which goes beyond time but such beauty is a product of the time and would not have been possible in defiance of environments' (page 255). This is why Tagore is of eternal value. So is Bankim Chandra and Sarat Chandra.

The author has good words for those ultra-modern poets who have their basis on reality and not for those who have taken their inspiration from foreign sources without any touch of environments. It is not an easy task to assess and measure the ultra-modern poetry of Bengal but the author has done this with considerable skill. He has no bias for proletarian art because it is called proletarian unless it is really so. Although many ultra-modern writers desire to say that the sun of creative genius of Tagore had long set, the author holds that to the last day of his life Tagore's creations were realistic and of permanent value in literature and these belonged to the soil of India unlike the ultra-modern poetry of some young contemporaries whose inspirations came from foreign lands and as such were far from real. In the long discussion the author has undertaken to assess the value of poetry; he quotes extensively from ancient and modern writers and not unoften disagrees with some eminent art critics.

The author's study of the economic conditions of Bengal since the establishment of the British Rule, rise of the new middle class—landless and cut off from the original strata of society, the birth of a new literature in Bengal and its development in relation to environments and contemporary events—political and economic, is excellent and deserves to be studied by those who are interested in the study of modern Bengali poetry.

SADHAK DARA SHUKOH: By Rezaul Karim, M.A., B.L. Published by the Noor Library, 12/1, Serang Lane, Calcutta. Pages 12 + 139. Price Rs. 2-8.

Dara, eldest son of Emperor Shahjehan, is a melancholy figure in Indian history. All his culture, education and popularity could not make good his political incapacity as a statesman and he had to pay dear for his goodness. To judge this man by earthly failures is to misjudge him. The author depicts the real man in Dara—a man ever ready to serve humanity, ever ready to sacrifice himself for the brotherhood of man, religious tolerance and unity among warring sects and sections of his time. He was really a saint and had he succeeded his father to the throne of Delhi instead of Aurangzib, the history of India would have been something different and perhaps a brilliant one. Dara was an emblem of Hindu-Moslem unity and as such he was condemned to death as a heretic by the Moslem divines under the instigation of Aurangzib. Such a pious life in history should be a subject for study to all students of Indian politics.

The author as a preacher of Hindu-Moslem unity has succeeded once again in bringing out a volume in Bengali which will do real good to the country.

A. B. DUTTA

BANGIYA NATYASALA (1795-1873): Brajendra-nath Banerji. Visva-Bharati Granthalaya, 2, Bankim Chatterji Street, Calcutta. Second Edition. Price eight annas.

The growth of the Bengali stage is a fascinating theme. The Bengali stage has contributed not a little towards the evolution of Bengali culture. The Visva-Bharati publication department has done well to bring out promptly the second edition of the book. It is included in the Visva-vidya-samgraha series. The author traces in this treatise the origin and development of the Bengali stage. He gives a concise but complete account of the stage (up to 1873). As in his other works,

here also Banerji is accurate with his information. A few additions and alterations that have been made in this edition have added to the value of the book.

S. L.

HINDI

VIKRAMADITYA: By Hemchandra Joshi, D.Lit. Vikrama-Gaurava-Prasarak Mandala, Girgaon, Bombay 4. Pp. 32. Price four annas.

This is a timely short study of Vikramaditya, whose bi-millennial anniversary is being celebrated throughout India at present by the Hindus. It is based on historical research and so it will justify amply the latter's pride in their ancient king, who was an acme of courage as well as culture. Incidentally the book also treats of a lesser Vikramaditya, Raja Devichand of Kumaon, who lived in the eighteenth century. Its publicity value cannot be disputed.

AJITVIRYA BAHUBALI: By Kaka Kalelkar. Sahyogi Prakashan, Hirabag, Bombay, No. 4. Pp. 43. Price As. 10.

This is a Hindi translation, which has been done competently, of Kaka Kalelkar's account of his visit to the image of Ajitvirya, a piece of wonderful sculpture,—in Shravanbelgola, in Mysore State. It is travelogue, legend, history, art,—all compounded into a literary composition which at once grips the attention and interest of the reader. Some of the passages, particularly those which describe natural effects, are pure poetry. Incidentally, it is an essay in appraising aright the idealism of art. The get-up of the booklet is excellent, but the price of ten annas for such a small publication is rather high.

UNANI DARSHANA: By Rahul Sankirtiyana. Sahyogi Prakashan, Hirabagh, Bombay, No. 4. Pp. 40. Price As. 12.

Here is a bird's-eye view of Greek philosophy, with its several schools, written with that clarity of interpretation and expression which one has come to associate with everything that emanates from the pen of Pandit Sankirtiyana. It covers nearly a period of thousand years, starting with about 600 B.C. The booklet, under review, is a part of the bigger work, planned by the author, which will deal with various philosophical systems of the world. The reader will await eagerly the remaining parts.

G. M.

GUJARATI

GUJARATI NI GAZALO: Published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. Paper cover. Pp. 179. Price Re. 1. (1943).

Gazal literature, i.e., verses written in the vein of Arabic, Iranian and Urdu poets, is alien to the genius of the Gujarati language. However, during the last fifty years, verses have been written which seem to have caught the spirit of that peculiar kind of versification to be found in the above-mentioned three languages, and meet with a modicum of success. The poems eighty-nine in number of about twenty-eight writers have been brought together in this collection; in quality they are good, bad and indifferent. But latterly a band of young Muslim writers have girded up their loins to make up for this defect in Gujarati literature and their first-hand knowledge of Iranian and Urdu literature, which the other writers did not possess, gives them a very good start over some of their predecessors. The founder of the society Bhikshu Akhandanand was a great man and he—alas, now no more—developed it to a high pitch of utility with his life blood. The object of taking light and literature to every college and hamlet, by cheapening the price of good books is worthily being continued by his successors whose desire to make the masses acquainted with this branch of Gujarati literature, is to say the least, praiseworthy.

K. M. J.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Tagore's Message to East and West

Tagore the poet-seer who was also the stalwart champion of justice and of his country's freedom, speaks in his message of universal sympathy and tolerance. Mr. Laurence E. Moore observes in *The Aryan Path* :

This magnificent soul lived and worked for the good-will of all men through a period darkened by the catastrophe of two major wars in the Western world, which produced their back-wash all over the earth.

Tagore's message, in an essay entitled "The Spirit of Freedom," was never more appropriate than at this moment, to both East and West. This short essay is printed in the little volume of his works entitled *Creative Unity*. The theme of this essay is:—

"When freedom is not an inner idea which imparts strength to our activities and breadth to our creations, when it is merely a thing of external circumstances, it is like an open space to one who is blindfolded."

Against this background the Poet sketches a brief but poignant picture; firstly of freedom as it is at present interpreted in the West, and secondly of freedom as it is understood in India.

In the West he feels that "freedom as an idea has become feeble and ineffectual." This is due to the fact that, although living under a system which gives them an external semblance of freedom, the Western people are not in reality free because their minds are dominated by the agents of the very system under which they live. Behind this semblance of freedom there lurk selfish, private interests whose power is in the obscurity under which they operate. These interests have recognised the tremendous potential for constructive development inherent in the people which, when turned into avenues of popular welfare, is the greatest blessing of mankind.

Being entirely selfish, private interests in the West have united in an unwritten conspiracy to deceive the people and keep them in ignorance of the true state of affairs.

This end is achieved with an amazing measure of success through various subtle methods of propaganda, all directed towards putting the free thought of the people into a certain mould, which produces results beneficial to these selfish interests but not to the people. One of these is the newspaper, owned by such interests, through which the most subtle propaganda is daily poured into millions of unsuspecting minds, wide open to opinions and eager to be convinced.

Another method is the radio, over which the most sugar-coated medicine can be distributed, mostly at that time of the day when men wish to relax and be amused, when all their critical barriers are down and almost anything will be accepted if it is presented in a sufficiently attractive garb.

This is the picture that the Poet Tagore sees in the West. The spirit of the machine, turned by unscrupulous interests to the exploitation of men, which "represents the active aspect of inertia which has the appearance of freedom, but not its truth, and therefore gives rise to slavery both within its boundaries and outside."

to find in his own country just as little of the true spirit of freedom, even though the external circumstances are different.

Tagore says :

"He only has freedom who ideally loves freedom himself and is glad to extend it to others. He who cares to have slaves must chain himself to them: he who builds walls to create exclusion for others builds walls across his own freedom: he who distrusts freedom in others loses his moral right to it. Sooner or later he is lured into the meshes of physical and moral servility."

The Poet sees no moral or practical justification for the caste system, which must be rooted out of Indian life and its place taken by a spirit of true, co-operative brotherhood, in deed, as well as word. Hear his words:

"Our stupefaction has become so absolute that we do not even realise that this persistent misfortune, dogging our steps for ages, cannot be mere accident of history, removable only by another accident from outside. Unless we have true faith in freedom, knowing it to be creative, manfully taking all its risks, not only do we lose the right to claim freedom in politics, but we also lack the power to maintain it with all our strength."

Man has conquered space on earth, water and in the air. His material achievements have been tremendous. Truly in this realm nothing is withheld from his grasp. But he no longer has time to rest and enjoy his work as he had in earlier centuries when his achievements were less.

The world sorely needs the inspired and enlightened example of a people who shall unite the wonderful possibilities of the machine with the praise of God so that man, freed increasingly from drudgery, may once more learn how to rest and enjoy his work and give the glory to God. This is the part that the Poet would have his country play in the world today. This is the glorious vocation of India.

A Reconstruction of Our Past History

In the course of his presidential address delivered at the annual general meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (as published in *The Calcutta Review*), Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee observes :

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The task of writing a true and connected history of pre-Muslim India has been rendered extremely difficult by the colossal loss caused to ancient Indian monuments due to a policy of destruction pursued by foreign elements who periodically visited India, either for plunder or for gaining political control over her destinies prior to the advent of the British rule. Such monuments constitute the principal source for a systematic reconstruction of our past history and the preservation and proper study of what little is still left to us are of utmost importance in this respect. When we study the history of the previous attempts for the preservation of our cultural inheritance, during the early and middle periods of the British rule in India, we are confronted with the absence of any active interest of Government in this matter.

The noble efforts of such individuals as Jones, Colebrooke, Wilson, Prinsep, Kittoë, Cunningham, Fergusson, Rajendralal Mitra, Bhau Dauji, Bhagawan Lal Indraji, R. G. Bhandarkar and of Indian culture and publishing them were others in collecting materials for the past history mostly made in their private capacity.

The original example of duty which was set to Government by this band of enthusiastic workers could not but evoke some sort of response, of however tardy a character, in the former, and some of them, such as Cunningham and others, were given official status and encouraged to pursue their useful activities. But even then Government, especially in the last part of the Company's rule, were culpably ignorant of the nature and magnitude of this kind of work on account of their total inability to grasp the real values of things. Lord William Bentinck is regarded as one of the most enlightened Governor-Generals of India and yet it was in his time that the Taj Mahal was on the point of being destroyed for the value of its marbles. It was the same ruler of India who sold by auction the marble bath in Shah Jehan's palace at Agra, originally torn up by Lord Hastings for a gift to George IV. After 1857, a solemn proposal was made by the then Government to raze to the ground the Jumma Masjid at Delhi, one of the noblest ceremonial mosques in the world. As late as 1868, the gateways of the Great Stupa at Sanchi in the Bhopal State were on the point of being destroyed and one of them, the Eastern one, was about to be presented to Napoleon III, the Emperor of the French. Be it said to the credit of John Lawrence, one of the members of Government, that this great act of spoliation was successfully prevented through his efforts. Some sculptured pillars of the beautiful Ajmere temple, turned hastily into a mosque during the early Muslim period and now known as Adhai-din Ki Jhompri, were pulled down by a zealous officer to construct a triumphal

arch for the then Viceroy to pass under. Innumerable sculptural and architectural pieces from Sarnath, belonging to Brahmanical and Buddhist shrines of great antiquity, were carried away by official orders from the site and thrown into the Ganges as ballast when the Dufferin Bridge was being constructed at Benares. Many more such instances of vandalism of greater or lesser magnitude can be cited for which Government of earlier times can be held directly responsible, either through errors of commission or omission.

It was, however, in the time of Lord Canning, the first Viceroy, that archaeological work in India won for the first time some sort of permanent State patronage.

The Archaeological Survey of Northern India was constituted in 1860 and Cunningham was appointed in 1862 as Archaeological Surveyor and afterwards the first Director-General of Archaeology in India. The twenty-three volumes of old archaeological reports that were published by him and some of his able assistants show what good use was made by him and his lieutenants of the limited opportunity with which they were provided. Then followed a long period of partial stagnation and occasional spurt in the Governmental activities of preservation and study of the ancient and mediaeval Indian monuments. It must be said to the credit of Lord Curzon, one of India's most forceful Viceroys and Governor-Generals, that he recognized the full value of this work. He very correctly pointed out in his speech before the members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1899 that—'it is in the exploration and study of purely Indian remains, in the probing of archaic mounds, in the excavation of old Indian cities and in the copying and reading of ancient inscriptions, that a good deal of the exploratory work of the archaeologists in India will in future lie . . . A curtain of dark and romantic mystery hangs over the earlier chapters, of which we are slowly beginning to lift the corners. This also is not less an obligation of Government. Epigraphy should not be set behind research any more than research should be set behind conservation. All are ordered parts of any scientific schemes of antiquarian work.'

The reconstituted Archaeological Department of India from the time of Lord Curzon onwards worked under the able guidance of Sir John Marshall, and it was in the latter's period of official tenure that one of the most outstanding archaeological discoveries of India was made by a Bengali archaeologist of eminence, the late Rakhaldas Banerjee. The discovery of the prehistoric sites in Sind and lower Punjab regions, which after systematic excavation yielded invaluable mementos of the Indus Valley culture, was an event of far-reaching importance, for it changed a great deal of our preconceived notions about the nature of antiquity of Indian culture.

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In Eastern Europe

The New Review observes :

A preliminary remark should help us to focus our picture of the Russian victories, and prevent a relapse into that unhealthy optimism which spoiled military and civilian opinion last autumn. The direct object of any offensive is the destruction of the enemy's fighting potential; will to fight, numbers, equipment, war factories, etc. Up to date the Russian offensive has not achieved conclusive results, and could not be expected to do so in a few weeks, though the struggle is unfolding in all its gigantic dimensions. On the other hand, the Nazis have abated nothing of their determination to fight to the death. Their High Command is as good as it was in 1939, their soldiers as fanatic and well-trained, their research departments as resourceful. In spite of our air bombing their war factories are still in working order, and the morale of their working population shows no sign of breaking down whilst anti-Nazi discontent remains unorganized.

From all reports at hand, the weakest point in their war potential is their diminished mobility; their transport system has been badly hit and their oil-producing capacity is said to have been cut down to one-fifth of what it was in April 1944. Mobility is crucial in modern warfare, mobility multiplying fire-power, permitting surprise and regulating the pace of battle. High mobility could provide a badly needed respite, give reinforcements from Italy and Norway time to reach central Germany and protract the fierce all-out battle which must be anticipated before the end. Reduced mobility will bring the Nazi war machine to a stop, and confusion in the High Command which synchronized offensive on all fronts might produce may advance the hour of the final breakdown.

The preceding commonsense observations neces-

sarily tone down the highly coloured accounts sent out by war correspondents from their Moscow armchair (no foreign reporter has ever been allowed on the Russian front though a few went on conducted tours in recently liberated areas). Early Russian reports were lopsided in stressing the extent of the ground lost by the Nazis, whilst omitting to speak of prisoners; in mechanised warfare, space usually is of minor importance whilst the number of prisoners is one of the main gauges of success. Moscow reports also went wrong for weeks on end in giving Marshal Zhukov's offensive undue priority. His advance was spectacular, but his offensive had not the importance of Marshal Koniev's drive. Koniev defeated larger and better equipped troops, seized the most valuable industrial area of Silesia and outflanked the Nazi positions in Czechoslovakia and along the lower Oder.

War correspondents may have gone by the favourite saying of Litvinoff: 'Who gets to Berlin first wins the peace'; they might as well contrast it with General Fuller's rider: 'Who gets to Vienna first has Europe by the throat'; but militarily speaking, who destroys most of the Nazi war potential will be the victorious general.

In the present phase of the conflict, a decisive battle is joined along the Oder, the 'Eastern Rhine.' It is as crucial as was the battle along the lower Maas and Rhine last year though the Russian offensive has not yielded as substantial results as our victories in Normandy and France. The battle is in full sway, and, as it is combined with a decided offensive in the west, it should break the back of Nazi power. Even Turkey is convinced that the war in Europe will be decided in the near future, and she is making a deliberate rush to help the victorious Allies.

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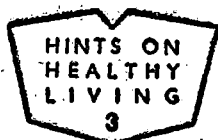
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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Robert Louis Stevenson

In an article entitled 'Stevenson after Fifty Years' in *The Catholic World*, Mathew J. Ashe, briefly criticising the merits and demerits of R. L. Stevenson as an author, passes judgment on him as follows :

A half-century has passed since the death of Robert Louis Stevenson, cosmopolitan Scotch author. On December 3, 1894, at Upolu, Samoa, R. L. S. died while at work on the unfinished *Weir of Hermiston*, a novel acclaimed by the critics as holding his greatest promise.

The difficulty of accurately assigning Stevenson's place in literature is similar to that which confronts an analysis of any author who has written prodigiously. Charles Scribner's Sons has put out twenty-two volumes of his works, and these represent a widely varied range of literary craftsmanship. They comprise critical essays and essays of travel, poems, plays, short stories, and the longer romances in addition to the letters arranged by Sidney Colvin. The very fact that he passed away prematurely in his forty-fifth year only serves to emphasize the relative vastness of the total output.

It is by now commonly recognized that this writer's most consistent success came in the short story and the essay. In each of these departments he did much to set up standards more or less conventional today. He has produced many short stories that are well-nigh perfect models of their kind and rank him among the best short story writers in the English language. Coming to mind are "Providence and the Guitar," a triumph of excellent good humor; and "The Beach of Falesa," an exotic love tale. Then we recall the social shocker, "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde," together with the ghost story, "Thrawn Janet." There are besides, "The Sire de Maletroit's Door," a grim enough yarn with a happy ending, and that little masterpiece called "The Bottle Imp," which retells with new enchantment an old legend about a demon in the glass.

Concerning the essays, Stevenson, himself in the tracks of Sir Thomas Browne, went far to develop a mode frequently appearing now-a-days both in books and in articles for periodicals. Here reference is made to the personal or familiar essay where the prevailing note is the intimate projection of oneself into the topic at hand. At once, we think of the many brilliant essays forming the content of his sizeable list of travel narratives. Under this category come the essays in *Edinburgh: Picturesque Notes*, *An Inland Voyage*, *Travels With a Donkey*, *Across the Plains*, etc. Moreover, there are separate pieces among his other works which obviously command attention. To mention but a few, we can cite, "An Apology for Idlers," "The Foreigner at Home," "Talk and Talkers," and "Books Which Have Influenced Me."

As a whole, the author was not successful in the longer romances, though, by way of paradox, his most famous productions are the adventure classics, *Treasure Island* and *Kidnapped*. "It is the length that kills," is his often quoted self-commentary, a judgment he had seen continually verified by pathetic experiment. Partly from temperamental reasons and partly because of his ill health—each no doubt reacting on the other—he could not bring himself to stay for long on any given subject.

R. L. S. did not absolutely lack the capacity for prolonged thought, as is indicated by his two most

famous books. The explanation for *Treasure Island* is the author's ability to summon energy for a quick execution, the whole being completed in two installments of fifteen days each. *Kidnapped* is certainly a valid exception. He was many months at this masterpiece, but paid dearly for his pains by an exhaustion that nearly brought him to death's door. *David Balfour*, the sequel, was by no means equally well received.

One unmistakable Catholic quality of Stevenson, which if it will not quite pass under the name of warm-heartedness, is at least akin to the same is his ready sympathy for all races and classes of men. On this point, Lionel Johnson, austere poet and critic of the '90's, provides an apposite comment: "As Addison with his London folk, so Mr. Stevenson with all the people under heaven known to him: they can never be so strange to him, so marvellous or so repulsive, but he will make friends with them, try to read their hearts, and picture them as naturally as the folk of his own Lothians."

From our present vantage ground, we can harbour little doubt that R. L. Stevenson has stood the test of these fifty years. With all his weaknesses in the balance, it is yet but fair to concede that he accomplished a great deal for one man. Undoubtedly, he had his moments of eclipse as well as of brilliance and resiliency of spirit. Still, where an author has produced on so vast a scale, it seems wholly right to appraise him on the side of his very positive assets.

Citizen of the world, Stevenson travelled not as your ordinary tourist, but rather like the genuine artist for whom every tint of land-scape and vagary of man carries a finer impression. Readers of the world over can still draw pleasure and profit from Robert Louis Stevenson's uncommon inventive gift and his minutely picturesque language.

Indian Soil Conservation

Dr. R. Maclagan Gorrie, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., of Indian Forest Service, thus observes on 'The Place of Mechanised Equipment in Indian Soil Conservation' in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* :

The world problem of deterioration of soil, and in many countries the parallel phenomenon of increasing density of population, render it essential that we in the British Empire should marshal our resources of men and material to make all available land productive. This war has witnessed the supply of vast quantities of mechanical transport and heavy machinery for the moving of earth, the digging of trenches and of tank-ditches, the consolidation of surfaces for air-landing strips, and so forth. It has also witnessed the training of many thousands of men to handle this equipment, with the surprising result that the more primitive and unmechanised countries such as India, Burma, Ceylon, Sudan and many of the Crown colonies will suddenly find themselves wealthy in mechanically-trained men, where previously anything more than hand labour and the moving of head-loads of soil in baskets was unknown.

How can we keep these trained drivers and mechanics fully employed, whether they have returned to civilian life or are available for agricultural projects while still serving in the forces? The first essential will be to secure machinery suitable for our purposes as soon as it can be spared from its war-time role, and organise

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a redistribution to countries and administrative units
which can make good use of it.

There is a general impression amongst farmers in
most countries that the mechanisation of farming will
automatically cause a reduction in the number of
labour hands employed, but this is not necessarily so. In
the type of soil conservation work now envisaged for
India very large tracts will be opened up to more
intensive settlement, but these are now supporting only
a scattered population of graziers or cultivators who can
barely make a living.

India is already dangerously unbalanced by the
war boom in industry; the eating power of the people
and particularly of the soldiers has been greatly
stimulated but the land which alone can produce their
food has been neglected. The land wants not only pro-
tection from erosion but also its full share of manuring
and the fostering care of well-planned husbandry. The
new industries need markets if they are to survive but
their own safe market is a contented and prosperous
peasantry; the purchasing power of India's million
villages can only be raised by developing more fully
their one basic natural resource, namely, the soil.

The Story of Petroleum, A Giant of Modern Industry

In another issue of the same *Journal*
under the above caption, Sir Frank Smith tells
the story of petroleum, from which the follow-
ing extract is made :

The story starts some thousands of years ago
in Mesopotamia, now called Irak, and in Persia, also
called Iran, for Mesopotamia is not only the cradle of
civilisation but it is also the land where petroleum was
first found and used industrially. In the Bible there are
references to pitch and oil and petroleum gases, and it
appears certain that Abraham, who was born at Ur, used
oil to burn in lamps. The Arabic name of Ur means
pitch and near the town and also near Hit there are

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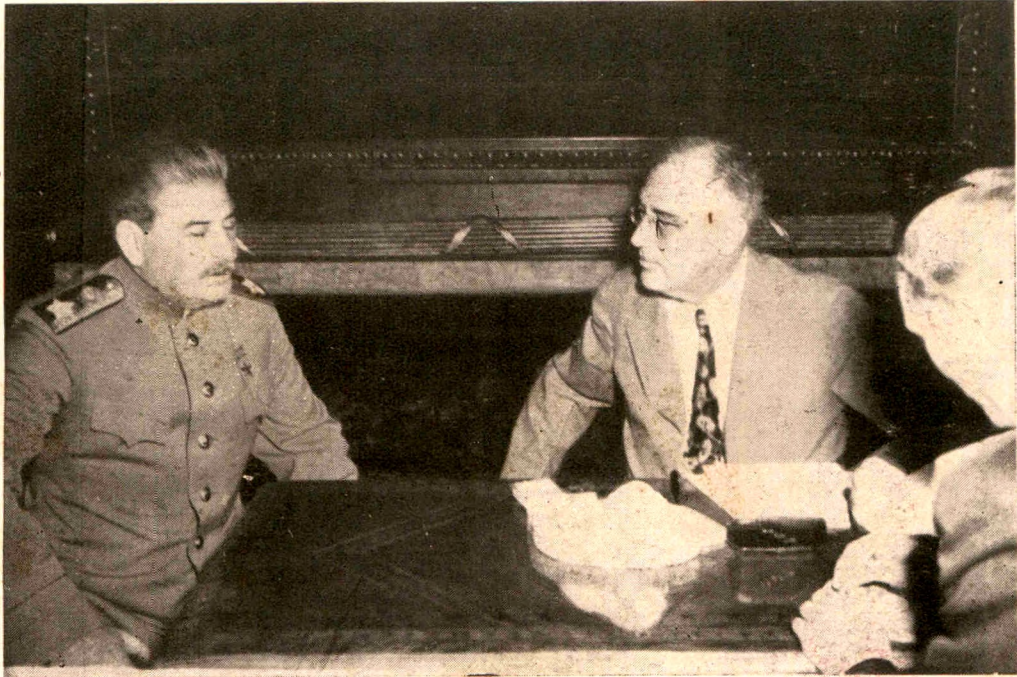
many surface deposits of pitch. Nebuchadnezzar used
pitch as a mortar to hold bricks together, and examina-
tion of parts of the great wall of Babylon and of the
Royal palace of Nebuchadnezzar show pitch oozing
from between the bricks. In those days also the boats
on the Tigris and Euphrates and Noah's Ark, too, were
rendered waterproof by the use of pitch. The circular
river boats were made of gopher wood.

In addition to pitch, there are pools of oil in Irak
and Iran which are fed by liquid which is continually
oozing or seeping from the ground. There are also great
fires of hydrocarbon gas, and some of these have raged
for thousands of years. These gushes of gas do not
appear to have been put to any industrial use, but in
some parts of the country Fire Temples were erected
about the fires, and some of the inhabitants became fire
worshippers.

Until the nineteenth century the pitch and oil were
used for no important practical purpose, and when oil
was discovered in America nobody was particularly
interested. Then someone extracted a special portion of
the oil and found it to be very good to burn in lamps,
and afterwards the internal combustion engine was
developed to run on another extract of petroleum, which
we call petrol.

Petroleum is a mixture of many liquids and has
many gases and solids in solution. It consists of pitch
or bitumen, of fuel oil for burning in ships, of paraffin
wax for candles, of diesel oil for motor buses, of lubri-
cating oil for machinery, of petrol for motor cars, of
gases such as methane, and of special liquids used for
medical purposes.

Thousands of years ago there must have been vast
quantities of petroleum in the earth, but the bulk of it
has crept to the surface and disappeared. Fortunately,
some of it has not escaped; it is surrounded by materials
which it cannot penetrate; to-day we say it is "trapped"
because it cannot get away unaided. Scientists, working
like Sherlock Holmes, have obtained clues to these
traps, even though many of the traps are two miles or
more below the surface of the ground.



Marshal Stalin and President Roosevelt confer in Yalta



This pre-war view of Coblenz shows its strategic importance, situated as it is at the junction of the Rhine and Moselle Rivers

Courtesy : USOWI



SRI CHAITANYA'S PILGRIMAGE TO PURI

By Khagen Roy

(Vidyasagar Hall, Midnapore)

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW

MAY



1945

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NOTES

Indian Industrialisation and International Cartels

In a speech delivered at the eighteenth annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in March last, Mr. G. L. Mehta dealt with a number of problems regarding the post-war industrial development of India. He first of all regretted the absence of a positive declaration on the part of the Government of the policy that they propose to follow in regard to industrial development after the war. The Government policy on this subject has however been published on April 22 last. Mr. Mehta pointed out that our post-war industrial policy was not merely a question of the tariff policy of the Government. A positive assurance was wanted that the Government would protect both those industries which have come into existence during the war, and these which have expanded as a result of the war and which are integral parts of national economy both from external and internal competition. Mr. Mehta pointed out that in other countries, it has been the attitude of the Government to lay the foundations of the post-war development during wartime by and through the development of war industries. In India, this has not been done. During the war, the industries were merely allowed to eke out a precarious existence and only at the concluding stage of the war, the Government have at last come forward with a mere statement of their post-war industrial policy with no machinery for giving shape to that policy. Comparing the Indian position with other countries, Mr. Mehta said :

Today starting from a scratch, countries like Australia and Canada have been able to build up key and heavy industries. Canada is today the second country in the world in the building of cargo-ships, fourth among the world's air powers, and the third trading nation in the world. It had undoubtedly a substratum of industrial development before the war, but many of her industries have been developed during the war; her chemical industries, optical glass and synthetic rubber have been developed from scratch. So also the case of Australia in regard

cannot say that during this war we have been able to build up one single key or heavy industry; in fact, because of the difficulty in getting some essential raw materials, plant and machinery, our industrial development has been handicapped in many respects.

The matter was worse here in respect of some heavy industries. While they were actively fostered in Canada and Australia with Government support as part of war effort, the promotion was discouraged in India as being contrary to war effort.

Dealing with the menace of international cartels and combines, Mr. Mehta said :

This question of international agreements is not merely a question of agreements between Governments which will in the years to come become important. There will also be agreements and arrangements between powerful interests through international cartels and combines. It is very essential that the operations of such cartels and combines, in so far as they affect Indian industry, should be carefully studied. In fact, I venture to suggest that it is time that the Government of India instituted a thorough, comprehensive and impartial inquiry into the ramifications of such international cartels, their operations, their effects, and their rules and regulations, because it is impossible for any indigenous Indian industry to come into existence unless these cartels' activities are controlled in India. In an illuminating pamphlet on the Fertiliser Industry, Sir Padamji Ginwala has shown how both the producer and the consumer in India subsidised the Imperial Chemical Industry before the war. The Indian farmer paid anything from Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 per ton more than the prices obtaining in Great Britain. But this did not benefit the Indian industry but only the British Sulphate of Ammonia Federation. Many years ago, the Tariff Board in India exposed similar ramifications of the Oil Industry, and the instance of the Swedish Match Combine which sent down many small Indian match factories is still fresh in our minds. This question needs immediate attention.

Besides the international cartels, two giant corporations have recently been formed in England, one :

The Minister for Reconstruction for Britain has just increased the guarantee for export trade facilities from £75 million to £200 million. These are ominous signs and the Indian trade and industry ought to be vigilant in this matter.

Indian trade and industry, during this war, has betrayed a woeful lack of co-ordination, imagination, and sympathy for the consumer. They have very badly let those people down who, for years together, have suffered for the development of Indian industries. There is not the slightest doubt that many of our industries, notably cotton textiles and drugs, would not have been where they are today but for the patriotic sentiment and suffering and sacrifice of the consuming public. The industries have betrayed them at a very critical hour of their life for the sole purpose of amassing sky-rocketting profits.

Nationalisation of Industries

The Gods of destiny must be convulsed with mirth at the sight of Delhi and Whitehall repeating King Canute's experiment. The choice, before Britain now is between a complete democratic plan or a true Soviet pattern in toto. No compromise between the two is possible unless it be made plainly with the consent of the people to be experimented upon and without any ulterior motives. Nationalisation strongly laced with communalism, to the exclusion of important fields like ship-building, heavy chemicals and coal where British capital may conveniently sow and reap in safety, plainly means exploitation. This nationalisation, sought to be made with the help of careerists and quislings lured with the hope of undeserved and unearned riches forcibly taken from the helpless consumer, aims at two distinct objectives, to maintain and safeguard British trading and industrial interests, and at the same time to keep American competition at arm's length. We hold no brief for the Indian capitalist, indeed he deserves nothing from the people of this country, judging from the way he has behaved during this war, but we fail to discern any justice or honesty in a move which savours of robbing Peter to pay Paul when Paul happens to be even more unscrupulous and unprincipled.

Democracy permits private enterprise to flourish within legal bounds, with a fair field and no favours. Nationalisation must follow the principle of equity and justice with no favour and no weightage and it must not envisage any Ottawa Pact or Communal Award-like arrangement for the benefit of British capital and for the express purpose of stalling off American competition. Nationalisation, to be successful, must start with the land and end with the sky. There cannot be any half way measure in it. The issue is not whether control and guidance are exercised in a scheme of nationalisation, but who exercises them, and how, and in whose interests.

We wonder if the wiseacres of Delhi and Whitehall are aware of the fact that Indian capital has acted as one of their principal ancillaries during this war, and with the forcible eviction of that, the path of communism—we mean the real article and not the tame "Birmingham make" affair—is clear in India. We do not intend discussing the relative merits or otherwise of either democracy or communism. We only intend showing up the ridiculousness of this ersatz N. E. P. Of course, there are plenty of carrots hung up in the

truly filthy and surreptitious lucre by this wonderful plan.

We know that complete nationalisation of all means of production, trade and transport in a free country and under a truly people's government, like Soviet Russia, has been of the greatest good to the country. We have also experienced how the same nationalisation in an enslaved country and under a foreign government becomes a source of unmitigated suffering. The railways in this country are owned and managed by the State, and as such, technically we may call it nationalised. Every Indian traveller and every Indian trader knows in his heart of hearts and often at a great cost how inhumanly discriminating the railway administration has been.

The second sinister feature in the government plan is the preparation of the system of granting licenses at the discretion of the Executive. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, in criticising the Government plan, has strongly condemned both these schemes of nationalisation and licensing. We have seen during these war years that when this power to grant licenses rests in the hands of representatives or henchmen of foreign vested interests, it becomes the greatest obstacle to trade and industrial development. The plan has been published too late for us to deal fully in the present issue. We reserve fuller comments on it for our next number.

Empire Above All—To Be the British Policy for India

The political storm aroused by Mr. Ernest Bevin's *Labour Will Fight* speech at Leeds continues unabated. The breach between the parties constituting the National Government is now open and obvious. As the war in Europe draws rapidly to its close, the objections to the restoration of full political life in England is fading away. Although there will be bitter differences about who won the war—this or that politician—there will not be the slightest difference of opinion between them about India. The London correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* significantly reports that "some Indians in London keep on saying that Labour will grant India Self-Government, but they forget that Mr. Attlee, who has always claimed the credit for writing the formula which Sir Stafford Cripps took to India, has not changed his attitude towards India. Mr. Attlee represents Labour's official attitude towards India. One thing cannot be over-emphasised—that "Empire above all" is the slogan of all Englishmen, whether extreme Right or extreme Left—except, of course, the Communists—and India is the problem they do not want to handle; some because they really believe that India is better off inside the Empire, others because they do not want to lose votes."

"The same situation obtains to-day as it obtained in 1921 in reference to Ireland. The British Labour then appointed an Investigation Commission and then blessed the Tory compromise of the Irish Free State."

"There is another factor which has entered the situation—that is the increasing strength of the Soviet Union. Many Englishmen opine that it would be best to hold India for fear of her falling into the hands of the Bolsheviks. And while the rights and wrongs of Poland may agitate English minds it is noteworthy there has never been the same righteous indignation expressed regarding the rights and wrongs of the India

"India remains to-day the test of political sincerity, and if there is one thing which is severely rationed in Britain to-day it is this commodity. How true this is will be demonstrated when the present election campaign runs its course. Meanwhile, any Indians pinning their hopes on some solution of the Indian problem coming out of this election will be sadly disillusioned."

Intelligent opinion in India scarcely had any such illusion that Britain, of her own volition, will grant freedom to India. There were, however, some people in this country also who sought to pin their faith in the public pretensions of British statesmen. Their disillusionment will be completed probably when they find that India has but only a very minor place in the Labour Party's Election manifesto.

San Francisco

San Francisco Conference has begun its deliberations. Roosevelt has been prevented by fate from attending it and the other two Allied leaders, Churchill and Stalin have also not found it possible to attend. There have been preliminary differences amongst the big three, but prospects of their composition seem to be in sight. So far, the deliberations have confirmed the shrewd suspicion in many quarters who believed that the ultimate achievement of this conference will be to maintain Imperialism in toto. Judging from the generally pessimistic note about the Conference in the American Press, and some significant assertions thereof, it is now apprehended that the world is going to be divided up between the big powers, and the lion's share will go to Britain and Russia. The *Nationalist* of Calcutta is responsible for the publication of a statement from Upton Close which reads:

Close revealed that after Roosevelt's death some agreement had been reached between Churchill and Stalin with regard to spheres of influence in Asia. He attributed this guess to "some students of Asiatic picture." If a Russian path were opened in North Asia for instance into Korea, Stalin might feel less inclined to question British Imperialism in South Asia. He gloomily pictured China as an unfortunate middle kingdom between growing Russia and recovering British Empire.

An artificial balance of power is sought to be established at San Francisco. We call it artificial because the same methods as had been followed in the League of Nations are again being followed. It is now plain to the world what the fruits of the League of Nations were, and he must be a fool indeed who can dream that the San Francisco Conference following the same lines can achieve any other result. Hitler was the fruit of Versailles, we wonder who would be the next after San Francisco. As in the Versailles and other negotiations after the last war, so in this Conference also we find fencing with truth and attempt at disguising Imperialism as democracy. The case of India is a clear index regarding the sincerity of the conferees' desire for world peace. If India has to acquiesce in the decisions at San Francisco, and to work for them, it would be because of compulsion by force of arms. There can be no other word for it for she has been denied representation as have many others of the untold millions of submerged peoples of the world.

Bernard Shaw on Shape of Things to Come

In reply to the question, "Supposing Russia and China become the dominant powers in Europe and Asia

will it affect the British and American democracies for better or for worse?"—Bernard Shaw said:

There are no such things in the world as British and American democracies. The United States and the British Commonwealth are plutocracies; and there is no future permanence for plutocracy.

Both have passed through feudal plutocracy, maintained by a vast majority of serfs to a Cobdenist or capitalist plutocracy maintained by a vast majority of wage slaves, merchants, financiers, and suburban snobs, and are now passing head-long into Fascist or Nazi plutocracy depending on the same majority, but abandoning Cobdenism and equipping private enterprise with public capital and protecting it by State regulation.

Hitherto all civilisations have got thus far and then collapsed.

The development of Fascism into sufficient Communism to abolish classes by making the whole population inter-marriageable has never been achieved. The U.S.S.R. is making a prodigious and not unpromising attempt at it; but in the west plutocracy is still firmly established on the votes of the poor.

The greatest tragedy of the modern world is that this Anglo-American plutocracy thrives on the votes of the very people whom it exploits.

Commercial Safeguards in the Government of India Act

The Central Assembly has passed without a division Mr. Mannu Subedar's resolution formulating that early action be taken for the removal of Sections 111 to 121 of the Government of India Act 1935, relating to commercial safeguards. The discussion that followed assumed a lively character. The Government's attitude was lukewarm but that of the European group definitely provocative. The Assembly left the Government in no doubt as to its demand that now that India was no longer a debtor to Britain, no justification existed in retaining the clauses which were hampering an evolution of post-war plans of India's economic development. The British commercial reaction, was generally expressed by Sir Henry Richardson, leader of the European group, who said that logic compelled them to recognise that any reciprocal arrangement in the Act or outside it, must involve new restrictions and limitations. The remedy lay not in the removal of a particular block of sections but in the complete re-orientation of methods. Sir Henry referred to the great industrial progress the country had made during the last ten years and said that they provided a complete denial of the statement that the sections in question hampered the development of Indian industry.

The Deputy Leader of Opposition, Mr. Abdul Qayyum, gave a fitting reply to Sir Henry's speech. He asked the leader of the European group whether he was going to rely on the safeguards provided in the Government of India Act, behind which the only sanction was the British army of occupation in India, or on the goodwill of the people of this country. Sir Henry Richardson's words, he went on, were very sweet but the iron hand was visible under the very thin muslin glove. The so-called equality between a British company incorporated in the United Kingdom in carrying on business in India and an Indian company incorporated in British India, he went on, was really a disguised device to kill Indian enterprise.

and industry. After all *one could not have equality between unequals*. Indian industries were just beginning to rise and they could not meet on terms of equality the well-established British industries supported by political power.

Mr. Abdul Qayyum asked whether there were in the constitution of the self-governing British Dominions sections similar to sections 111 to 121 of the Government of India Act. The self-interest of the British community in India and their compatriots in England was so strong, he said, that in peace-time on one pretext or another India was not allowed to have large-scale industries like chemicals, automobile factories, ship-building industries, aircraft factories or even locomotives. Australia had set up a big aircraft industry during wartime but the Central Assembly was told by the Government of India before the war that the materials which were necessary for the manufacture of aircraft in this country could not be obtained on a sufficiently economic basis.

Mr. K. C. Neogy also made some good points. He said that in 1915 when the Industrial Commission was appointed the Government of India contemplated the idea of Indian industries being started by Indians with the help of Indian capital and control. In 1923-24 the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee appointed by the Government of India definitely suggested coastal reservation for Indian shipping. It was a strange irony that what was contemplated seriously by the Government of India in 1923-24, was absolutely unconstitutional for us to contemplate at the present moment.

European Vested Interests and Safeguards

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Opposition, said that the issue lay between the Opposition and the European vested interests in this country, as Government were remaining neutral. This was one of the most extraordinary situations which had arisen in the House during the time he had been a member.

Throughout this time, Mr. Desai said, he had not heard one word from the European group in favour of India's freedom. The European group talked of the right of free trade and free competition in this country. For the moment undoubtedly that right had been conferred upon them by the force of British arms. Right was a creature of law and law was a creature of the legislature which would claim the power to make laws in the interests of India. Right was, therefore, extremely relative and Mr. Desai wished so much emphasis had not been placed upon it. It was by the exercise of brute force, the Leader of the Opposition continued, that eleven members of the European group, representing nobody except themselves, were in the Central Assembly. There was no use planning under the present conditions. If the restrictions were to continue, the plans had better be postponed. The Opposition demanded that the Government of India should be in a position to legislate in the best interests of India and if these restrictions came in their way, the House would be right in asking for the repeal of those restrictions.

In attempting to explain the British commercial position Sir Edward Benthall said that at the Round Table Conference he had favoured a commercial agreement or general understandings between Britain and India

not imposed but negotiated at the conference. When the attempt was made to translate this desire into action, legal pundits found that the political relationship between H.M.G. and the Government of India made it constitutionally inappropriate to execute such an agreement, however unanimous the consensus of opinion might have been at the Round Table Conference. They were therefore reluctantly forced back from the basis of a freely negotiated treaty to the restrictive clauses in the Act.

Mr. Manu Subedar's resolution is bound to have far-reaching consequences. It is reported that a number of European members of the Central Assembly are leaving for London shortly to influence Whitehall against the demand in India for the early abolition of commercial safeguards for the British in the Government of India Act. It is also known that Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Member for Planning and Reconstruction, who expressed sympathy with the resolution, and hinted at the possibility of negotiations to have the questions settled through a convention or treaty, is visiting London next month in this connection. Indian businessmen and the public should see to it that the Indian case is not left entirely in the hands of officials. It should be strongly advocated by a non-official body. The British vested interests will not be prepared to give up to any extent the unconscionable grip the safeguards give them over Indian enterprise by making it impossible for the indigenous industries to be protected against even cut-throat British competition in India. Those Indians who realise that any planning worth the name in this country is an impossibility with the present restrictions in the constitution itself should take all legitimate steps to see that these obnoxious restrictions are removed forthwith.

Road Transport in U. P.

To bring under full control the road transport system in the United Provinces so that cut-throat competition may be eliminated and an adequate and efficient service be provided to the public, the U.P. Government have planned a comprehensive programme for reorganising the road transport services, both for passengers and goods, to be run by substantial joint stock companies in conjunction with the railways. With the help of the Lend-Lease Scheme the U.P. Government will be able to have in course of time 1,800 motor lorries and trucks for the use of 12 such joint stock companies spread over the province. Each single company will be financed with a capital of Rs. 25 lakhs. Thus the 'one man one bus' system, which has proved to be uneconomic and inefficient, would be replaced by an efficiently organised 'controlled monopoly system' with the public having a dominant voice in it. In the joint stock companies the railways will have a substantial interest, the Provincial Government a small interest and the balance will consist of shares to be held by the public; that is, 46 per cent, 5 per cent and 49 per cent respectively. The companies will be compelled to provide rest houses, booking houses and all other facilities that are usually available on a railway journey. The U.P. Government is of the opinion that it will be necessary for these companies eventually to have a monopoly of road transport, but the Government will see that the interest of the public do not suffer and the railways will not be allowed to run these services entirely in the interest of self-interest and

if the interests of the public require road services to be run on unremunerative routes these companies will be compelled to maintain such services.

The interests of the railways are no doubt involved on all routes which run parallel to the railway. For this reason it has been proposed to give the railways a substantial share in the companies. According to the U.P. Government, this has been done to ensure that "the railways will take the same interest in the maintenance and development of road transport as they do in transport by rail, and to ensure such co-ordination of transport by road and by rail which will result in the greatest convenience to the public and to the greatest promotion of economic need by the fullest utilization of both forms of transport." The proposal has been to give the railways concerned a substantial interest and not a controlling interest. The Provincial Government will take up a small number of shares, sufficient to enable it to hold the balance in matter of policy as between the railways and the interests of roads.

This proposal to give the railways a substantial share in the companies may not be looked upon with favour by the people. The Railway have proved, since the very opening of it that the interests of the British commerce and industry would always be given priority over competing Indian interests. During the present war it has been seen that the Railway Administration resorts to such discriminating practices in the most autocratic and brazenfaced manner. Careful attempts have always been made to maintain the entire railway administration under the complete control of British vested interests. Under the Government of India Act of 1935, the railways have been placed under a Statutory Railway Authority over which the Central Legislature of the future will have no control whatsoever. In order to stifle the future road competition, the railways have already made proposals in the Central Legislature to secure complete control over road transport, which was however thrown out.

Competitive road services running parallel to railways have always been encouraged in the U.S.A. and U.K. Such competition puts down the monopolistic tendency in both the systems of transport. In this country also, it is this healthy practice which should be encouraged and fostered. Granting of a substantial share in road transport to the railways together with the balancing share of the Government, both of which are hitched to foreign interests, will in effect mean watering down of the needs and comforts of the Indian people.

Decrease in the Available Supply of Cloth

The cloth famine continues unabated and Bengal continues to be the worst sufferer as is inevitable. The authorities seem to have done their duty by announcing that an overall per capita average of 12 yds. of cloth is available for civilian consumption, according to them this was India's normal consumption and therefore there is no reason why there should be any cloth famine had this quantity reached the average consumer. On April 23, at a Press Conference in Calcutta, Mr. Vellodi, the Textile Commissioner, categorically stated:

The general impression I have gathered during my

supply of cloth or of yarn in the Province as famine, is unwarranted by facts and that it is indeed a gross exaggeration.

Only two weeks ago, Mr. Krishnaraj Thackersay, Chairman of the Textile Control Board, had told a Press Conference at Bombay that if all the cloth manufactured in India in mills and on the handlooms were available for civilian consumption, "there should be sufficient cloth to enable a distribution of 15.75 yds. per capita per annum. Unfortunately a very large slice of this production does not reach the civilian consumer, for out of the total, approximately 750 million yards of cloth per annum—at one time this reached to figure of 1,000 million yards—are supplied to the Defence Services. Over and above this, a further quantity of 23 million pounds of yarn is being taken away by Government, which is equivalent to about 100 million yards of cloth. In addition not less than 600 million yards of cloth per annum are liable to be exported out of the country at the express wish of the Allied Governments to foreign countries. It is difficult to say whether additional cloth is still smuggled out of the country."

In the Report of the Handloom Fact Finding Committee (Appendix XXII) we find that during 1931-39, the per capita consumption of cotton cloth in India ranged between 14.1 to 16.9 yds., the latter figure being for the pre-war year 1938-39. If, therefore, the entire amount of the 6,300 million yards of cloth produced in India were available for civilian consumption, if the Defence and the Inter-Allied requirements had been fully met from England and America, there would not have been any cloth shortage in India. According to Mr. Thackersay, at one time as much as 1,700 million yards were taken out of the Indian production to meet the export demands and the requirements of services in India. Even to this day it is in the neighbourhood of 1,450 million yards. According to a calculation published in the *Eastern Economist* (April 13), the net available for civil consumption is only 4,400 million yards, that is, only 11 yds. per capita per annum. A correspondent of the *Eastern Economist*, who, according to the journal, ought to know and who doubts the accuracy of the figures given out by the Textile Commissioner on different occasions, has given the following alternative estimates:

Mill production	3800	4700
Handloom production	1600	1200
Imports	900	—
Total	6300	5900
Less Exports	—150	—600
Less Defence requirements	—	—900
Net available for consumption	6150	4400

In this calculation it has been rightly claimed that handloom production has gone down from 1600 to 1200 million yards. The production figure of 1600 million yards of handloom cloth is based on the surplus yarn theoretically available for the handlooms; but it is now a hard and unassailable fact that a large quantity of this surplus yarn does not reach the handloom weaver. It is therefore useless to stick to the theoretical production of handloom cloth. Thus we find that the available cloth for civil consumption has been brought

according to the Government, and to 11 yards only according to unofficial calculation.

Government Failure to Aid Production

The question that logically follows is that with the increasing demand on the mills, what have the Government done to increase production? The natural increase in production during war years from 4,000 to 4,800 million yards just balanced the imports. Government assistance was necessary to carry production beyond that point, but that did not come. Mr. Thackersay says:

During all these years no new productive machinery could be obtained and no addition could be made to plant either for fine cloth, coarse cloth or yarn. This is the position even today.

One must remember that there were great opportunities for such expansion. Mr. Thackersay says:

There are two ways of achieving an increase in production. One is rationalisation, and the other is by working the machinery for longer hours than at present. The available machinery in the country could produce 6,000 million yards and perhaps some more yarn; but this could be achieved only under certain conditions, chief of which are more labour and more coal to enable the industry to work three shifts. Both the requirements are not easy to obtain and will need the Government's active assistance.

This active assistance came, but in a reverse direction. In reply to a question put by Mr. K. C. Neogy, on February 13, the Commerce Member of the Government of India admitted that the Textile Commissioner, in view of the coal shortage had suggested in January last to the panel members of the Cotton Textile Board, excepting U.P. and Madras, to advise mills in the areas concerned to have organised closures for short periods to enable them to build up a small stock of coal. The total loss of production due to such closures in January alone was admitted to have been in the neighbourhood of 23.7 million yards. We have however reason to believe that such closures had begun since December last and continued up to March involving a total loss of production of about 70 million yards. Further questioned, the Commerce Member admitted that no jute mill was advised to discontinue working on account of coal shortage, and no instructions were issued or suggestions made to any industry, other than Textile, for a closure or curtailment of output due to want of coal. The coal shortage has also a history behind it. Coal loaded on wagons in the collieries for despatch to other industries were diverted to jute and paper mills. In reply to a question put by Mr. K. C. Neogy on February 20, the Supply Member, Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar admitted that notices under the D.I. Rules had during the last few months, been served in several instances on collieries for the purpose of forcing them to deliver coal to three industries in super-session of the normal approved process of allotment. Of the three such extremely essential industries, Sir Ramaswami named only two—jute and paper—and about the third he said, "I am unable to recollect the third". In any case it was not the cotton mill. Asked about the reason for doing so, Sir Ramaswami stated that if the jute mill industry did not get the coal, the result would be that the Government would be unable to keep its promise of maintenance of minimum price of

jute which it had undertaken. Jute would become excessive, the selling pressure would be such that the prices would topple down and it was "in the interest of the jute producer and the essential economy of Bengal and the jute mills production must be kept up." Jute prices could easily have been kept up by reducing the area under jute, but that could not be done as it would have run counter to the British jute mill industry. The Government, therefore, kept the mills going so that their profits were assured, and were eager to honour their commitments to the jute-growers undertaken for the ultimate benefit of the mills, even when such a step enforced nudity on the people.

Increase in production in other directions also could have been effected, but were not done. Production of mills in South India using hydro-electric power could have been greatly increased, had the Government granted them some facilities about the depreciation allowance for machinery. The Government have not yet responded to the textile industry's request for a higher depreciation allowance in order to compensate for the increased wear and tear of the machinery as a result of the mills having to work additional shift. Similar depreciation allowance has been allowed to coal industry, in spite of the fact that coal raisings have not been substantially increased, probably for the reason that this industry is dominated by British vested interests.

The entire amount of any shortage in production which has been solely due to the fault of the Government, have been deducted from the available supply for civilian consumption.

Export of Cloth

A very important feature of the cloth famine is the forced exports. The Government of India, from the very beginning, maintained an atmosphere of secrecy about the exports. When hard pressed they tried to show that these exports had been undertaken at the request of the industry and in the interest of India for building up an export market abroad. The real truth about the exports has at last come out when Sir Md. Azizul Haque had to admit, in reply to a question put by Mr. K. C. Neogy, that exports of cloth had been undertaken at the behest of the Allies. It was settled at Washington and that the Government of India had no power either to stop or to alter the quantum of such exports. The stages through which Sir Azizul had passed before making this important admission will be of much interest. On November 15, 1944, in reply to a supplementary question asked by Mr. Neogy the Member for Industries had stated that the decision as to quota and quantum of export for the benefit of foreign countries was taken after consulting the Textile Control Board. On February 13 last, when he was asked by Mr. Neogy to produce extracts from the proceedings of the Textile Control Board testifying to their approval of the policy underlying the exports, Sir Azizul said, "My statement that the decision as to the quota for export was taken after consulting the Textile Control Board is not strictly accurate; but it is a fact however that the export trade welcomes the facilities for exporting this quantity and the Textile Board has been kept fully informed since its formation." Mr. Neogy, however, did not let this very important matter drop. On March 8 he asked:

(a) With reference to the reply given by the Honourable Member for Industries and Civil Supplies to my starred question No. 176 on the 14th February, 1945, to the effect that the export trade welcomes the facilities for exporting the allotted quantity of textiles and the Textile Board has been kept fully informed about it, will the Honourable Member please state whether representatives of the Indian Cotton Textile Industry do not generally disapprove of the export policy in this behalf?

(b) Is it a fact that at a meeting of the Panel of the Indian Cotton Textile Industry (Standard Cloth) held on the 31st January, 1943, prominent representatives of the industry, such as Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Sir Shri Ram and Sir Ness Wadia, adversely criticised the export policy of the Government holding that the home market was more important for the industry than the export market and that most of the countries where exports of cotton textiles were being made at the instance of Government, would not remain customers of Indian concerns after the war was over? Is it a fact that representatives of the Indian Cotton Textile Industry and others present at a conference held in Bombay under the Chairmanship of Sir Akbar Hydari on the 1st and 2nd June, 1943, were of the opinion that export of cotton textiles could be permitted only after the internal demand of India had been fully satisfied?

Sir Azizul replied :

It is correct that in January 1943, Sir Shri Ram, Sir Ness Wadia and Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai criticised Government's export policy for the reasons given. They were however a minority in a meeting of 27. We have no detailed records of what was said at the meeting of 1st and 2nd June, 1943; it is possible, however, that some of the invitees to the meeting may have expressed the views suggested by the Hon'ble member.

It was therefore finally revealed that exports had not been undertaken at the request of the Indian textile industry and trade but it had been done for wider and deeper reasons. This reason had also come out on February 13, when Sir Azizul told Mr. Neogy that "All foreign countries do not state their requirements to the Government of India but quotas are determined in accordance with a global planning scheme which is discussed with His Majesty's Government and subsequently considered by the Combined Production and Resources Board, Washington. The types of goods licensed for export against quota are controlled by the Government of India in the light of supply position in the country." He also said that details of quotas fixed for each country were confidential. It is therefore quite clear now that a confidential decision taken in Washington by the British and American Governments can, in effect, reduce the people of India to nudity with the support and assistance of the Government of India. At the same time, it has been authoritatively stated that imports of British textile products are coming. We wonder if the Government of India had even pointed it out to the authorities that these imports of British cloth might be diverted to the Middle East for relieving the Indian exports. Obviously this has not been done. A void has been created in the supply position of cloth in this country and it is only natural that this void will be filled in by the British imports.

Indian Central Rice Committee.

improvement and development of the cultivation and marketing of rice and rice-products and all matters incidental thereto is now pending in the Central Legislative Assembly.

Introducing the Bill, Mr. Tyson said that the funds for the Committee should be provided by the levy of a cess not exceeding a rate of six annas per ton on all paddy which is hulled in power mills in British India. Only 27 per cent of rice produced in India was brought to mills, and the cess works out at less than one pice per maund or one anna per annum to each member of a rice-eating family. It was expected to raise Rs. 24 lakhs a year in this way.

The main object of the Bill is to put rice research, development and technology on a more permanent basis than it stands at present. The deficit production of rice in India, coupled with the increase in population can no doubt be balanced by an increased production in a planned way and to achieve this end, research will be necessary. The Committee, when constituted, would utilise the fund to defray expenditure involved in (a) undertaking, assisting or encouraging agricultural, industrial, technological and economic research; (b) supplying technical advice to growers and owners of mills; (c) encouraging the adoption of improved methods of cultivation and storage; (d) promoting testing, and distributing improved varieties of seeds; (e) aiding the control and destruction of insects and other pests and diseases of paddy and rice both in the field and in storage; (f) promoting the improvement in the marketing of paddy, rice and rice products, including the adoption of standard grades for paddy and rice; (g) collecting statistics from growers, dealers and millers on all relevant matters and improving forecasting of crops; (h) maintaining institutes, farms and stations as necessary; and (i) doing of such other things as may be necessary for carrying out the purposes of the Act.

The Committee is proposed to be formed on lines similar to those of the Indian Tea Cess Committee, Indian Central Cotton Committee, Indian Lac Cess Committee, etc. The Committee will include representatives up to a maximum of 51 members of which 14 will represent rice growers, 14 the rice industry and trade, 5 nominated by the Central Government and the rest forming the technical officers of the Central and Provincial departments of agriculture with the Vice-Chairman of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research as its President. The Bill has been circulated to the provincial governments, and all except Bihar have approved it. Bihar stated that rice was a valuable commercial crop and the cost of research for its improvement should be supported from the ordinary revenues. This was also the opinion of several members of the Assembly. The Bill has been circulated for eliciting public opinion. The *Science and Culture*, published under the guidance of the Indian Science News Association, supports the formation of such a committee but points out that they should have the representatives of the consumers and of universities of similar non-official organisations in it. Further, in its opinion, rice being the staple food (and not a commercial crop), Government should at least provide half of the proposed funds for the Committee. We entirely agree with the views of the Bihar Government in this matter and believe that it is the duty of the Central Government to find the entire amount necessary for maintaining the

of Rs. 8 crores for the rehabilitation of Europeans in their homeland, can and most certainly ought to find this paltry sum of Rs. 24 lakhs themselves, instead of trying to pull this amount out of the pockets of the rice industry and trade, and ultimately the consumer.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt

Seldom has the hour needed and produced the man of destiny, in the history of human civilization, as when in this catastrophic war Roosevelt stepped out on the world stage. And seldom has the hand of Fate removed the man with the tragic suddenness of the passing of the great President. There are other figures in this gigantic struggle on either side with claims for prominent pedestals in the archives of history, but they all possess considerable backgrounds in the continuous process of strife, destruction and trial of International wits, which started with the Entente Cordiale and has culminated with the present world-conflagration. The U.S.A. has up till now kept out of power politics and as such Roosevelt was an unknown quantity when he intervened on the side of democracy when the Axis seemed to be irresistible and all-powerful. By this intervention, Roosevelt has written a whole chapter of World History, indelibly stamped in every page with his towering personality, in shining letters of hope, endeavour and achievement.

In the turning of the tide in favour of the United Nations no other single man can claim the amount of the credit that stands to the account of Roosevelt. No one else had shown so much sympathy and understanding with causes that were apparently lost and no one else had persuaded his nation to undertake so much from purely altruistic motives. India was totally outside the scope of his beneficent actions so far as its nationals are concerned, but a sister Asiatic nation, Free China, owes an irrepayable debt of gratitude to him and through him to the American nation. And for that alone all Asiatics should remember him as being the first great Westerner that displayed a non-acquisitive interest in the affairs of an oriental nation.

Rabindranath Memorial Fund

The re-organised Memorial Committee has made some progress during the few weeks it has functioned. We understand from the Secretary of the committee that the 3 lakhs. mark was reached at the close of the month of April.

An Error Corrected

In the *Modern Review* for April, the Pangire case was incorrectly stated as police zulum in C. P. The incident occurred in the Kolhapur State in the Bombay Presidency. The reference to the Governor of C. P. was therefore needless. We regret this unusual oversight.

Lahore Civil Liberties Conference

The Lahore Civil Liberties Conference, presided over by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, provided a common platform for the Congress, the Muslim League and the other political parties to put forward a united demand for India's independence. Choosing for his theme, the

which pleaded for the conquest of doubts, fears, ignorance and greed all over the world, Mr. Desai declared: "If Roosevelt's statement means anything, it means that this war would have been fought in vain if the subject races, who have been made to fight in this war for freedom and in the name of freedom, are to remain in subjection after the war is over. If Java and Sumatra are to go back as territories to Holland, and Indo-China to France, Malaya to England and Burma is to remain a dependency, and India is to continue as a jewel of the British Crown, then we, as honest men, have no interest in this war. The world will not accept the solution if the new order is going to be a replica of the past, and if the white races continue to rule more than half the world inhabited by coloured races. Millions of men would have died in vain and billions of dollars would have been spent in vain if once again the same issues (still unsolved) are to remain before the world. Supposing the world remained as it was, how could it be said that they had conquered greed—organised greed of white races? The real issue is what is to be the world of tomorrow, if the motive of ambition and greed is going to produce the same series of wars leading to the same series of destruction. Again, how could it be said that the world had conquered fear if India is not free and is always in fear of the British bayonet."

Explaining the Congress attitude towards the war, Mr. Desai said that it was gross misrepresentation to say that we had not offered to go to war with Germany. What was the use of fighting Germany if England was to be free and India to remain a subject nation? If it had been or even now was made our war for our freedom, we would gladly suffer any amount of regimentation and temporary loss of personal liberty. We would gladly and wholeheartedly fight for our own freedom and also of those who compass it. Let the world, before it makes plans for the security and peace of the world by a combined armed force, know that all those arms would only have to be used against the subject races of the world in the next global war, for they will now refuse to remain subjects despite all threats of dire consequences.

Inaugurating the Conference, Mr. Saifuddin Kichlew, the former President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, said that the Civil Liberties Conference was a common platform for every Indian, whatever his political views. There was no one in India who did not want immediate freedom for his country. Mr. Kichlew made it clear that Swaraj will have to be wrested from unwilling hands and we must prepare ourselves to win it by sacrifice and suffering. Raja Ghazafar Ali of the Muslim League said that whatever the enemies of our freedom might think and say, 'a time had come to sink all our differences and to forge a united front for India's freedom.

The Conference discussed the application of the Defence of India Rules in the country. It was of the opinion that the Defence of India Act, Rules and Orders were not being utilised by the Executive for the purposes for which they were designed; but for the suppression of legitimate rights and civil liberties of the people. The Conference condemned the restrictions imposed by the Government hampering the growth of a free press in India. A protest was also made against the misuse of the powers of censorship to suppress news and views of a political nature merely because they were inconvenient and distasteful to the Govern-

The Sapru Plan

Elsewhere in this issue we publish an article on joint electorates, dealing mainly with the Sapru Plan, written by one of the foremost journalists of the land. We do not agree with all his conclusions, but we think it desirable that views from the eminent thinkers on the subject should be given the widest publicity.

It must be admitted that the Sapru Plan is undemocratic in principle because real democracy does not permit of any weightages or special favours or anything of the kind. Race or religion has no claim for special representation in political bodies, high or low, in any land where real democracy is functioning. In Britain, no special representation for the Catholics has been provided in her Parliament although the Catholics consider themselves an entirely different entity as against the Protestants. Similarly in the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R. no separate or special representation has been provided in their Legislatures on religious or racial grounds.

Such measures as envisaged in the Sapru Plan can be acceptable in a democratic constitution on the clear understanding that it will be an interim arrangement and that for the specific purpose of bringing back the joint electorate system into vogue. The greatest possibility of danger in the Plan lies in that if the communal arrangements are torn from the context and shaped by our foreign constitution makers, discarding its joint electorate proviso, it will be a source of unmitigated evil to the country. The entire purpose of the conciliation plan will be completely defeated unless joint electorate be made the *sine qua non*.

Hindu-Muslim Parity at the Central Executive

Three weeks before the publication of the Conciliation Committee's proposals, Sir Mahammad Zafarullah Khan, in an article in the *London Times* under the heading "Communal Issues in India", wrote:

In the Central Executive the Muslim claim to participate on a basis of a 50 per cent share must be conceded. That is to say, half the Ministers at the Centre must be Muslim and the head of the State should be alternately a Muslim and a non-Muslim."

This is exactly what Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has proposed although with the proviso of joint electorates. Sir Zafarullah then says:

Regarding defence and other Central services, the Muslim claim would again be half.

This article was substantially reproduced in the *Statesman*, Delhi Edition, dated March 23, 1945. By the side of this article was printed a letter from a Muslim under caption "Ending the Deadlock: A Muslim View" which suggested the following solution:

There is one way in which H. M. G. can intervene. They must now have been convinced that the Muslim nation is so irreconcilably opposed to a United India. If H. M. G. must intervene they can do so by framing a constitution and imposing it on the basis of Muslim autonomy and keeping it in force until another agreed constitution is presented to them jointly by Indian parties.

A liberal Hindu, Rai Bahadur Chunilal Roy, Retired Deputy Commissioner of Excise and Salt,

Bihar, sent a reply to this letter, but the *Statesman* did not publish it. This letter was ultimately published in the *Bihar Herald*, dated April 3, one week before the publication of the Sapru proposals. Mr. Roy replied to Sir Md. Zafarullah's proposals in the following words:

Fifty per cent share for Muslims in the Central Executive is exceedingly unjust, not only for the very large Hindu majority, but also for minorities other than Muslims who will possibly never get a chance of coming into the picture, although their aggregate percentage is 10, i.e. two-fifths of that of the Muslims. It would really mean domination by the 24 per cent minority over the majority constituting 76 per cent; and if simple majority domination is bad, minority rules must be worse. Fifty per cent for Hindus constituting 66 per cent of the population and 50 per cent for Muslims and other minorities (or even 48 per cent for the Hindus, 35 per cent for Muslims and 17 per cent for other minorities) would be more equitable. In defence services, why should non-Muslim proportion, 66 per cent during troubled periods of war (*vide* Mr. Amery's statement in Commons on 8th July, 1943) and with more than 75 per cent VC's earned, be suddenly cut down to 50, to enable the Muslims to have his 50 per cent in easy times of peace?

Broadcasting of the reactionary Muslim views and suppression of the corresponding Hindu opinion in the organs of British Imperialism in this country and abroad, unmistakably indicates that attempts will now be made to adopt all the worst features of the Sapru proposals, torn from its context of joint electorates, as the basis for the drafting of the future constitution of India. Zafarullah has forestalled Sapru.

The Home Member's London Visit

According to the *National Call*, there is something ominous and sinister behind Sir Francis Mudie, the Home Member's hurried visit to London. The *Call* believes that he has been summoned to be beside India Office during the Wavell talks, and that his and Mr. Conran-Smith, the Home Secretary's visit is not entirely in connection with the recruitment of Imperial services, although it will form one of the subjects of their visit.

The *National Call* has already published that Lord Wavell has gone with a valuable gift from India to Britishers in the Army in that they can get into the Indian Civil Service and the Imperial Police Service through selection and nomination and without competition. The process has already begun in and at the cost of Bengal. The Government of India, it appears, has already agreed to the lowering of qualifications giving exemptions in age limits, etc., and what is more, the arrangement would be not merely a war-time expedient but a permanent feature of recruitment of the heaven-born services. The fifty-fifty ratio is being maintained. The *National Call* understands that a modest proposal that the recruitment may be on the basis of 70 Indians and 30 Britishers was turned down. The *Call* understands that Lord Wavell has already taken that gesture of goodwill from Delhi. Sir Francis Mudie and Mr. Conran-Smith should not be needed for that purpose unless the India Office is not competent to frame rules granting facilities and exemptions to British personnel in the Indian Army now in United Kingdom and willing to join the Imperial Services.

An independent India will certainly require that the Indian administration be run by fully nationalized services, solely in the national interest. The existence of foreigners in the highest administrative posts of a country, specially where such foreigners are recruited from the ruling class, is a hindrance to the progress of the country which pays them. Egypt bitterly realised the force of this obvious truth and India is doing it now. In the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, drastic regulations against the inclusion of foreigners in the Administrative Services have been provided. In India also, a complete liquidation of the existing I.C.S. and I.P.S. is necessary. Highly efficient Civil and Police Services can be built up in this country at a much lower cost if the recruitment is confined solely to the test of merit, and to the complete exclusion of nomination and selection on any grounds whatsoever. Minority representation on the services may be confined to the giving of a full and fair opportunity for qualifying for the competitive examinations. If services of any foreign expert be necessary for any branch of the services, special contracts may be made to that effect. Knowing the growth of such sentiments in India; the authorities at White Hall have become eager to get India committed to the inclusion of Britishers in the services to such an extent that she will be compelled to retain them for fear of paying a staggering amount by way of compensation in case the services are liquidated. This argument however has not much force in it. If India can pay alms to the white men of Europe, through the U.N.R.R.A., to the extent of Rs. 8 crores, she can certainly find means to purchase the British pets in the services.

Political Motives for Mudie's Visit

The *National Call* writes :

It is wellknown in New Delhi particularly among political quarters that there is always an inner cabinet for every Viceroy. The Home Member, the Director of Central Intelligence Bureau, the Foreign Secretary and the Political Adviser form this inner circle. Sometimes suitable additions are made for special objectives. This inner circle, it is said, is not happy over the proposed changes in the Central Government. It wants the *status quo* at least for the duration of the war and has already explained to high quarters now that the coming in of popular governments would prejudice war effort !

Sir Francis Mudie belongs to this inner group. This group has its spokesman in the person of Sir Reginald Maxwell as adviser to the Secretary of State for India. Sir Reginald was Home Member here before Sir Francis Mudie came and everyone in India knows how ill-disposed he was towards the political parties in India. Sir Reginald made Mr. M. N. Roy the adopted son of the British bureaucracy here with Sir Maurice Hallet, the Governor of the United Provinces as Roy's godfather.

According to lobby talks Sir Francis is being called to strengthen the reactionary forces in Whitehall and to sabotage the Wavell Mission, supposing that Mission had the objective of a political settlement in India. The question of the recruitment of services may be a side-issue, an issue on which the Home Secretary, Mr. E. Conran-Smith would be able to have a better say.

Sir Francis Mudie according to his own speech in the Legislative Assembly last week (which a local contemporary characterised as 'remarkable' and 'confrontational') said that he did not believe that the Con-

gress had given up the 1942 spirit. It is said that he thinks that the move to get the Congress into the Central Government and the provinces was intended mainly for the rehabilitation of the Congress organisation and high officialdom in New Delhi represented by the Inner Cabinet would not like to facilitate such a state of affairs. Sir Francis Mudie has not taken lessons from Sir Maurice Hallet in vain, is the comment heard in political quarters.

The attempt to revive reactionary Muslim League activities in London and Cambridge just at the moment when Lord Wavell is banking on the Desai-Liaquat Pact may not be without significance. It is not possible to guess the precise intention of Lord Wavell's visit and the cause of its prolongation, but from the report quoted above it may be understood that the Viceroy's visit has caused some amount of nervousness in diehard quarters both at New Delhi and in London.

Opposition to the Formation of London Muslim League

Sheik Abdul Gaffur, a Moslem barrister in London, has decided to form a new organization called the Muslim League of Great Britain, in collaboration with a number of Moslem students of the London, Cambridge, Manchester and Edinburgh universities.

The object of the new League will be to support the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan. Two prominent Muslim organizations in London, namely, the Indian Nationalist Muslim Association and the New Indian Centre opened by Syed A. M. Qureshi, have decided to oppose the move for establishing a new communal organization in London.

Syed Qureshi stated in an interview that any member of the new organization would not be eligible for membership of the Centre. 'A majority of members of the Centre are against the formation of any communal or sectarian organization in this country,' he said.

Mr. Horace Alexander has pointed out in his admirable little book *India Since Cripps* that the first germ of Pakistan was planted at Cambridge by a Muslim named Mr. Rahamat Ali. This same gentleman has of late been publishing nicely got-up pamphlets explaining his Pakistan scheme with maps specially drawn for the purpose which shows that the whole of India should be painted green with occasional white Hindu spots. It is therefore only to be expected that attempts would be made to convert Cambridge, together with London, into centres of League activity on the eve of the drafting of a new Constitution for India.

Bombay Planners Support Economics of Pakistan

The *Indian Social Reformer* writes :

Sir H. P. Mody and Mr. John Mathai have maintained in a memorandum submitted by them to the Sapru Committee that Pakistan is economically possible. We called attention some months back to an article in the *American Foreign Affairs* by a geologist who analysing the available data, pronounced that Pakistan would have few of the mineral resources needed for important industries. Everything is economically possible. If there is not enough food to go round, you may achieve the economic possibility by tightening your belt. Some American industrialists have framed a scheme to make the Sahara desert an economic paradise

Mussolini's achievement in making Libya a flourishing Italian colony evoked the admiration of observers, including the eminent English Socialist Brailsford. In any case, the issue of Pakistan cannot be decided on economic considerations. If mineral resources are the chief factor to be taken into account, Great Britain would not be entitled to be an independent State. Pakistan, again, may be a land overflowing with milk and honey. But that would not outweigh the moral and historical considerations which make it out of the question. It is not for the industrialist or the economist to decide on questions of national boundaries. If all that the two Bombay magnates intended to say was that Pakistan need not be put out of court on the ground of its economic insufficiency, they would be right but the relevancy of the opinion at this juncture may be questioned. Anyhow, Mr. Jinnah should be duly grateful to the good Samaritans for intervening to prevent Pakistan from perishing on the wayside.

The memorandum of these two gentlemen is no doubt fraught with great mischief. They have supported what men like Sir Sultan Ahmed and Dr. Ambedkar believed to be an absurdity.

Separate Representation for Ahoms in Assam

Separate representation for Ahoms in the Local Boards has created a great controversy in the Assam Valley. The *Sylhet Chronicle* writes that charges are being levelled against the Congress Party in the Legislature for agreeing to such communal representation for Ahoms in the Local Boards. Emboldened by this success, the Ahoms are now claiming separate representation in the Legislature as well. It is reassuring to note however that the progressive Ahom Leaders have denounced this separatist tendency and the present concession of separate representation in the Local Boards has been very much resented. This is a new thing in the political life of Assam. S. J. Gopinath Bardoloi, Leader of the Congress Party in the Assam Legislative Assembly, has been compelled to issue a statement to clear this position but he does not seem to have succeeded in removing all doubts. He has emphatically said that till the Congress could not function as a lawful body, they must maintain *status quo ante* with regard to questions of a controversial nature of this sort. It is difficult to follow this argument. The last Saadullah Cabinet had no doubt made this mischief in spite of the futile protest of the Congress Party which then was in a hopeless minority. But now that the Congress in Assam has come to hold the balance of power in the Legislature and has entered into an agreement with Sir Md. Saadullah, the repeal of this mischievous measure should have been demanded. But not only that nothing of the sort has been done, Mr. Bardoloi has come forward to support *status quo ante*. Moreover, Mr. S. N. Bargohain, President of the Ahom Association and the chief exponent of this separate representation for the Ahoms, continues as a Minister in the Saadullah Cabinet functioning with Congress support.

It must be noted here that the Congress Cabinet in the Frontier Province has drafted Bills for introducing joint electorates in Local Boards. The late Khan Bahadur Allah Bux had also introduced joint electorates for Local Boards in Sind which was

repealed by the Ghulam Hossain Cabinet which took over the administration after him. The addition of one more separate communal constituency for representation to the Local Boards under Congress patronage certainly detracts from the Congress ideal.

Govt. Price Control Measures

Mr. J. Humphrey, Chairman of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce, in his presidential address to the annual general meeting of the Chamber, criticised the Central Government in regard to their price control and trade policy. He said that the systems of controls appeared to have been hastily conceived and introduced, followed by constant additions, amendments and corrections which could not help acting to the serious detriment of honest trading. His Chamber feared that in the measures and methods now adopted, the foundation of normal trade might be so completely destroyed or at least weakened as to seriously imperil its future.

Mr. Humphrey emphasised that the Chamber would view with grave apprehension any suggestion on the part of the Government—Central or Provincial—to become traders. He said: "I mention this because there seem to be indications of this happening."

Intelligent opinion in the country will perfectly agree with Mr. Humphrey in this respect. Ninety per cent of the present-day bungling and mismanagement in the distribution of food, fuel, cloth and other essential commodities have been due to the Government's entry into trade and distribution. Sir Hugh Dow, Governor of Sind, who addressed the Chamber, seems to have admitted the soundness of Mr. Humphrey's views when he said that he would like to see war-time controls over trade and all attempts at Government trading abandoned at the earliest possible moment. When we remember that the Government have been relentlessly planning and preparing for post-war controls over trade and industry, we must take Sir Hugh Dow's opinion as purely personal and indicating no change in the official policy.

Sumner Welles on Asia's Freedom

Mr. Sumner Welles, former Under-Secretary of State for U.S.A., writes in the *New York Herald Tribune*:

This time the desire for freedom will be even more widespread since many people will be inspired by the principles of the Atlantic Charter. If the United Nations Conference fails to deal with this great problem in the same spirit in which this war for freedom has been waged, Mr. Gandhi's prophecy that unless the peoples of the East obtain their fundamental liberties another and bloodier war will be inevitable will bid fair to be realised. . . . The people of the Orient are not going to be satisfied this time with unimplemented promises.

Mr. Welles has suggested international trusteeship for the administration of colonial areas to which countries like India will not certainly agree.

Death for Devotion to Duty

Two incidents of a revolting nature have been reported during the last University Examinations. One happened at Rangpore where a Pandit who had in-

curring the displeasure of an examinee taking unfair means at the Matriculation Examination was stabbed on the street and was removed to the local hospital in a precarious condition. We do not know definitely if he is still alive.

The second one is of much more serious nature and happened in broad day-light in the city of Calcutta. A gentleman named Makhan Lal Chanda, who had been acting as an Invigilator in the University B.A. Examination at the Darbhanga Buildings was murdered. On April 8, according to a report published in the *Azad*, the Bengali organ of the Muslim League Party, his dead body was taken in a rickshaw to the Calcutta Medical College where the two men accompanying the body, desired first aid for the man saying that he had fainted. When his body was being taken in a stretcher, they together with the rickshaw-puller, disappeared in broad day-light. Nothing has since been heard about it during the last three weeks.

We call this incident a disgrace for the police and the University authorities alike. What has so far been done to detect the criminal who is responsible for taking away the life of a man who did nothing more than his duty? If these things are allowed to happen unalloyed *goonda raj* will be established in the country. We refuse to believe that the police is powerless to detect the criminal. Did Chanda incur the displeasure of any examinee? Does the present Controller of Examinations know it? Was that examinee produced before the Controller? Has the police taken serious steps to ascertain facts that led to this murder? Nobody will ever believe that this incident had happened without any history behind it.

We draw the attention of the Governor of Bengal to this incident particularly for two reasons. He is the Chancellor of the University, and it is necessary that to maintain the fair name of the University, he should move to find out the culprit or culprits who murdered Chanda for doing his duty to the University. The other authorities of this body have done nothing during the past three weeks, and it is now necessary that the Chancellor should step in. Secondly, the maintenance of law and order in the entire province is now under his sole charge, and as the Chief Magistrate of the Province we think it is his solemn duty to set the entire machinery of the Executive Government for detecting the foul criminals and bringing them to justice.

Rabindranath as an Economist

The *Commerce and Industry* gives a graphic account of the achievements of Sriniketan. Rabindranath had pronounced economic ideas. He believed in the rehabilitation of rural life and the advancement of the economic condition of the village folk through cottage industries. He differed with Gandhiji in some fundamentals of rural economics. Tagore, unlike Gandhiji, wanted to apply and in fact did apply electric power to cottage industry. He understood the efficacy and usefulness of rural industries but he did not believe that *charka* alone could bring political salvation for the country. Tagore started a centre of rural economy and agriculture at Sriniketan. He did not live to see its complete fruition, but his economic ideas reach us today through his dream centre at Sriniketan. We

give below relevant extracts to illustrate the achievements of Sriniketan :

This is an ideal rural colony in a part of Bengal free from heavy rainfall and from the industrial exploitation that goes on the area not far off. The total number of workers is 456. On the industrial side the following figures of the average monthly earnings per month per head will be found interesting.

1940-41	..	..	Rs. 9
1941-42	..	..	Rs. 13
1942-43	..	..	Rs. 15
1943-44	..	..	Rs. 28

The total sale and production from 1938-39 to 1943-44 was as follows :

Sale	Production
20,000	18,000
40,000	42,000
81,000	82,000
1,40,000	1,50,000
2,90,000	3,00,000

Apart from the abnormal year of the war the figures show a gradually rising level of income as a result of better organisation and better output.

In terms of individual industries the following figures of income per head will be found useful.

Lattice work Rs. 37, weaving Rs. 32, carpentry Rs. 35, pottery Rs. 28, book-binding Rs. 24, paper making Rs. 8. Of high quality is bathick, (hand-printing), some of it is copied from Java, where it had gone from India.

The weaving shed contains some beautiful machinery of the Japanese model and can be used by power which, unlike in Sewagram, is permitted here.

In passing, it might be stated that only forty workers reside in Sriniketan and work regularly, one hundred come every day from the villages around, while in other cases work is taken to the villagers' homes, material being given to them for being converted into marketable products after a period of training.

The Sriniketan farm is the *tour de force* of the planners of the experiment. First-rate sugarcane crops are being grown here and all kinds of experiments of an intensive nature are being made. Special attention is being paid to seeds and cuttings which are supplied to the villages around. Besides the twenty acres under sugar cultivation, 80 acres are devoted to the cultivation of paddy, vegetables and fruits.

Like Tagore's poetry the fruit garden nursery is beautifully varied. Every type of fruit that can be grown in the soil is being tried. Like Tagore's metres, all kind of experiments are being made in grafting one variety to another. Attempts are being made to produce mangoes which if successful would make the farm beat every record in India, for at no single place can you get the *langdas* of Benares and the *bunganapallies* of Madras. In fulfilment of the spirit of exploration the great workers here are trying a unique cotton plant which will also yield flax. They are also trying to grow rubber.

The dairy is a study in veterinary eugenics. Not all experiments are successful but the cross-breeding is yielding valuable results. The Harianis have not found a natural home in Bengal, while two Sindhi bulls have settled down comfortably to produce a new race.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE last scene in the European theatre is fast approaching with the Russians battering their way across Berlin. The final thrust was delivered at the last barriers, put up by the Wehrmacht across the road to Berlin, with the colossal weight of 15,00,000 men and tens of thousands of mechanized weapons. The defences cracked and the Gargantuan spear-head surged forward until it bit deep into the nerve-centre of the Reich. Fire and fury and carnage followed and the world is now awaiting the news of the finale; the climax has come and history is being written and re-written with fast moving pen of Mars. The warning has been broadcast that this is not the end, and that Germany of the Nazis might yet try to stage another suicide attempt at resistance along the bulwarks of the South. It is true that organized resistance has not yet come to an end and the much-hoped-for sudden cracking-up of the Wehrmacht has failed to materialise. But with the linking-up of the Americans with the Soviets' forces the continuity of resistance measures has been sundered into two and the already desperate odds against which Germany is fighting are likely to be immensely increased in the immediate future. The end is in sight according to Mr. Churchill and he may at last have made a correct prophecy.

The actual course of the battle—or rather battles for Germany is fighting three desperate battles on disjointed fronts—is blacked out under the fire and smoke of war. The occasional flickering glimpses we do get through the news seem to indicate that there is still direction and organisation behind the defenders though their resistance is crumbling up under the vast preponderance of numbers and the weight of arms. The strain is telling, and the resignation of Goering is a pointer, but as yet there is no sign of the defence folding up. The defence has assumed a form of fanatic fury that does not give up till death, and what the Nazis met at Stalingrad and the Americans are meeting at Okinawa may well be duplicated in another form in the several theatres of war into which the Reich is being rapidly split. There is not much to write at this stage beyond indicating that the Wehrmacht is making a last desperate attempt at reconstructing and re-arranging its defence strategy in order to prolong the war and to make its costs even heavier to the United Nations than what it stands at for the present. It was stated a little while back that Germany has got about a hundred divisions in Bavaria and the South-Eastern parts of the Reich. Further the defence that is being put up in those areas has not appreciably diminished in fury. It is to be seen whether all these moves at prolonging the war, which is but four months short of the beginning of the seventh year, can be checked in time by the Allied and the Soviets' strategists. The world has come very near absolute ruin, specially where the Western civilizations are concerned, and further prolongation might mean that the Allies would win a Pyrrhic victory. In Italy the Allies have crossed the Po at last and with the approach of summer decisive moves should follow.

In Burma things have started moving with some speed at last. Air opposition by the Japanese has been knocked out for all practical purposes and that has made the matter of supplying the fighting forces by air—and servicing them by the same means—a dependable and very considerable factor. This has substantially solved the main problems that faced the Allied forces and now we see the tempo of advance considerably accelerated. The monsoons are not very far off now in Lower Burma but now there are hopes that the 14th division may beat it in the race to Rangoon. With the freeing of the Arakan coast and the occupation of Lower Burma one of the main headaches of the Allied Command in South-East Asia would be removed. Seaborne expeditions will find some scope and the War for Burma, Malay, the Dutch East-Indies and further beyond, which seems as yet to be merged into the dim distant future might leap in sharp relief in the not-so-distant future.

In the Far East and the Pacific there has not been any sharp change. In China drive and counter-drive of the trans-continental railway is continuing in the same ding-dong fashion as before. The Chinese have achieved some successes but as yet the peril of the Japanese in the areas concerned is still very real as is evident from their latest moves. At Okinawa the Japanese resistance is as furious as ever and it seems to follow the pattern of the defence of Iwojima very closely. Further the defence here is greater force, with considerable air-support and therefore suicide defence to the last seems to be a foregone conclusion.

The most significant point in the war against Japan has been the extreme effectiveness of American air-power. As at Iwojima—and before that in the Philippines—in Okinawa the Japanese have been unable to refit or reinforce the defence forces to any perceptible extent due to the terrific far-flung weight and hitting capacity of the American air forces. Even in Burma the American tactical air force has knocked out the entire supply and refitting organisation of the Japs from the air and has been thus instrumental in isolating the individual garrisons that are opposing the Allied advance. If to this complete supremacy in the air we add the tremendous volume of air-borne supplies that are sustaining the Allied advance in Burma, we get a real and true picture of the main factor in the defeats that have been and are still being inflicted on the Japanese. In no other field has the supremacy been anywhere near as complete, though thanks to the titanic volume of American production the Allies are in a superior position in every sphere where the weight and variety of arms are concerned. With the continuous elongation of supply lines the strain on Allied supply and maintenance organisations is increasing and contrawise Japan's capacity for aerial opposition is increasing and this is the problem that is taking definite shape out of the Pacific campaign for the Allied strategists.

JOINT ELECTORATE

By HEMENDRA PRASAD GHOSE

THE insistence of the Sapru Committee on the acceptance of joint electorates is, perhaps, one of the most important decisions arrived at after the bitter experience of many years.

Separate electorates based on communal considerations are a creation of British Imperialism which has found it handy to perpetuate British domination in India. Far-sighted Mahomedans, like far-sighted Hindus had been opposed to separate electorates—even to fixing a number of seats in representative bodies—fixed on communal considerations.

At the second Bombay Congress (1889) an amendment was moved by a Mahomedan delegate demanding an equal number of Mahomedan members on the Legislative Councils. The amendment was opposed by no less a person than Mr. Hamid Ali Khan who claimed that he represented the Mahomedan community as also the Hindus. He first adduced the argument that such a claim was preposterous and said :

"I honestly believe that while no good can come out of demanding or even obtaining an equal number of Musalman members on the Legislative Councils, you will necessarily rouse suspicion regarding your relations with and intentions towards your Hindu brethren, by attempting thus, without any just cause or reason, to violate the principle of population on which our entire scheme of representation has been based, in furtherance of what some of you suppose to be your own special class interests."

He next referred to a possibility which has, since, become a positive danger :

"Moreover, you directly incite other communities, who are now perfectly satisfied with the scheme as propounded, to make similar preposterous claims. If you disregard the population standard—if you say, no matter if the Hindus number 15 crores and we only 5, we will have as many members in the Councils as they—why, by a parity of reason or unreason, should not the Parsees, the Jains, the Sikhs, the Europeans, the Eurasians, each and all claim to have as many members in the Councils as you or the Hindus? Gentlemen, the thing is absurd."

He paid a compliment to the Hindus when he said :

"The educated Hindus have never, and all history is my witness—attempted in any way to injure the Mahomedans."

The amendment which Mr. Hamid Ali Khan opposed ran as follows :

"That the following skeleton scheme for the reform and reconstitution of the Council of the Governor-General for making Laws and Regulations, and the Provincial Legislative Councils is adopted, and that the President of this Congress do submit the same to Charles Bradlaugh, Esq., M.P., with the respectful request that he may be pleased to cause a Bill to be drafted on the lines indicated in this skeleton scheme and introduce the same in the British House of Commons."

The Scheme was thus adumbrated :

"(1) The Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils to consist respectively of Members not less than one-half of whom are to be elected, not more than one-fourth to sit *ex-officio*, and the rest to be nominated by Government.

"(2) Revenue districts to constitute ordinarily territorial units for electoral purposes.

"(3) All British subjects above 21 years of age possessing certain qualifications and not subject to certain disqualifications (both of which will be settled later) to be voters.

"(4) Voters in each district to elect representatives to one or more electoral bodies, according to local circumstances, at the rate of 12 per million of the total population of the district, such representatives to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications, both of which will be settled later.

"(5) All the representatives to be thus elected by all the districts included in the jurisdiction of each electoral body, to elect members to the Imperial Legislature at the rate of 1 per every 5 millions of the total population of the electoral jurisdiction, and to their own Provincial Legislature at the rate of 1 per million of the said total population, in such wise that whenever the Parsis, Christians, Muhammadans or Hindus are in a minority, the total number of Parsis, Christians, Muhammadans or Hindus, as the case may be, elected to the Provincial Legislature, shall not, so far as may be possible, bear a less proportion to the total number of members elected thereto, than the total number of Parsis, Christians, Hindus or Muhammadans, as the case may be, in such electoral jurisdiction, bears to its total population. Members of both Legislatures to possess certain qualifications and not to be subject to certain disqualifications both of which will be settled later.

"(6) All elections to be by ballot."

The resolution embodying the scheme was moved by Mr. Eardley Norton. Among the speakers who supported the resolution were Mr. G. Subramania Iyer, Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee.

This was the beginning of an important demand by the Indian National Congress ; and the Congress rejected the demand made by a Mahomedan delegate to have Mahomedan representation in excess to the numerical strength of the community.

It was a far cry from 1889 to 1906. The intervening period was remarkable for the Swadeshi agitation emanating from the determination of the Government to perpetuate a partition of the province of Bengal. The attempt to drive a wedge between the two major communities of India can be traced to the anti-Congress activities of British administrators in India. And it is worth recalling that when "the ablest work in the anti-Congress literature"—a pamphlet which bears the name of Oday Pertap Singh, Rajah of Bhinga" was examined by Sir Charles Dilke he remarked :

"The title is 'Democracy not suited to India'—a phrase which in itself seems to have the ring of a Lieutenant-Governor's study."

Though the attempt of the officials to wean away Mahomedans as a community from the national movement in India was not as successful as they wished it to be it certainly acted as slow-poison and its results clearly manifested themselves during the agitation over the partition of Bengal, when the first Lieutenant-Governor of the short-lived province—Eastern Bengal

and Assam—called the Mahomedans of that province his "favourite wife" and a situation created in which the Mahomedans hoped to dominate in East Bengal. Communal passions were played upon by unscrupulous emissaries of reactionary leaders with the result that communal riots broke out in various places and a leaflet was issued in which the following appeared :

"The Government and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca had passed orders to the effect that nobody could be punished for plundering and oppressing the Hindus."

The experiment of dividing Bengal into two provinces against the wishes of the people failed and what Lord Morley, the then Secretary of State for India, called a "settled fact" was unsettled. But the experiment of setting one community against another was encouraging—so encouraging that Lord Minto as Viceroy and Governor-General of India tried to continue the ingenious policy of dividing the people of India into hostile sections. On 28th May, 1906, he wrote to Lord Morley :

"I have been thinking a good deal lately of a possible counterpoise to Congress aims."

Thinking soon became crystallized in acting. And on October 1st, 1906, a Mahomedan deputation headed by the Agha Khan presented an address to the Viceroy. It was a "command performance." In the address which was verbose in composition and vacillating in tone it was said :

"We would . . . suggest that local authority should, in every case, be required to declare the number of Hindus and Mohammadans entitled to seats on Municipal and District Boards, such population to be determined in accordance with the numerical strength, social status, local influence and special requirements of either community. Once their relative proportion is authoritatively determined, we would suggest that either community should be allowed severally to return their own representatives."

In the service of the State it urged the rejection of Moslem candidates "on the ground of relatively superior qualifications having to be given precedence."

Lord Minto replying to the address said :

"The pith of your address, as I understand it, is a claim that, in any system of representation, whether it affects a Municipality, a District Board, or a Legislative Council, in which it is proposed to introduce or increase an electoral organisation, the Mahomedan community should be represented as a community. . . . You justly claim that your position should be estimated not merely on your numerical strength, but in respect to the political importance of your community and the service it has rendered to the Empire. I am entirely in accord with you."

An entry in Lady Minto's diary on the day is interesting. It is called "a very eventful epoch in Indian history." On that day she received a letter from an official in which it was written :

"I must send Your Excellency a line to say that a very big thing has happened to-day, a work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many years. It is nothing less than the pulling back of 62 millions of people from joining the ranks of seditious opposition."

That this policy of weaning quite a section of

ful would be evident from the fact that by 1916 the Muslim League had made such headway that at its Lucknow session the Congress accepted what is generally called the Congress-Muslim League Scheme of Reforms. The fourth clause of the Scheme ran as follows :

"Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and the Mahomedans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils in the following proportions—

Punjab—one-half of the elected Indian Members.
United Provinces—30 p.c.
Bengal—40 p.c.
Bihar—25 p.c.
Central Provinces—15 p.c.
Madras—15 p.c.
Bombay—one-third.

"Provided that no Mahomedan shall participate in any of the other elections to the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Councils, save and except those by electorates representing special interests."

"Provided further that no Bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with, if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose the Bill or any clause thereof or the resolution."

It has to be remembered that this resolution was adopted at a session of the Congress in which both sections of Indian nationalists had met after long years of separation. The President referred to the union after the Surat split in his address :

"After nearly ten years of painful separation and wanderings through the wilderness of misunderstandings and the mazes of unpleasant controversies, each widening the breach and lengthening the chain of separation, both the wings of the Indian Nationalist party have come to realise the fact that united they stand, but divided they fall, and brothers have at last met brothers, and embraced each other with the gush and ardour peculiar to a reconciliation after a long separation."

There is no gainsaying the fact that the two wings of the Indian Nationalist party had travelled, from widely different points, through the valleys of disillusion and disappointment to meet by the unifying waters of a common suffering but during the period that had intervened between the session of the Congress held at Surat and the session that met at Lucknow the Indian National Congress had lost that vigour which it retained once more at its session at Calcutta the next year. And there will always be room for doubt if the resolution acquiescing in separate electorates would have been accepted without vigorous opposition in a session dominated by leaders like those who had stood for self-government at Surat.

The acceptance of the principle of separate electorates dealt a severe blow at the ideal of nationalism which the Congress workers had suffered sacrifices to foster.

The effect of this blow manifested itself in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms.

As the opinion expressed by Lord Minto was "inspired"—time was not lost to advance the experiment adumbrated and in 1909 the Mahomedans were given especial representation with separate electorates. And the Lucknow Congress made the best of a bad bargain in the hope that with the advance of nationalism the Mahomedan leaders will realise the retarding effect of the system of separate electorates on the making of a nation and reject it.

The signatories to the Montagu-Chelmsford Report indulged in especial pleading when they admitted the evil that must emanate from separate electorates and yet supported its retention in the case of the largest minority community in India. They made the following observations:

"We conclude unhesitatingly that the history of self-government among the nations who developed it, and spread it through the world, is decisively against the admission by the State of any divided allegiance; against the State's arranging its members in any way which encourages them to think of themselves primarily as citizens of any smaller unit than itself."

They continued:

"Division by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organised against each other, and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citizens; and it is difficult to see how the change from this system to national representation is ever to occur. The British Government is often accused of dividing men in order to govern them. But if it unnecessarily divides them at the very moment when it professes to start them on the road to governing themselves, it will find it difficult to meet the charge of being hypocritical or short-sighted."

They even put stress on the serious results of the system which they admitted to be "opposed to the teaching of history" and remarked:

"A minority which is given special representation owing to its weak and backward state is positively encouraged to settle down into a feeling of satisfied security; it is under no inducement to educate and qualify itself to make good the ground which it has lost compared with the stronger majority. On the other hand, the latter will be tempted to feel that they have done all they need do for their weaker fellow-countrymen, and that they are free to use their power for their own purpose. The give-and-take which is the essence of political life is lacking. There is no inducement to the one side to forbear, or to the other to exert itself."

They even regarded any system of communal electorates "as a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing princes." But they only shuddered at the prospect of its extension and not at its "settled existence" in the case of the Mahomedans. Here they indulged in elaborate especial pleading:

"We must face the hard facts. The Muhammadans were given special representation with separate electorates in 1909. The Hindus' acquiescence is embodied in the present agreement between the political leaders of the two communities. The Muhammadans regard these as settled facts, and any attempt to go back on them would rouse a storm of bitter protest and put a severe strain on the loyalty of a community which has behaved with conspicuous loyalty during a period of very great

difficulty, and which we know to be feeling no small anxiety for its own welfare under a system of popular government. . . . Much as we regret the necessity, we are convinced that so far as the Muhammadans at all events are concerned the present system must be maintained until conditions alter, even at the price of slower progress towards the realization of a common citizenship."

Thus the case of the Mahomedans was placed on a footing different not only from that of nationalism but also of the other minority communities.

The only remark of importance made—"But we can see no reason to set up communal representation for Muhammadans in any province where they form a majority of the voters"—was afterwards conveniently forgotten and subsequently "weightage" was prescribed for this community and the Hindu community divided horizontally by the recognition of the separate rights of the so-called Scheduled Castes, after the division of the nation vertically.

When the time for a fresh move arrived and the Round Table Conference arranged, the experiment of the British keeping India as a subject country by pursuing the policy of "divide and rule" had manifested its possibilities. And when Mr. Garvin wrote a three-column article in the *Observer* on "A Saving Plan for India" he urged the framing of a federal system for the United States of all-India; he examined the demand of 70,000,000 Indian Moslems and remarked that this huge formidable element—"the world's biggest minority", but virtually a co-equal force—must possess in any new system political "weightages" very largely in excess of its numbers. He remarked:

"That this strength of Islam is not a sure support favourable to the British position as formerly is our own fault. If the federation plan is to succeed a 'Moslem Charter' will have to be granted almost to the full extent."

He voiced the opinion of the sun-dried bureaucrats and said to the British nation:

"On all things we must be sympathetic, on many things we must be hardy, and even daring in concessions, on some things we must be firm as a rock."

And a "Moslem Charter" was one of the things on which he asked the Britishers to be "firm as a rock."

The history of the so-called Communal Award is too recent to require detailed treatment. But it is an "accomplished fact." That in the interest of nationalism and the progress of our nation we want it to be unsettled goes without saying. But if we are sincere we must be prepared to suffer sacrifices, if need be, to convince the various communities which must coalesce and come together to form a united nation to go back to the old order of the joint electorate and any sacrifice that we may be called upon to suffer will only redound to its glory.

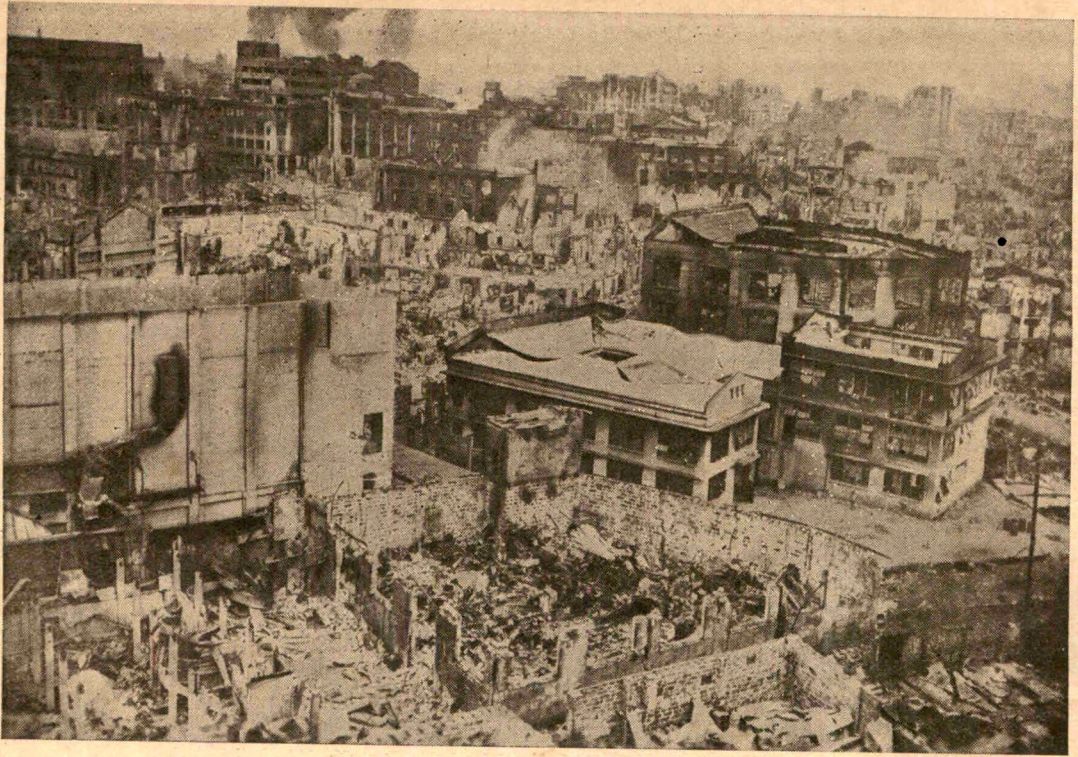
The time will come when experience will convince all communities in India that our political salvation lies in co-operation. Till then we must have patience and cultivate charity even for the weakness which others may manifest through misconception of the ultimate good, and win them over to the common cause of nationalism by preferring the energy of action to the heat of friction to achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves.



En route to the Rhine, a 3rd U.S. Army convoy crosses a tread-way bridge built by U.S. combat engineers over the Prum River



After crossing the Roer River in Germany, infantrymen of the ninth U.S. Army march through a wrecked town
 Courtesy : USOWI



The Japanese set fire to the Manila buildings to bar the progress of U. S. troops



U. S. Marines fire at Japanese positions on Iwo Jima

Courtesy : USOWI

RIGHT OF NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION

Its Theory and Practice

By PROF. C. L. GHEEWALA, M.A.

The demand for the right of 'Self-determination' on behalf of small nationalities is one of the most complicated and baffling problem of modern politics. Theoretically almost every nation pays homage to the principle but in actual practice varied and conflicting interpretations, dictated by political and economic considerations, have been put upon it. The history of post-war Europe provides numerous examples of the application of this principle leading to the fragmentation of the middle and eastern Europe into a number of sovereign states in the name of national Self-determination.

The most eloquent exponent and champion of this principle of Self-determination was President Wilson who was responsible for formulating the "War-aims" during the last World War. Emphasizing the "rights of small nations" he laid down "that no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful." He further observed in his address to the Congress in February 1918 that "Self-determination is not a mere phrase. It is an imperative principle of action, which the statesmen will henceforth ignore at their peril." However, it is amply demonstrated by the post-war period that these pronouncements that the war was fought for the defence of democracy, justice and liberty, were largely meant for popular consumption and that the Allied Governments utilized the slogan of Self-determination primarily to encourage the disruption of the enemy states.

The principle of Self-determination must be examined in the context of the three important aspects arising in the process of its application. Firstly, the basis of the demarcation of a nation; secondly, the channel for the expression of the nation's will; thirdly, the limits of the national will.

(1) The first aspect raised a number of complicated questions. What is a nation? By which criterion can it be determined? Different writers have emphasized different aspects of group homogeneity ranging from language, race, religion, civilization, and territory. Space does not permit any discussion of the various theories relating to the term nation, but it may be stated that in the contemporary world the demarcation of a nation is based on either the criterion of race or language. It is almost impossible to demarcate a group on the basis of race. Biologists and scientists authoritatively tell us that "pure races" are a myth of the pseudo-scientist. The population of the modern world is so closely mixed through migrations, wars, conquests, and miscegenation that any attempt to establish the racial purity of any group is doomed to failure. The real fact is that under cover of the racial myth, the Nazis and the Fascists have exploited the volcanic forces released by such irrational appeals to the 'blood', for rationalizing their designs of aggrandisement or persecution of certain minorities. Again, hardly any relation can be established between race and language. As Schuman points out, the one is a biological phenomenon and the other is a part of the cultural legacy of the past. If the Swiss nationals can use French, German or Italian and yet be Swiss, the Belgians can speak French or Flemish and yet be Belgians, it is difficult to accept language alone as the criterion of nationality. A nation is a product of a complex of historical forces, and a number of strands combine to produce the sentiment of national consciousness.

A nation in this sense is a very evasive and elusive group claiming a territorial demarcation and political

independence on the basis of unity in regard to race, language, religion and civilization. Numerous difficulties were experienced at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, when a demand was made for translating the principle of Self-determination into a political reality. It became patently clear that in a large number of cases the political boundaries could not be made to coincide with the racial, linguistic or religious boundaries. Central Europe presented the spectacle of a veritable tower of Babel with its numerous intermingling languages. Mr. N. Brailsford gives us the classic example of Macedonians who were claimed by six nations as their nationals! "The question as to which nationality the Macedonians really belonged to was the despair of ethnologists and the nightmare of European Cabinets." Though the Macedonians did not speak the Greek language, they were claimed by the Greek propagandists on the basis of a common Greek civilization. The Bulgarians argued that the majority of them were Bulgarians both in speech and sympathy. Serbians challenging the Bulgarians, asserted that they had much in common with the Macedonian dialects and folk-lore. The Albanians claimed them on the basis of race, whereas the Rumanians discovered affinity in language and civilization with a certain section of the population. And lastly the Turks, like the British in India, claimed to hold an even balance between the conflicting interests of minorities and establish an impartial government! Of course, the principle was applied to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Finland, Estonia and other states, but the new boundaries demanded for these states were dictated more by considerations of political, economic and military strategy and territorial aggrandisement than by purely national considerations. It may be even asserted that where such changes were likely to thwart the power or ambitions of the victors, these very champions of 'Self-determination' in the name of democracy and justice, stoutly opposed such changes. Thus the Germans in Tyrol, Alsace and Polish corridor were transferred under foreign rule without their consent, and likewise, the Hungarians were placed under the Rumanian, Czech and Yugoslav authorities. Self-determination thus became a principle of expediency rather than an imperative principle of action as President Wilson claimed it to be.

Again the U.S.S.R. solution of the problem of nationalities is both instructing and illuminating. The Bolsheviks flung the slogan of Self-determination at a time when Lenin both anticipated and desired what Zimmern describes as 'the break-up of that bourgeois nationalist society which he so detested.' Soviet Russia has evolved a unique constitution which seeks to hold within itself as many as 180 nationalities with 151 different languages. The federal structure of U.S.S.R. has constitutive units which themselves are federal in structure. From the point of view of the application of the principle of Self-determination, it is significant to note that the right to secession as granted by the Article 17 of the Constitution of 1936, applies only to the eleven Union Republics. Here too, the condition laid down is that they must be situated on the frontiers and that secession must be geographically feasible. The twenty-two autonomous Republics are independent only in the management of local affairs, and cannot assert 'Self-determination to the point of secession.' On this issue Stalin frankly admitted that the policy in 1917 was dictated more by "the concrete facts of the international situation and the interests of the Revolution" than by any allegiance to the democratic principle of Self-determination. "This is why," he said, "the Communists fight for the secession of colonies from the

entente, but they must at the same time fight against the severance of border regions from Russia."

In addition to this, we must bear in mind the character of the Soviet political system which is described by Sir John Maynard, 'as one of intense centralization.' The constituent units of different grades have no right to formulate independent policies in regard to subjects like foreign policy and Defence, and economic programme. All such subjects are to be centrally determined and regulated. What the constituent nationalities actually enjoy in practice is the right to cultural autonomy. In fact any attempt at a declaration of independence or even a movement in that direction, or enacting of any legislation contrary to Bolshevik ideas or the directions of the Communist Party, as was amply demonstrated during the Purges of 1937-38, would be interpreted as 'treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities' and as such would be ruthlessly suppressed.

The Soviet achievement in this direction and the propaganda carried on most assiduously in countries like India at the present juncture by the Communist party, need to be accepted with considerable qualifications. It must be remembered that the right to secede is a right on paper only. And, further 'the exercise of the right of secession is effectively prevented by the structure of the Soviet State and the Communist doctrine that governs it.'—(Michael T. Flounsky). Again, the centralisation of power at the centre in important matters and the dictates of Bolshevik ideology through the Communist Party render 'autonomy' of the constituent bodies practically nugatory. What exists in Russia is the recognition of the cultural autonomy of the nationalities involving the freedom to use their languages in the sphere of education and administration, and the encouragement of their literature and cultural institutions.

It is undesirable, nay dangerous to bring about a fragmentation of the world into a large number of small sovereign-states. They had a chance of surviving in the days of Balance of Power and Nineteenth Century economic liberalism. But with the rise of economic nationalism in terms of economic self-sufficiency, the small nation-states have no future. Whereas, when the modern world recognises the need for larger federal unions with a view to minimise national frictions and future wars, the demand for a small independent nation-state represents a revival of an outworn anachronism. It is necessary to pay heed to the warning given by the eminent writer Frederick Hertz "that national Self-determination is intended for nations and not for fragments of nations. It would be absurd to allow every province or town of a State to claim the right of secession. This would lead to a paralysing instability in everything and to political and social disintegration."

(2) With the progress of democracy the method of Plebiscite has received increasing recognition as a means of expressing national Self-determination. The two Napoleons made a successful use of the method for securing popular approval of their capture of power or annexations. Plebiscites were resorted to by the Italian States before their amalgamation in the present kingdom. By virtue of the treaties of 1919 nine popular referenda were held, in Schleswig, Allenstein, Marienwerder, Upper Silesia, Eupen, Malmedy, Klagenfurt, Burgenland, and the Saar Valley. In Schleswig, the population preferred to remain under German rather than Danish and the East Prussians in Allenstein and Marienwerder voted for German rather than Polish control. Eupen and Malmedy former German territories chose the Belgian rule. In Upper Silesia, the League Council divided the area to the disgust of nationalists in both countries; and by the Plebiscite of 1935, Saar territory was restored to Germany. In our days, Hitler has proved himself to be a master in the art of mani-

The method of Plebiscite presents numerous dangers and difficulties in its actual operation. It is almost impossible to create the necessary conditions conducive for its normal exercise. In order that the people must be free to record their decisions, the atmosphere must be free from pressure, terror and suggestion. Even when an adequate electoral procedure and neutral policing are provided for, as Schoman points out, plebiscite embitters national feeling and leads to bribery, coercion and terrorism on both sides. The method fails to secure the free expression of the genuine national will. Instead the people record through their votes their fears, prejudices and economic interests, in accordance with the dictates of political expediency and the verdict of force. It is well-known that the Nazi method of plebiscites aims at hypnotizing the masses by an extraordinary technique of suggestion, ranging from the use of exciting speeches, intoxicating slogans, clever allurements and sinister intimidations through the press, the 'platform and the radio. The big drums, martial music, the flood of flags, dazzling illumination, the roar of bombers, all have contributed to the creation of an atmosphere under which critical judgment or intelligence can hardly function. In the light of this, even the most thorough-going democrat will be justified in being skeptical about the utility of plebiscites as a practical basis for the expression of national self-determination. In this connection it may be of interest to note the opinion of the League Council expressed when it refused to approve a plebiscite in the Aaland Islands, occupied by Finland and claimed by Sweden. The Committee observe "that to concede to minorities either of language or of religion or to any fractions of a population the right of withdrawing from the community to which they belong because it is their wish or their good pleasure, would be to destroy order and stability within states and to inaugurate anarchy in international life; it would be to uphold a theory incompatible with the very idea of the State as a territorial and political unity."

(3) The third question refers to the necessity of recognising the legitimate limits to the rights of national self-determination. Nationalism in the post-war world has assumed a bellicose and belligerent character and has found expression in the doctrines of aggressive economic nationalism and military megalomania. As Germany and Italy have demonstrated, such demands for national self-determination merely serve as a facade for advancing their annexationist ambitions. Once the right of self-determination is accepted, other demands emerge in terms of 'historic' frontiers, 'manifest destiny' and economic self-sufficiency. It becomes a basis for national irredentism, a fruitful source of conflict and annexationist policy in the international sphere. Alsace-Lorraine, Upper Silesia, Danzig, Memel were all in one form or other the part of the national 'irredenta' to be liberated or redeemed. As pointed out by Frederick Hertz the militarization of the Rhineland by Hitler in defiance of international law, was no extension of the democratic principle of self-determination but was 'the first step towards his policy of world-conquest and world-enslavement.' In a world of close international interdependence it is imperative to recognise that no nation-state in the name of self-determination can claim to exercise unlimited powers of Sovereignty. The history of Europe after 1919 is full of tragic experiences arising out of the application of the principle of self-determination. Having 'Balkanized' Central Europe, the principle assumed its most dangerous form in the hands of the Nazis and the Fascists. The German minorities became the 'Trojan horses' bringing about the destruction of the very states in which they lived. If the world is to live in peace after this second World War, we will have to relegate 'Sovereignty' and 'Self-determination' to their proper place and recognise the limitations arising out of the imperative needs of a larger world organiza-

A REVIVALIST

Our Debt to the Swami Shradananda

PART III*

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

XXIV

We fancy one thing. We build another. Often quite another.

Has the love from which sprang the design proved capricious? No. At least not in nine cases out of ten.

Has the purpose changed? We think it has not. In reality, it has, however.

When the image of our fancy is placed upon the anvil of reality and the ten-ton hammer of actuality is striking against it at an interval of every tenth of a second, it begins taking a shape. That shape, whatever it be, fascinates us.

That fascination prevents us from discerning that the forehead has not the protuberance that we gave it in our imagination. We do not see that the eyes are oblique—not almond-shaped. The nose is snub, not aquiline; the chin ends in a point instead of being square, as we had made it in our minds.

But for the purblindness superinduced by our partiality, we may throw away in sheer disgust the figure that comes out of the factory of fact. With the pride of paternity, however, we hug it to our breast. We hiss and spit at critics who point to the flat forehead, the slitlike eyes, the upturned nose and weak chin. We deride these men, for, to us they are fools or knaves, or more likely both.

XXV

I watched this great Punjabi, known as Munshi Ram then and as Shradhanand later, as he was coming to terms with reality in the early years of this century. Watching from a distance—half the world was between him and me most of the time from 1905 onwards—I had the advantage of perspective that I otherwise might have lacked.

Since Drona the Acharya was putting the princes and peasant boys from the Kuru and Pandava kingdoms through the paces, the world had moved on. Knowledge had been accumulating during these thousands of years. Science had been evolving, particularly after the Middle Ages. Art had been finding its way into man's life and giving that life an irresistible lift from materiality towards the upper regions of the senses and even towards the spiritual stratosphere.

Peoples who, in Drona's day, had hardly discarded skins and furs for homespun had perfected mechanical processes that archery, however cleverly practised, or the handloom, no matter how skilfully plied, could meet or match. Distance had been largely abolished. What remained of it was being pushed almost to the vanishing point.

The sky had been invaded—tentatively as yet. The ether was being punched and pushed by waves of Hertz's discovery, popularly known as the radio waves.

The aggressive spirit that characterized this transition had invaded every nook and cranny of outer life. This invasion was, however, of little consequence compared with the conquest of the mind and the heavy shadow lengthening against the soul.

XXVI

The vision splendid that Munshi Ram, now the Acharya, brought from the banks of the Beas as it flows near Jullundhar to the forest clearing across Ganga Mai near Hardwar, had, of necessity, to be mated with reality as it had been twisted and turned in the lathe of eternal transition. It was really the child of this duality that he was to wet-nurse, often, I ear, oblivious of the duality.

Ah me! Even this nursling of his was not to be permitted to grow undisturbed. Its eyes were to be extracted and glass eyes put in their place. Its face was to be lined—furrowed—tattooed. One limb was to be lengthened, another shortened. Wholly new feet were to be given it—feet pulled about by wires instead of having the play that Nature gives through nerve-impelled tendons and living muscles.

Worse still was to happen. Acharya Munshi Ram's right to lay down the law as to what was and what was not to be done was to be questioned. He was to be regarded as an amateur in education—indeed, a rank outsider. The respect—even the awe—in which he had been hitherto held was to wear thin. The giants of the forest upon which the axe had not fallen and which stood sentinel over the *Gurukula*, were to be disquieted with the impatient noise of disruption whereas, not long before, they had heard only the chirrup of birds and the yapping and yelping of their four-footed fellow-denizens of the forest.

What agony was to be Munshi Ram's portion! How it was to give his life an entirely new direction!

XXVII

All this was destined to happen. It could, however, have been discerned only by a seer. To most mortals the institution had begun under the most favourable auspices.

The boys were the *Guru's* own, those of his kinsfolk, friends and admirers. It could not have been otherwise. Without faith in Munshi Ram, the risk involved in the *Gurukula* education could not be taken in the twentieth century.

Fortunately his was known to be a great heart—leonine yet tender as a woman's. Against it youngsters could snuggle. In snuggling they would forget the pangs of parting from their parents. That thought consoled mothers and not merely fathers, more easily consoled.

The bosoms of the helpers swelled with pride for the preceptor. Was he not transmuting an age-old

* For Parts I and II of this series, please see *The Modern Review* for March and April, 1945.

vision into a twentieth century reality. Each man of them hung upon his words, longed to carry out any and every behest of his with the literalness that is supposed to have vanished from this earth since it rolled out of the Middle Ages.

XXVIII

The path that the boys were to tread was, moreover, made. It was straight, broad and smooth. There was no mistaking it. For years it would need no mending, certainly no adding to or broadening.

The path?

The old Aryan path. Of Munshi Ram's conceiving, to be sure, but that conception quickened by millennia-old tradition. It led directly—inevitably—to the treasures of the ancient arts and sciences—treasures valuable for the body, mind and soul—valuable for this life and for the life everlasting.

In Munshi Ram's estimation, he had planted in the first decade of the twentieth century, the feet of his boys to tread over the foot-prints left behind by boys of India's Golden Age. As they trod it they chanted *mantrams* from the *Veda*—the self-same words and in the self-same intonations of those youngsters of the far, far-away yester years. These verses, he expected, would inspire them in identical fashion.

XXIX

The more tender the age at which he put the boys to learning the Sanskrit, he felt, the better it would be for them—the better for society as a whole. Their minds would be the more receptive—their vocal organs the more pliable and, therefore, their utterance (*uchcharana*) the more perfect.

Persons who had accepted the Mahatma's dictum that education was to be broad-based upon Aryan culture had no difficulty in appreciating, with full force, the emphasis he placed upon the acquisition of the Sanskrit. That language was to be mastered by every pupil, whether he intended, in the course of years, to qualify as a Vedic missionary, or a healing physician, or proposed to obtain only an arts degree, with which to enter the *shastra*-prescribed "householder's stage" that lies next to the *vidyarthi's* (student's).

XXX

Instruction in the *Gurukula* was to be imparted through the medium of what Munshi Ram called *Arya bhasha*. This may be translated as the language in use to-day by us, the descendants of the Aryans.

It was called, in my childhood, *Nagri*—literally of, or pertaining to, the metropolis—the speech of polite (urban) society. Some spoke of it as Hindi.

The effort to popularize it in the Punjab antedated the Swami Dayanand's coming there. The pioneer was an Indian who, even to-day, would be considered remarkable but in the eighteen-sixties and -seventies had hardly any peer in northwestern India.

Babu Nobin Chandra Roy by name, he had been born in Meerut in 1838 A.D. In a circumstance so distressing that it would have disheartened any one less courageous, he, while in his early teens, learnt English. He had already acquired a good working knowledge of Persian. All this the boy did while supporting his mother, who had become demented through her husband—his father—turning away from the world. He taught himself higher mathematics with tattered

books picked up from booths vending cast-off articles; qualified as an engineer's assistant; became an accountant; rose to the top of the accounts service; and in the evening of his life was the trusted Minister of a Maharaja in Central India.

Associated with Roy in the Brahmo Samaj, of which he was, I believe, the first convert in the Punjab, where he served, was a drawing master from what we now call the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Best known as Shri Dev Guru Bhagwan, he spoke and wrote beautiful Hindi.

After the coming of the Swami Dayanand, with his soul ablaze with enthusiasm for Vedic revival, the cult of *Arya Bhasha*, as he styled it, made new converts. It must, however, be remembered that even in the eighteen-eighties, when I first became cognizant of men and matters; the progress made in the Punjab in this direction was slight.

XXXI

The creator of the *Gurukula* was certainly no child of the free institutions of the Golden Age. He had, on the contrary, been bred and born—grown to man's estate—in the era of subordination. He had, in consequence, climbed up the educational ladder manufactured by Thomas Babbington (Lord) Macaulay or by men who, like him, suffered from race and intellectual arrogance. He had not learnt Hindi in boyhood. He had, in fact, had no choice but to study, at first Urdu and Persian and later English. He was taught no Sanskrit. To the end of his days the *Veda* in the original remained largely a sealed treasure to him. Judging him and appraising his work, we must bear such limitations in mind—limitations for which he was in no wise blameworthy.

When Munshi Ram finally saw the light, he took to the *Arya Bhasha* with zeal. This, however, exposed him to the wrath of Punjabis who were keen upon furthering the cause of the language of the province—the Punjabi.

My father, for instance. How many times I heard him protesting to this friend of his:

"My mother-tongue is good enough for me. You may regard it as the language of yokels all you please."

Some work had, of course, been done in manufacturing text-books in Hindi. It had been begun by Nobin Chandra Roy. Under his inspiration and with his help, Bhanu Dutt, a Punjabi Brahman, and others, carried it on with some vigour.

I am confining my remarks to the province of the Five Rivers. Upon going to Benares in the early years of this century and settling down at Sarnath for a time, I found that Pandit Ram Narain Misra, originally from Amritsar, and his colleagues of the Kashi Nagri Pracharini Sabha, were actively and enthusiastically at work.

With the *Gurukula* in being, the endeavour was greatly accelerated and the composition of text-books was taken in hand. It was pushed forward energetically. As the boys advanced in age and studies, they found that their needs in this respect had been anticipated; and their progress was not held up through lack of books.

XXXII

As the original batch of *vidyarthi's* completed the elementary stage of education, a new phase in the life-history of the *Gurukula* opened. It was a phase of difficulty, complexity, contention and contest.

Higher studies must now be taken in hand. Sanskrit and Sanskrit culture must needs be assigned an important place in the scheme for secondary and college education. Even for young men who were to be missionaries in the cause of Aryan revival, these subjects could not, however, be deemed to be wholly adequate. They must learn something of sister systems of logic, psychology, ethics, dogma, exegesis and other branches of culture. Without at least an elementary knowledge of comparative religion, they would be pitched and tossed on the sea of controversy in which they, upon leaving the educational haven, would soon find themselves embarked.

Then, too, there were the others whom the Acharya, with all his enthusiasm for *Vedic* revival, could not prevent from making for other channels. They would need to acquire intellectual and technical equipment for making a success of their "householder's life."

XXXIII

Impelled by these urgencies as Munshi Ram was, he made a manful effort to hold fast to the past—the past that, to other mortals, was dead and had better remain buried: but to him was alive and life-giving. The other hand, however, he extended to grab the new.

The vision splendid that he had beheld did not blind him to this need. The training to be imparted in the medical faculty serves to illustrate this duality of objective.

The students were to be instructed in the discoveries made by the ancients versed in the science of life (*Ayurveda*). They were to be taught all there was to learn about the simples and herbs, potions and applications, which the physicians and surgeons had found effective during the preceding three millenniums. They were to be instructed in the cures prescribed by *Susruta*, *Charaka*, and a host of others, and the guides for health and hygiene they, by acute observation in clinics, in hospital, sick room and life in general, and by careful experimentation, had perfected.

The knowledge gained in other lands, particularly in Europe and America, during recent centuries was, however, not to be boycotted. Since the Middle Ages medicine had progressed from witchcraft to science. The advance had been rapid, especially during the nineteenth century and the pace was becoming accelerated.

With a few exceptions, foreign doctors looked superciliously upon *Ayurveda*. Indians who had studied medicine under them had become largely alienated from the past. Aping their teachers and associates, they derided their forbears' achievements. In their view the ancients were merely quacks. What could medical science (to them only the imported system was "science") have to do with quackery?

If ever there was wrong-headedness, it was this. Munshi Ram was fortunate in having at his beck and call Indians who had the eye to perceive it as such. Some of them helped him to work out a scheme that enabled the *vidyarthi*s to derive benefit from both the Eastern and Western schools.

XXXIV

The teaching of history, too, presented a problem, seemingly insusceptible of quick solution. All the books available were written in English by men who suffered from the "superiority complex," or those who had

grown up under their influence and, as a consequence, suffered from the "inferiority complex."

Some of these historians were actually cogs in the administration that held any and every Indian in subordination. One may be a member of the Indian "Civil" Service or may have retired a little earlier. Another may be or may have been a unit in an adjunct of that "Service"—the Education Service. A third may have been connected with a learned body in Britain that regarded India as a market for its living products. No openly commercial interest was more solicitous of keeping to itself a market than these graduate-manufacturing agencies.

When the history texts had been written, moreover, the fires of the Indian Sepoy Mutiny had hardly been extinguished. Passions still burned in the British breast.

Even the men sent out to dig our ruins and to decipher our lithic inscriptions and our numismatic legends, were not free from bias. To them Hellas was the *parens parentes* of civilization. They, therefore, read into our antiquity an imitative impulse.

XXXV

What good opening the *Gurukula* if teaching of history, pre-history and proto-history was to be based upon text-books emanating from such sources?

If, however, the text-books were discarded, what was to be substituted in their place?

Improvisation in a department of research such as this was risky. Yet improvisation was the only means that could serve the institution's purposes during its early years—improvisation plus the spirit with which the students handled the hastily prepared text-books in *Arya Bhasha* under the guidance of the professors.

Upon my shelves repose certain paper-bound volumes in Hindi that were among the products of such improvisation. They are from the pen of Rama Deva, of whom I have already written and to whom I shall refer again in the instalment that follows. Considering the rapidity with which they were compiled and rushed off to press, they are no mean achievement.

The soundness of teaching in history is attested to by the work done by some of the *Gurukula Snataks* (graduates). To this I shall refer in the article that follows this.

XXXVI

What I have said of the "history schools" applied with equal force to the departments of politics and economics. As text-booked and taught in institutions dominated by Universities, themselves not independent of a Government, itself in the Whitehall leading strings, they have been the politics and economics fit only for people in subservience.

The *Gurukula* authorities could not possibly escape that conclusion. Not having escaped that conclusion, could they have rested until they had evolved literature in their own medium of instruction that would nourish the students' minds and inspire their spirits to bring nearer the day when we, too, would walk among the peoples of the world with head held erect and high, like theirs.

XXXVII

Lastly—or was it initially?—was the problem pertaining to the place to be assigned in the scheme of

linguistics and literature to our rulers' mother tongue. Firstly, was it to have any place there at all?

The Acharya Drona and his contemporaries could never have been bothered by that question. If they had heard of it at all, they would have quickly dismissed it from their minds, as a language insufficiently developed to be of any great use for the purposes they had in view.

Had not Macaulay, however, boasted, in 1835 :

" . . . The claims of our language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West. It abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us: with models of every species of eloquence; with historical compositions, which, considered merely as narratives, have seldom been surpassed and which, considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction, have never been equalled; with just and lively representations of human life and human nature, with the most profound speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisdiction, and trade; with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of men. Whoever knows that language, has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth, which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations. It may safely be said that the literature now extant in that language is of far greater value than all the literature which 300 years ago was extant in all the languages of the world together."

To quote Macaulay further, he declared :

" . . . I have never found one among them (Orientalists) who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia."

And again :

"It would hardly be disputed, I suppose, that the department of literature in which the Eastern writers stand highest is poetry. And I certainly never met any Orientalist who ventured to maintain that the Arabic and Sanskrit poetry could be compared to that of the great European nations. But, when we pass from works of imagination to works in which facts are recorded and general principles investigated, the superiority of the Europeans becomes absolutely immeasurable. It is, I believe, no exaggeration to say, that all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanskrit language is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltry abridgments used at preparatory schools in England. In every branch of physical and moral philosophy the relative position of the two nations is nearly the same."

XXXVIII

There seems to have been method in Macaulay's madness. The reader may judge of the real *raison d'être* from this extract made from a letter he wrote his father a little later :

" . . . The effect of this (English) education on the Hindoos is prodigious. No Hindoo who has received English education, ever remains sincerely

attached to his religion. Some continue to profess it as a matter of policy; but many profess themselves as Deists, and some embrace Christianity. It is my firm belief that, if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolator among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence. And this will be effected without efforts to proselytize; without the smallest interference with religious liberty; merely by the natural operation of knowledge and reflection."

Macaulay's brother-in-law, Sir Charles Trevelyan, put the copying stone on these statements when he wrote, in a memorandum he submitted to the Committee set up by Parliament in 1853 to enquire into Indian affairs :

" . . . Familiarly acquainted with us by means of our literature, the Indian youth almost cease to regard us as foreigners. They speak of our great men with the same enthusiasm as we do. Educated in the same way, interested in the same pursuits with ourselves, they become more English than Hindoos, just as the Roman provincials became more Roman than Gauls or Italians . . ."

"As long as the natives are left to brood over their former independence, their sole specific for improving their condition is, the immediate and total expulsion of the English. . . It is only by the infusion of European ideas that a new direction can be given to national views. The young men brought up in our seminaries turn with contempt from the barbarous despotism under which their ancestors groaned to the prospect of improving their national institutions on the English model . . . they have no notion of any improvement but such as rivets their connection with the English and makes them dependent on English protection and instruction."

The comparison between our culture and theirs was as odiously phrased as it was inaccurate in substance. Despite the lapse of time, it stinks. I make no comment concerning the political motive behind the educational effort. The language used is plain. It stands in no need of gloss.

XXXIX

Though the references to the treasures created by the Sanskritists and Arabicists emanated from one completely ignorant of those languages, and litterateurs, Macaulay knew something of the creative effort of his own people. Since his time that effort has continued.

It would have been madness for any Indian to have turned a blind eye towards this acquisition of knowledge. I am glad that the creator of the *Gurukul*, who himself spoke English fluently and wrote English effectively, did not display such perversity.

He fitted it into the scheme of studies much as a carpenter would put an adze from Europe into his tool chest. This was, in my view, the right course to pursue.

To ignore English would have been as fatuous as to set it up as a fetish. I am glad that either extreme was avoided.

(To be continued)



THE NEGOTIATIONS AND AFTER

Britain's Responsibility and Duty

By D. N. BANERJEE,

Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Dacca

III

THE DECLARATION OF AUGUST, 1940

I have dwelt above upon the question of separate representation through communal electorates and some of its evil effects. I shall now refer to the second factor which has contributed to the complication of our communal problem and the consequential intensification of communal bitterness in this country. This factor is the Declaration issued by the Governor-General of India on 8th August, 1940, with the authority of His Majesty's Government—popularly known as the Declaration of August, 1940⁵⁶, and the explanatory speech which Mr. Amery made in this connexion in the House of Commons on 14th August, 1940.⁵⁷ Among other things, that Declaration contained the following statement:

"It goes without saying that they (i.e., His Majesty's Government) could not contemplate transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government."

On the face of it, this statement is very innocuous, and apparently breathes a flattering sympathy with minorities. But in effect it has, in the peculiar circumstances of India, materially contributed, together with what Mr. Amery said in the House of Commons on 14th August, 1940, by way of its explanation and justification, to inordinate ambition, communal or sectional fanaticism, and political intransigence on the part of some of our minorities. Moreover, it has practically invested them with the power of "veto" on even all reasonable proposals for the solution of our constitutional problem. "Apart from Congress," said⁵⁸ Mr. Amery in the House of Commons on 22nd April, 1941, with reference to the Declaration of August, 1940, "the Government's major policy for the constitutional future may be said to have relieved the anxieties of the various elements which compose India's national structure." This was only natural, in view of the power of "veto" which the said policy in effect placed in the hands of some of these elements, on all proposals for constitutional reform to which they were opposed.⁵⁹ But it should not be forgotten in this connexion that in a subject country, particularly on the eve of its attaining freedom, conflicting, sectional interests do naturally tend to emerge, or are even sometimes, unfortunately, made to emerge by interested parties. We all know what is happening today in the "liberated" countries of Europe. And I really feel tempted here to ask the British Government whether it is prepared to act upon the principle embodied in the statement quoted above from

the August Declaration, in relation to those "liberated" countries, and also to what extent it has so far followed the same principle in practice in France, Belgium, Yugoslavia, and specially in Greece.

Further, although I do not support all that the Congress has done in India since 1937, yet I cannot help feeling that what Mr. Amery said, in the course of his speech in the House of Commons referred to above, with regard to the position of "the great Moslem community, 90,000,000 strong," to quote his own words, *vis-a-vis* the Congress, is open to criticism and challenge. The same thing also applies to his statement in the speech, with regard to the Scheduled Castes. Considerations of space, however, do not permit me to go into details here. "Agreement, consent," said Mr. Amery in the course of the speech, "is, indeed, the foundation of all free government, of all true democracy." True, but what is to happen if a fanatical section of the population of a country, intoxicated by the spirit of exaggerated egotism and the lust of power politics, is determined to pursue a course of policy which is based upon unreason, which is definitely anti-national, and which is certainly destructive of the future peace, prosperity, and security of the country? How to deal with men in such a state of political intoxication, who will not even listen to the voice of reason? And what value is to be attached to their views either? And what policy, I ask again, has His Majesty's Government itself pursued in "liberated" Greece with regard to such men? I would, therefore, earnestly request His Majesty's Government to think over these points in a *dispassionate and unprejudiced* mood. And I would, in particular, request Mr. Amery, *author* of the famous speech on "India First,"⁶⁰ seriously to reflect upon them, also in a passionless spirit.

IV

THE DRAFT DECLARATION OF 1942 OR THE CRIPPS OFFER

The third factor which has contributed to the present situation in India is what is popularly known as the "non-accession" or "non-adherence" provisions⁶¹ in the Draft Declaration embodying the "conclusions" of His Majesty's Government with regard to the future Constitution of India, which was published on 30th March, 1942, together with the Prime Minister's statement in the House of Commons on 11th March, 1942, foreshadowing the said Draft Declaration. These non-accession provisions have undoubtedly given a great fillip to the partitionist movement in India. Among other things, they declared that with such Province or Provinces of British India as were "not prepared to accept" the proposed new Constitution for India, His Majesty's Government would, if the Province or

⁵⁶ See Amery, *India and Freedom*, Appendix I and pp. 66-76.

⁵⁷ See *ibid.*, p. 85.

⁵⁸ See in this connexion the Proceedings of the meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, held at Nagpur

⁵⁹ See Amery, *India and Freedom*, pp. 34-39.

⁶⁰ See clause (c) of the Draft Declaration as published on March 30th, 1942. According to Professor Coupland (*The Cripps Mission*, p. 27), the Draft Declaration was first announced by Sir Stafford Cripps at his fourth Press Conference on 29th March, 1942.

Provinces in question so desired, "be prepared to agree upon a new Constitution, giving them the same full status as the Indian Union."⁶¹ Now let us see the full implication of this declaration.

During his Press Conferences at Delhi on March 29th and 31st, 1942, certain questions were put to Sir Stafford Cripps, and he gave his answers to them, obviously as the spokesman of His Majesty's Government.⁶² Among others, there were the following questions, and answers⁶³:-

"Will the Indian Union be entitled to disown its allegiance to the Crown?"

"Yes. . . . The Dominion (i.e., the Indian Union) will be completely free either to remain within or to go without the Commonwealth of Nations.

"Will the Indian Union have the right to enter into a treaty with any other nation in the world?"

"Yes.

"Can the (Indian) Union join any contiguous foreign countries?"

"There is nothing to prevent it. Canada can join the U. S. A. tomorrow if it wants to.

"Can it?"

"Of course it can.

"Exactly at what stage does the British Government propose to leave this country?"

" . . . the moment the new constitution comes into operation, the change-over takes place."

And in reply to another question Sir Stafford stated⁶⁴ that the Indian Union would "be free to take all measures which are open to a sovereign State to take."⁶⁵

Now these were to be some of the rights and privileges of the Indian Union as envisaged by the Draft Declaration. And, as we have seen before, a "non-acceding Province of British India, say, on the North-East or the North-West of India, was to have, under the terms of the Draft Declaration, "the same full status as the Indian Union", and, therefore, all the rights and privileges of the proposed Indian Union. That is to say, it would be entitled to take all measures open to a sovereign State. It might, for instance, "go without the Commonwealth of Nations"; might "enter into a treaty with any other nation in the world" and even join any contiguous foreign country; and might not have, if it so chose, any relationship with the Indian Union itself, although located within the geographic unity of India. If we now put all these things together, what really we obtain, as a result, is a partition of India—and I am, for the time being, leaving out of consideration the question of the Indian States—pure and simple, into two or more sovereign, independent States. This is exactly—if not, in some respects, more than—what Mr. Jinnah had demanded. I am, therefore, not at all surprised to find that "the reaction of Mr. Jinnah and the Moslem League to this part of the scheme (i.e., its non-accession provisions) was naturally favourable", and that "it apparently contented Mr. Jinnah."⁶⁶ It is, however, a thousand pities that some of our foremost leaders claiming to be nationalists, concentrated, in their shortsightedness their opposition

more to the not-very-important, interim constitutional provisions in the Draft Declaration than to the fundamental change insidiously proposed to be introduced by it into the body politic of India by its non-accession provisions—a change fraught with incalculable danger not only to the unity and integrity of our Motherland, but also to its future peace, prosperity, and security. And in so far as His Majesty's Government was concerned, I really wonder how it could, with a clear conscience and a full knowledge of what was implicit in it, recommend an innovation which went against one fundamental principle in all the past declarations of British policy towards India! These declarations, it is well-known, had never envisaged anything other than a *unified*—although not necessarily a *unitary*—political system for the whole of this country. "We have spoken of unity", said the Parliamentary Joint (Select) Committee⁶⁷ on Indian Constitutional Reform, 1933-34, over which the Marquess of Linlithgow presided, "as perhaps the greatest gift which British rule has conferred on India." And in 1942 His Majesty's Government decided to destroy this "greatest gift" of British rule in India, thus completely undoing the work of generations of British statesmen in the past. And did not this decision amount to a great betrayal of the trust which the latter had left behind as a sacred legacy to the former? And what was behind this decision? I sincerely trust that it was neither Congress-phobia nor League-mania. Was it the presence of the enemy "at the gates of India"? "The crisis in the affairs of India arising out of the Japanese advance," said the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on 11th March, 1942, "has made us wish to rally all the forces of Indian life, to guard their land from the menace of the invader". If that was the objective behind the proposed change, then His Majesty's Government, I am constrained to say, betrayed a deplorable lack of imaginative insight by trying to "save" India by dividing India—by destroying its unity and integrity and, thus, endangering its whole future. It should have had political foresight enough to see that it would never be able to enthuse nationalist India and rally its forces to face the crisis in front of India, by pursuing a policy destructive of the future peace, prosperity and security of this country.

It has been insinuated by some people that the Draft Declaration was an astute piece of Machiavellism on the part of His Majesty's Government; that it knew beforehand that the constitutional scheme embodied in it, would founder on the rock of its non-accession provisions; but that the British Government would take credit before the whole world that, although it had offered full self-government to India immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, yet nothing came out of this generous offer owing to its serious internal differences. I do not know how far this insinuation is based upon facts. I can only hope that this is not true. But I cannot, having regard to the past attitude of the British Government towards the aspirations of the Indian people, account for the undue—and almost unseemly—haste it showed in 1942 in trying to meet the particular demand of the Muslim League, namely, its demand for the partition of India. This Muslim-League demand for the partition of India had been made by a resolution adopted at Lahore on 26th March, 1940, and before even two years had elapsed the British

61. The italics are mine.

62. See R. Coupland, *The Cripps Mission*, Oxford, pp. 25-32.

63. See *ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

65. The italics are mine.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

67. Para. 26.

Government resolved to concede to it, in defiance of development and of communications. I would say, the opposition of nationalist India and in total disregard indeed, that if some sort of Indian unity had not of the principle of unity which it had consistently existed it would have to be invented.⁶⁸ If India were followed with regard to the governmental system of this country ever since 1773. It should not also be forgotten broken up and reverted to chaos tomorrow, Indians would have to set about trying to invent for her at any rate some minimum of unity against the dangers from outside. Why then should they not take her over now as a going concern, though one remoulded nearer to their own heart's desire?"

Again, in the House of Commons on 22nd April, 1941, with reference to the Muslim-League demand "for the complete severance from the rest of India of the north-western and north-eastern zones . . . and their establishment as completely independent states controlling their own defence, foreign affairs and finance":—

"I am not concerned here to discuss the immense practical difficulties in the way of the so-called Pakistan project, stated in this its extreme form. Nor need I go back to the dismal record of India's history in the eighteenth century or to the disastrous experience of the Balkan peoples before our eyes, in order to point out the terrible dangers inherent in the break-up of the essential unity of India in its relation to the outside world, a unity of whose achievement we have every right to feel proud."⁶⁹

In a speech⁷⁰ delivered before the House of Commons on April 28th, 1942, Mr. Amery tried to defend the "solution" offered by His Majesty's Government through the Draft Declaration as one "which struck as fair a balance between contending points of view as it was possible to attain," and also as one which was "essentially sincere and fair." But what had the same Mr. Amery repeatedly said before as the responsible spokesman of His Majesty's Government in his capacity as the Secretary of State for India? In the course of a speech on "Our Indian Record" made before the English-speaking Union on November 21st, 1940, he said:⁷¹

"India, within the rough quadrilateral of her mountains and seas, has no natural internal frontiers. That is the fundamental historic and political feature of the Indian problem . . . Only in political unity can India find peace and stability."

Also, in the course of his speech on "India First" on 12th December, 1940, at Foyle Luncheon Club:⁷²—

"Once broken up into separate independent entities India would relapse, as it did in the decline of the Mogul Empire, into a welter of contending powers, in which free institutions would inevitably be suppressed, and in which no one element would have the resources with which to defend itself against external attack whether by land or by sea."

Also, in the course of his speech on "the Indian Constitutional Problem" on 19th November, 1941, at the Manchester Luncheon Club:⁷³—

"Beneath all the differences of religion, of culture, of race and political structure, there is an underlying unity. There is the fundamental geographical unity which has walled India off from the outside world, while at the same time, erecting no serious internal barriers. There is the broad unity of race which makes Indians as a whole, whatever their differences among themselves, a distinctive type among the main races of mankind. There is the political unity which she has enjoyed from time to time in her history, and which we have confirmed in far stronger fashion than any of our predecessors in a unity of administration, of law, of economic

And lastly,⁷⁴ in the House of Commons on 1st August, 1941, with reference to the League demand "for the complete breaking-up of India into separate Hindu and Moslem dominions":—

"I need say nothing today of the manifold and, to my mind, insuperable objections to such a scheme," at any rate in its extreme form. I would only note this, that it merely shifts the problem of permanent minorities to somewhat smaller areas without solving it. It is a counsel of despair and, I believe, of wholly unnecessary despair."

In spite of these declarations, Mr. Amery had no hesitation in defending in 1942 the proposal of His Majesty's Government for the partition of India in certain circumstances! In his Essay on "Self-Reliance" Emerson has said:

"A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds, adored by little statesmen and philosophers and divines. With consistency a great soul has simply nothing to do. He may as well concern himself with his shadow on the wall."

I do not know how far Emerson is right in this view, or whether Mr. Amery belongs to this category of great souls. One thing, at any rate, is true: A politician is perhaps above this foolish weakness of consistency and Mr. Amery is a politician.

In this connexion, I should like to touch on another point. The persistence of the Muslim League in unreason and intransigence has naturally provoked a serious reaction in a powerful section of the Hindu community, and it has begun to insist that since India—and, particularly, the northern half of it—has been known for centuries and centuries together as Hindustan—the Homeland of the Hindus—and inhabited by the Hindus from times long, long before the birth of Mahomedanism in Arabia, it should be governed by the Hindus alone. May I ask Mr. Amery, and through

68. See Coupland, *Indian Politics, 1936-1942*, Oxford, pp. 199-200.

69. See Amery, *India and Freedom*, p. 104.

70. *Ibid.*, 21.

71. *Ibid.*, 36.

72. *Ibid.*, 48.

73. The italics are mine.

74. See *ibid.*, p. 80.

75. The italics in this quotation are mine.

76. See *ibid.*, p. 92.

77. The italics are mine.

him His Majesty's Government, whether they are prepared to pay any heed to this demand on the part of these Hindus—a demand as absurd and as unreasonable in the present circumstances of India as the demand of the Muslim League for the partition of India into Hindusthan and Pakistan? We know what the answer will be, and should be, to this question.

V

CONCLUSION

I have analysed above the factors which have primarily contributed to the present political deadlock in this country. I am quite prepared to admit that some of the policies pursued by the Congress "High Command" and some Congress Ministers during the period from 1937 to 1939 may have given the immediate provocation to a section of the Muslim community in India and accentuated communal bitterness in it. But these policies in themselves could not have led to the suicidal demand by the Muslim League for the partition of India but for the seed of separatism carefully and deliberately sown, as we have seen before, by Lord Minto in 1906, and then duly watered and nurtured into a big tree by some other Britishers in responsible position. And the action of these people has been endorsed and confirmed by the British Government and the British Parliament. Britain, therefore, is primarily responsible for the present situation in India. It itself has created the monster of communalism through the institution of communal electorates, and then duly fed and nurtured it with the August Declaration of 1940 and the non-accession provisions in the Draft Declaration of 1942; and the consequence is the present deadlock. How can it, honestly speaking, disown its own responsibility in the matter and shirk its duty to India at this stage? It has created the tangle and it must conscientiously do everything possible to unwind it. Otherwise it will be guilty of a serious dereliction of duty, and may legitimately be charged with political insincerity, hypocrisy, and dishonesty. Mere professions of sincerity of purpose or intention on its part are not enough: They must be so translated into action as to convince others of this sincerity. At the same meeting on 26th October, 1943, at the Caxton Hall at which Mr. Amery spoke, Sir Alfred Watson also spoke. And what did he say? "Speakers that afternoon", Sir Alfred has been reported to have observed,⁷⁹ "had fallen into the too common error of saying that responsibility for the future was wholly Indian. The British could not divest themselves of responsibility. The present uneasy balance of parties in India created conditions in which India in the future might become the centre of another world war. Our responsibility was the greater, inasmuch as we had imposed upon India a form of constitution which was utterly out of touch with democratic principles. When we consented, unwillingly (?), to communal representation we clamped upon India a form of government in which there could not be an alteration of parties in power such as there was in this country. Practically the composition of the Legislatures was settled before a vote was cast by the electorate. The system of communal representation was not confined to the Muslims and Hindus. . . . This system had to be got rid of if progress was to be made. There (then?) we could say that the responsibility for change rested

upon India and not on ourselves. . . . This is, on the whole, an honest and straightforward attitude. In a more or less similar vein spoke Mr. Godfrey Nicholson, M.P. when he said at the same meeting: "Either India was our responsibility or it was not; the answer was that it was our responsibility; we could not escape it by saying to India, 'You must work out your own constitution'."⁸⁰ This remark may have been a little blunt and forthright; but it is at any rate refreshing, compared with the sanctimoniousness we often notice in some of the speeches of Mr. Amery and some other British politicians.

In conclusion, I should like to say that if Britain means well by India, as it always professes to do, it must, in the first place, bring under control the Frankenstein monster of communalism which it has itself created and, if this monster is not amenable to logic, reason and persuasion, it must either take steps to destroy it, or, if this is not feasible, ignore it altogether. And I believe that Britain can do any of these things if it wants to. It must, for instance, make a categorical and unequivocal declaration that it will not destroy with its own hand its own child of "unity" upon which it often prides itself as its "greatest gift" to India; that, speaking geographically, economically, politically, ethnologically, and strategically, India is a single unit and does not, consistently with its true interests, permit of any division into two or more sovereign independent States; that the maintenance of the unity and integrity of India is one of its primary obligations; that it will, therefore, never be a party to any partition of India as contemplated by the Muslim separatists; and that it stands by the Cripps offer minus its non-accession provisions. It is true that, since this offer was made, Britain has in a way done this through some of her responsible representatives. The parting message⁸¹ of His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester to India in 1942, the speeches of His Excellency Lord Linlithgow and His Excellency Lord Wavell before the annual meetings of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta, on 17th December, 1942, and 15th December, 1944, respectively, the speech of His Excellency Lord Wavell before the Indian Legislature in February, 1944, and, lastly, the speech of Mr. Amery himself in the House of Commons on 28th July, 1944, have all laid stress on this geographical unity of India and on its economic, political, and strategic implications. Yet, what is now necessary is not any further policy of drift and temporization, but a firm and unequivocal declaration by His Majesty's Government that the future Constitution of India must duly recognize this fundamental unity of India and respect it in its provisions.

Secondly, His Majesty's Government must reaffirm its faith in, and its adherence to, the ideal of an All-India Federation as the only proper and legitimate solution of the Indian problem, and must declare that it will henceforth stand by this ideal and do everything possible in its power to hasten its realization within the shortest possible time. If words have any meaning—and there should be no shilly-shallying about it on the part of His Majesty's Government—, then the message

79. The italics in this quotation are mine.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

81. "India is a country fashioned by Nature to be united. Divided against herself she would be very weak: united she can be great and powerful beyond measure."

78. See *The Asiatic Review*, January, 1944, pp. 32-33.

of His Royal Highness and the speeches of their Excellencies Lord Linlithgow and Lord Wavell and Mr. Amery referred to above, unmistakably point to the imperative necessity of the establishment of an All-India Federation composed of autonomous constituent units, with adequate statutory safeguards for all racial and religious minorities in India, in respect of their language, religion, culture, traditions, and other reasonable rights and privileges.

Lastly, pending the final settlement of the Indian constitutional question on the lines of the Cripps offer minus its non-accession provisions, Part II of the Government of India Act, 1935, popularly known as the Federal Part of the 1935 Act, must be immediately brought into operation after a few such minor amendments in it as may be considered absolutely necessary for its smooth working. In particular, sub-section (2) of Section 5 of the Act which has laid down an almost impossible condition for the establishment of the Federation of India, should either be altogether deleted with consequential changes in the preceding sub-section, or so amended as to make the establishment of the Federation easy. This may entail one or two other minor amendments in the Act. Besides, a few healthy conventions in regard to the constitution and powers of the Federal Executive and its relation to the Federal Legislature may be agreed upon so as to ensure the harmonious and successful working of the Federal Part of the Act. Let the nucleus of an All-India Federation be once brought into being, and it will, in the course of its working and accretion, gather sufficient momentum and then everything will be all right. It was to my mind a sheer stupidity on the part of some of our leaders to have opposed the introduction of the Federal Part of the Act of 1935 in spite of its defects and anomalies, and it was a serious error of judgment, if not an exhibition of moral cowardice, on the part of His Majesty's Government to have yielded to this foolish opposition in 1939. Perhaps it was hoist with its own

petard, and paid the penalty for its folly in framing sub-section (2) of Section 5 of the Act in the way it had done. More than once in recent years Mr. Amery has characterized the India Act of 1935 as "a remarkable feat of constructive statesmanship", and I, therefore, sincerely hope and trust that he will have courage enough to bring the most important part of this Act, namely, its Federal Part, into immediate operation, notwithstanding any opposition on the part of the irreconcilables in India or elsewhere. A diseased system sometimes requires a drastic remedy as the only cure. This is as much true of the body politic as of the body natural. His Majesty's Government should not again try to make, as a plea for inaction, a fetish of "consent" or "agreement" on the part of this party or that in India. How often in the past did it wait for the consent of parties in India for bringing into operation constitutional Acts? And did it wait for obtaining the consent of parties in India when it involved it in this present War? And we all know what this involvement has meant to this country! If His Majesty's Government acts as I have suggested, there may be a little squealing here, a little frothy ebullition in another place, or, at most, a few paper shot in the form of wordy and angry resolutions in a third place. But we shall be able to stand all this *brutum fulmen*. The central body of opinion in this country will support the action of His Majesty's Government out of sheer disgust at its present situation, and there will be no difficulty whatsoever anywhere. What is now really needed on the part of His Majesty's Government is true sincerity of purpose and a genuine determination untainted by any selfish or Imperialistic considerations, to end the present deadlock in India. Perhaps His Excellency Lord Wavell who has already made a good name in this country for his well-meaning frankness and realism may play a great role in this connexion.

(Concluded)

A POPULAR FOLK-SONG OF BUNDELKHAND

By AMBIKA PRASAD VARMA 'DIVYA', M.A.

"Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought."

Bundelkhand, though a beautiful parlour of nature, is not wanting in sad things. Each nook and corner of this land has, rather, a certain tale of woe to tell.

By the side of the river Betwa, a few miles away from Jhansi, stands the deserted city of Orchha, the ancient capital of Bundelkhand. Although the city has now dwindled into a village, the few palatial buildings, which have not yet surrendered to the ravages of time bear testimony to its past glory and grandeur. The splendid Jahangir Palace, the majestic temple of Ram Raja, and a few other historical monuments standing here and there, yet present exhibits to a visitor worth his toil. The fresco paintings in the Rajmahal and Laxminarayan temple afford a curious subject for study and an interesting pastime as well. The natural scenery which the city has about it, will not fail to attract even a layman, little gifted with aesthetic sense.

Last, when I had the occasion of visiting the city, I was dolefully reminded of a folk-song, which I had

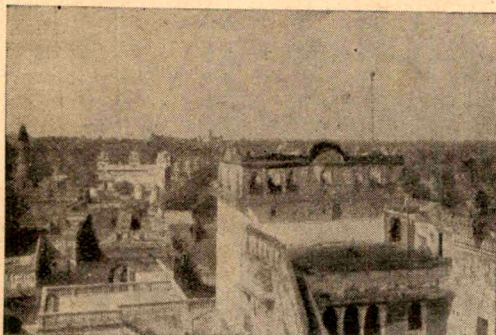
heard long before from the women folk of my house at the time of my marriage. It related an event which had happened at Orchha during the reign of Maharaja Jujharsingh, a contemporary of Shahjahan, the Moghul king.

Jujharsingh had a younger brother named Hardol. Jujharsingh's wife, the Maharani had, as ill luck would have it, conceived some motherly affection for Hardol and used to meet him very frequently. Some mischief-mongers of the court thought ill of their relation and informed the Maharaja accordingly. Jujharsingh became suspicious of the Maharani and subjected her to a very severe ordeal. She was asked to invite Hardol to a dinner and serve him poison in the food. The Maharani pleaded her innocence as best as she could, but the Maharaja was adamant.

She had at length to yield to the dictates of her husband and poison Hardol to death. Hardol who had come to know the will of the Maharaja bravely accepted

poison at the hand of the Maharani and died the death of a martyr. The song runs thus :—

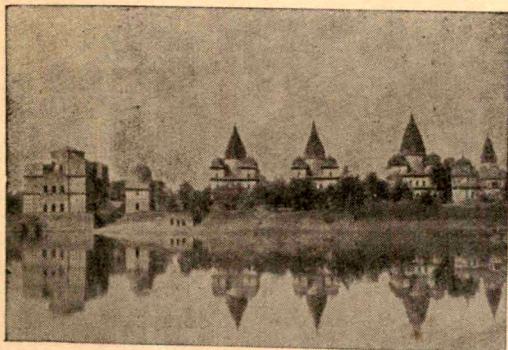
Lala! rest you ever before my eyes,
 You were born at Airach,
 You are known far and wide,
 You sojourned over the world's domain
 As you have blessed me with your Darshan, bless all.
 You loved me as people do their mother,
 Nothing foul betwixt us there was,
 No social laws we violated,
 As you have behaved hitherto, behave on.



A general view of the city of Orchha wherein still haunts the spirit of Hardol

Beloved! carry home to your heart my advice,
 Cook the food with such skill,
 As may prove your worth aright,
 Your Lala is from his birth my enemy, poison him off.

My Lord! lend me your ears please,
 How have you harboured this evil thought,
 Who is it that led you astray,
 Let not your wing be broken off.



A side-view of the river Betwa which still bemoans the death of Hardol

Oh Lala! please bless me with your Darshan,
 Your Khawasin² has come to invite you,
 Your Bhabhi³ is bewailing aloud.

Wherefor does she, asked Hardol,
 Let me know the cause Khawasin,
 Her own sons may prove disloyal, not I.
 Be it: what she has been advised to do

1. Lala: Younger brother of the husband.

2. Khawasin: Female barber.

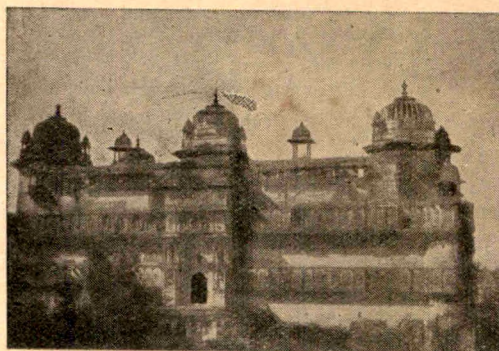
3. Bhabhi: Wife of the elder brother.

Will descend on me as my fate.
 Hence you go back Khawasin,
 And console my mother thus.

Lala! you are invited to dinner.
 How may I serve you a separate dish.
 Ill omens forecast evils,
 Take care of your life hence,
 So saying the Bhabhi fell down in a fainting fit.

All his paraphernalia went with him,
 His pigeons, his parrots and Mainas,
 All breathed their last with him.
 As to you, you reached heaven, take care of me too.

Kunja wept to hear the sad news,
 She struck her forehead against the ground,
 Let the living ones go to their doom, she said.
 Hardol though dead will stand by me.
 She sent for a bullock cart,
 And loaded it with all necessities,
 She undertook the marriage of her daughter,
 And at Datia she invited Hardol.
 When Hardol made his appearance,
 A great tumult was there afoot.
 Kunja ran to accord him a welcome.
 The marriage post cracked by his mysterious approach



A part of the fort which witnessed the great tragedy

Kunja beheld him come.

Harold served the marriage party so well
 That all talked very highly of.

The bridegroom persisted on having his Darshan
 Hardol had to accede to his request at last.

The theme of the song is worthy of notice. It is not simply a narrative of facts beginning and ending like a fable. All that can touch the subtle human feelings has been wisely accumulated and put effortlessly in sweet homely language. The final is a tragedy and we reach it without limping with the burden of superfluity.

Hardol and his Bhabhi, the Maharani, are accused of unlawful morbid relations, which are not uncommon and unbelievable. Really it is very hard to prove oneself innocent of such accusations, for people on such occasions generally become indiscriminate and revengeful and leave no room for reason and sympathy.

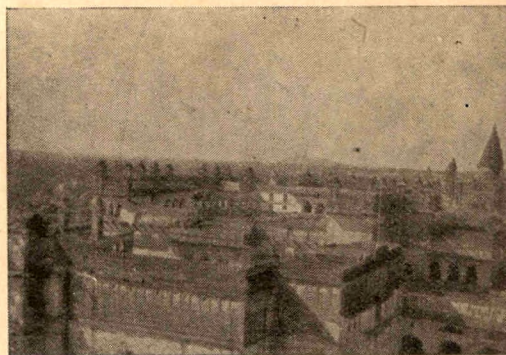
But Hardol uses the word "Mother" for his Bhabhi. No person however bad is supposed to misuse it. Thus Hardol instantly wins over our unshakable sympathy and is spared all pleadings against the charges. Our anger rebounds upon the accusers themselves for fabricating such base and hateful allegations against an innocent person.

The pleadings of the Maharani are no less appealing and striking. They have a simplicity, only characteristic of guiltless souls. Thus she too wins over our hearts and we feel inclined to share all her impending sorrows.

Thus the words which she utters at the time of serving poison to Hardol, inject in our minds all the restless agitation which she was subject to. Between motherly love and womanly duty we too fail to determine which way to turn. Resignation to fate seems to be the alternative. Thus when the Maharani finds herself helpless, and the mother in her overwhelms her, she gives a desperate warning to Hardol to save himself from the poison, and falls down in a fainting fit. Here we reach the climax and cannot help our tears.

With Kunja, the sister of Hardol, another chapter of our sorrow begins. Brothers and sisters, as we all know, have by nature a certain well-marked affinity. More so in Bundelkhand where the girls think it a great curse to have no brothers at all. To see their brothers at their husbands' houses coming to fetch them is an unparalleled joy to them. On the occasion of their sons' and daughters' marriages their brothers' presence is supposed to be even an indispensable necessity. The bereavement of a brother is an untold misery on such an occasion. What a melancholy fate Kunja had. Her brother died just when her daughter's marriage was going to be celebrated. The news fell upon her as a bolt from the blue. She struck her forehead against the ground and began to weep. Hardol, it is said, had given her word, when alive, to look after her daughter's marriage personally as a token of special affection to her. How this word must have now tormented Kunja, one can hardly imagine. In the heat of agony she made a vow not to celebrate the marriage at all, if Hardol did not keep his promise. Our faith in the omnipotence and immortality of the soul is so strong that we cannot but give credence to even the greatest of absurdities. Kunja had her victory. Hardol's spirit, it is said, appeared before her and served the wedding party incognito according to his promise. But it could not pass off as a secret. The bridegroom came to know of it and persisted upon having Hardol's Darshan. In

Bundelkhand it is supposed to be a holy precept with the Hindus to accede to the requests of the bridegroom and Hardol did not forget it even after his death. He blessed the bridegroom with his Darshan and made the occasion ever memorable. Since then he has come to be worshipped in Bundelkhand as a presiding deity of the wedding festival.



A view of the fort where Hardol used to see the Maharani

Notwithstanding the historical value of the song it has something most enjoyable. It has so impressed my memory that Orchha seems to me to be resonant with it. Each dome and turret of the mysterious buildings, each splash of the waters of Betwa, each breath of the moaning breeze tunes with the song in a vibrating symphony. Sadness seems to reign supreme. But it is not so painful. My very inner self, transcending above earthly limitations feels free from all worldly pangs. Be it the magic of the song or the place surrounded all around by the emblems of mortality, or of both combined, it has a very soothing affect upon my mind.

But as I left the place all the outlines of its picture grew faint in my memory. But the song still rings in my ears fresh with all its sweet and soothing sadness.

THE MAN WHO MADE COAL MINING SAFE

By DAVID THURLOW

ON looking back through the records of achievements in the scientific field, one will find endless examples of inventors who, being presented with a problem, never rested content until they had found the answer to it. These were not men to whom some precious revelation, some flash of inspiration came to dispel the gloom through which they were groping in their normal course of study. They were men who applied themselves to a task and found the answer to it—an answer which, perhaps for generations, had eluded their fellows.

Such a man was Humphry Davy, the British author of a score or more of the most important scientific discoveries, who will always be remembered for his invention of the miners' safety lamp.

Coal is Britain's most valuable natural resource,

but Britain's coal mines, like all coal mines throughout the world, face the almost constant risk of explosion.

On an August day in 1815, Humphry Davy, who was already famous for his inventions and discoveries, received a letter calling his attention to the distressing loss of human life due to explosions in British coal mines. The problem which confronted Davy was this: how was it possible to provide miners with a light which could be guaranteed not to explode the firedamp which is present in every mine?

DAVY SETS TO WORK

In spite of the fact that he was burdened with a great deal of other work, and that his health, which was so soon to fail him, was even then not of the best,

Davy set to work on this new task. If he could find the answer to it, it would mean that countless thousands of his fellow men would, in the course of succeeding generations, be saved from almost certain death.



Sir Humphry Davy, as he appears in a contemporary print

Within three months Davy was able to reply to that letter saying that he had discovered a lamp which would be safe to use in mines. He had discovered that if a piece of metal-gauze were placed between a flame



Sir Humphry Davy examines the safety lamp which he devised and which still forms part of the lamp used in modern mines

and an explosive gaseous mixture, the heat of the flame would be absorbed and conducted away so that the gaseous mixture, or firedamp, would not explode. At the same time he found that firedamp would not explode in tubes or feeders of small diameter. At first, glass tubes were used in the experimental lamps, but

Davy discovered that tubes of wire-gauze equally resisted the passage of flame, so he surrounded the flame of his lamp with wire-gauze. That, reduced to simple terms, is the principle of the Davy Lamp.

In its original form this lamp consisted of a small cylindrical oil burner covered with a tube of wire-gauze about six inches long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. Across the top of the tube was a flat piece of gauze of double thickness as a precaution against the metal being worn into holes by the combustion. The gauze was mounted in a simple frame, the upper part of the frame carrying a handle for the miner to hold, the lower part being fixed to the oil container at the bottom of the lamp. The flame of the lamp, thus encircled in its tube of metal-gauze, could not escape at a temperature high enough to fire the explosive mixture in the mine.

ACCIDENTS REDUCED EIGHT TIMES

That lamp was devised by Humphry Davy nearly 130 years ago. It has seen many developments and refinements since then, and the number of accidents due to explosions in British coal mines has been reduced from an average of as many as 80 a year to only ten or a dozen a year.



Michael Faraday assisting Sir Humphry Davy with his work on electrolysis

British miners' lamps now not only provide the men with light, but act also as gas detectors. By watching the appearance and size of the flame in their safety lamps today, British miners can calculate to a very fine degree of accuracy the amount of firedamp present in the seam where they are working. With this knowledge it is infinitely easier to take the necessary extra precautions in the more dangerous sections of the mine.

Humphry Davy, strangely enough, was a poet as well as a scientist. The poet Coleridge said of Davy that if he "had not been the first chemist, he would have been the first poet of his age."

Humphry Davy was born on December 17, 1778, at Penzance, at the extreme end of the Cornish toe of England. He went to school in Cornwall, but he did not show any indication then of his later scientific ability; this was not revealed until he was apprenticed to a surgeon-apothecary at Penzance. It was when he was 19 that he first began to specialise in the study of

chemistry and mathematics. He was astonishingly keen, and nothing would keep him away from his experiments which he conducted with any materials and odd bits of apparatus he could find.

EARLY DISCOVERIES

When he was only 20, Davy was appointed superintendent of a scientific institution at Bristol which had been established to investigate the medicinal properties of gases. He made several discoveries there which brought him and the institution to the notice of prominent scientists in London. The result was that Davy was engaged in 1801 as Assistant Lecturer in Chemistry and Director of the Laboratory at the Royal Institution in London.

His fame and reputation spread quickly. He was soon appointed lecturer and professor. His chief interest at the Institution was the study of electro-chemistry. His paper on "some chemical agencies of electricity" won for him from the French Institute the medal offered by Napoleon for the best experiment made each year on "galvanism."

Davy, for all his wisdom and success, was at heart a youth, and his cousin, who was his laboratory assistant, recalls how Humphry Davy used to dance about

the room for sheer joy when he had made some fresh discovery.

FARADAY AS ASSISTANT

When he was 30 his health broke down, and he had for some time to take a rest from his concentrated research work. When he was only 34 he was knighted for his services to science. In the same year he was married, and then soon afterwards went with his wife on a tour of Europe, taking with him as "assistant in experiments and writing" that other famous scientist, Michael Faraday, who had been helping Davy in the laboratory at the Royal Institution.

It was a few months after his return to London in 1815 that Sir Humphry Davy, as he then was, invented the miners' safety lamp which brought him still greater fame.

Yet another honour was conferred on him in 1818 for his signal service to industry. He was made a Baronet. Within five years his health, impaired by his ceaseless devotion to his work and his long and tiring periods of research, showed serious signs of failing. By 1826 he had to take a complete rest, and after spending the remaining three years of his life abroad in an effort to regain his flagging strength, he died at Geneva on a spring day in 1829.

CHILDREN'S MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By RAMNIK V. SHAH

BALKAN-JI-BARI is a Sindhi phrase which, according to Kaka Saheb Kalelkar, has been adopted in Hindustani, and it means "children's garden". It is the name of a wellknown Association, the chief aim of which is to

solutions of all problems connected with children up to the age of sixteen years. The Association has been progressing slowly and steadily, and it is hoped that it will be able to achieve its aims in no time.



Mr. B. G. Kher, Chairman,
Balkan-ji-Bari, The All-India
Children's Association



Miss Sheila Motwani, Child-Editor of
"Pushpa—The Children's Own Paper",
a monthly organ of Balkan-ji-Bari

keep children as happy as possible and to let them develop by themselves. According to our President Shri B. G. Kher who recently spoke about it, Balkan-ji-Bari should become a body which could be referred to for

Balkan-ji-Bari was started in 1926 by a brother in Sind who prefers to be known as Dada (an elder brother). He felt that as we grow older in years we become more selfish and hence we begin to

lose our real happiness. He thought that children who were already happy should be able to retain their happiness even as and when they grow old. Thus happiness which everyone is after, which everyone yearns for, would come to stay. With that idea in view he first started writing for children, then collected a few of them and arranged programmes for and by them, and later their provincial and all-India gatherings were held. Children who did not know even one another's language felt happy in one another's company. And Dada's expectations of children of all castes and creeds forming into one great brotherhood were going to be realised.



Children's Guard of Honour to Mrs. Sarojini Naidu during her visit to Balkan-ji-Bari

At present Balkan-ji-Bari has provincial organizations only in two provinces, Bombay and Sind. Its branches, however, are spread almost all over the country, including Bengal, Bihar, U. P., Delhi, South India, and the Punjab, totalling more than 120, and its membership is nearly 24,000. At Bombay there is a network of local branches at Vile Parle, Santa Cruz, Khar, Bandra, Matunga, Ghatkopar, Tardeo, Chowpatty and Marine Lines. Boys and girls meet in these centres once a week at least, and oftener at certain places, and arrange different programmes every time. Besides, the Association has a Pen-Friendship Section which brings children of different places in contact with

one another. It has also its own children's schools, two in number, one at Karachi and another at Sukkur.

Balkan-ji-Bari has two Children's Own Libraries at Khar and Karachi, which comprise books for children in different languages. They, however, are small libraries,



Shrimati Parvati T. Gidwani, President, Sind Provincial Balkan-ji-Bari

and need to be expanded. It also has a Poor Children's Fund, out of which study scholarships are awarded to its poor deserving members. It contributed last year about Rs. 500 each to the Sind Flood Fund and



Balkan-ji-Bari children "out in the fields with God"

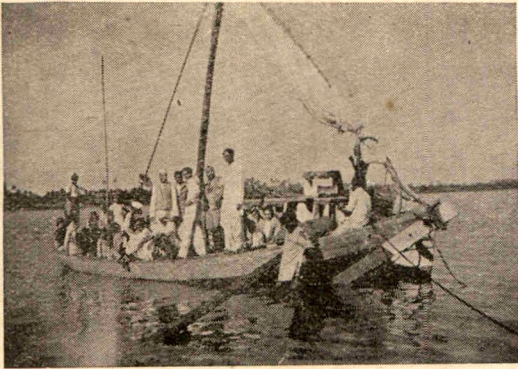
Bengal Famine Relief Fund respectively, and about Rs. 4,000 to the Kasturba National Memorial Fund. The Association conducts its own four monthly journals: *Pushpa*, in English and Gujarati, *Hamare Balak* in Hindustani and *Gulistan* in Sindhi, as well as *Children's Corners* in *Bombay Chronicle* and *Free India* (English),

Yugantar (Gujarati), *Swadeshmitran* (Tamil) and other papers.

Balkan-ji-Bari has been holding its periodical excursions and tours, as well as Workers' Camps. During the last year the biggest children's excursion for Bombay and Suburban children was arranged at Uran in which nearly eight hundred boys and girls took part. The Workers' Training Camps were held at Kandivlee,

tion—a pointer both to the parents and schools. Over and above all this, this organization will, in short, try to supplement the home and school activities with a view to directing the children's emotions in a proper channel.

The organization has a desire to start an All-India Children's Volunteer Corps and thereby to increase the children's physical and mental efficiency. Then it wants

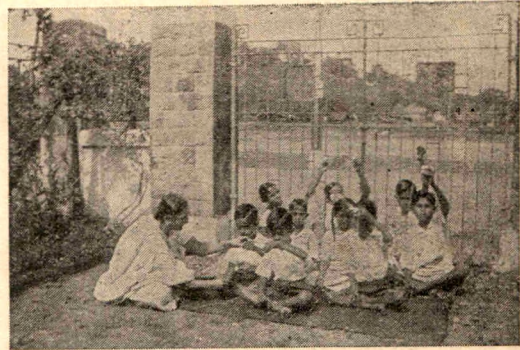


Balkan-ji-Bari children on a boat excursion

Borivli and Ghatkopar. The last time that children were taken on a distant trip was in 1941, when a party of forty Bombay children went as far as Sind and toured round Karachi, Hyderabad, Larkana, Mohen-jo-Daro, Sukkur and other places. At that time an All-India Balkan-ji-Bari Workers' Conference was also held. During the present abnormal times, owing to difficulties of travel and food, it has not been possible to hold all-India gatherings of children or workers.

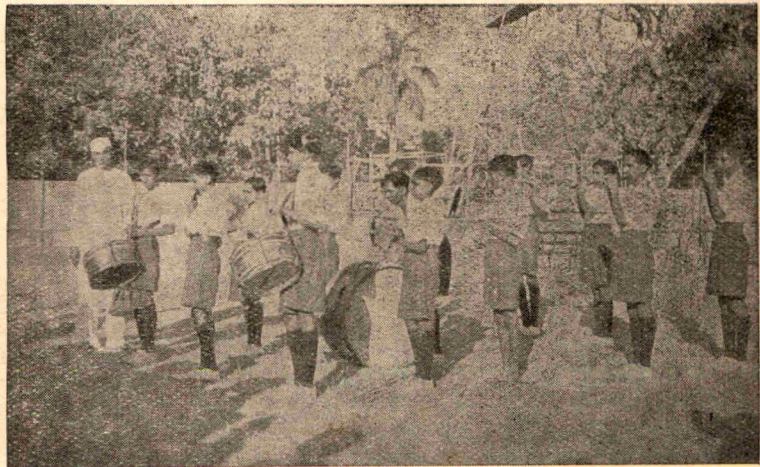
What concrete results the Association intends to achieve with a view to fulfilling its aims and objects is narrated here. First of all, it wants to educate children in such a manner that they may grow up to be patriotic and self-reliant Indian citizens having power of endurance and self-sacrifice. To achieve this, undoubtedly the process would be a very long and sustained one, but our organisation will continue to put forth its efforts. However, whatever it is able to do will more or less be symbolic, inasmuch as education is the concern of parents and homes first and then of schools and wholetime institutions.

Balkan-ji-Bari, at present, is able to do some work only for about ten or twelve hours spread over one whole month, as it is active only on Sundays, and that too for not more than two hours. Within such a short time the work that the organization would be able to do, could just be symbolic and a directive type of work. Wherever the organization has a centre or a branch, it will do only such work as is necessary in the interests of the children, and which will be a sort of pointer in that direc-



Teaching the Balkan-ji-Bari children to spin

to become for all-India children a single common platform bringing about unity—cultural as well as social—irrespective of class, creed, religion, condition, and provincial difference. Besides, it intends to establish a Children's Mutual Aid Centre in each of its branches. Balkan-ji-Bari aims at becoming an organization whose branches will be ready, willing and able to solve any difficulty or problem for parents, society or the Government in relation to children.



Lahore (Punjab) Balkan-ji-Bari boys have their own music band

The Children's Own Library of the Balkan-ji-Bari will contain all kinds of books meant for and relating to children. Its All-India Children's Own Museum will contain whatever the boys and girls might collect for hobby or as their aesthetic sense directs, as well as things and materials which interest and educate them. It will establish study classes on Child Psychology and on legislations regarding children of the country and also of other countries, and whenever necessary the orga-

nization will agitate for their betterment. It will try to have a network of Children's Schools on idealistic lines everywhere. To sum up, it will establish an All-India Children's University.

I would like to remind the readers at this stage, after having enumerated a number of things—both as a realist and as a visionary—that the Balkan-ji-Bari will work along the lines indicated above, only with a view to so educate children, that they may become patriotic and self-reliant Indian citizens with enough power of endurance and self-sacrifice for the toughest days that are still ahead of us. To-day the organization works on these lines but on a very small scale. Nonetheless, it is the Bari's ambition to show that all these things are realised and not merely visualised.

I need not stress here the necessity of a large number of sincere workers for the cause in every town and every village of India. One can well understand that if the vision set forth herein is to be realised, work—hard and genuine work—as well as faith, courage and hope, is of the utmost importance. Children are the hope of the future and as such need to be so trained that they may be able to acquit themselves well when

the heavy burden of duties falls on their shoulders. Take our own case, have we done really what is expected of us? Let the Balkan-ji-Bari try to infuse into the



A group dance by Balkan-ji-Bari boys and girls

children the spirit of freedom and love for our country, so that they may be able to bring about a thorough change and an improvement in the economic, moral, material and cultural condition of India. Let thus Balkan-ji-Bari step forward on the path of progress!

THE MALAYAN LESSON FOR INDIAN STATES

By A. N. ROY CHOWDHURY, M.A., B.L.

THE resignation of the Chancellor, Pro-Chancellor and members of the Standing Committee of Princes early in December, 1944, brings to the fore the question of joint administration of smaller Indian States which is supposed to be one of the major issues over which this dramatic step was taken.

It will be realised that the separate resources of smaller States are infinitely slender and an all-round administrative machinery is not always within their individual means. Even so, functioning on modern standards is considered to be the criterion of their political existence and they have therefore been the source of perplexing constitutional and administrative problems. The essential features of present-day administration include High Courts, efficient police force, popular education and transport facilities, and the question as to how the smaller states could afford an administration with such equipment had engaged the attention of the authorities concerned.

As a matter of fact, the semi-jurisdictional or non-jurisdictional estates or taluks of Western India and Gujarat have been merged by Parliamentary legislation in a large State. But the solution generally outlined with regard to comparatively larger units, is their co-operative grouping and the pooling of their resources. "In no case is the need for co-operation and combination", observed Lord Linlithgow, "more potent, more pronounced and more immediate than in the case of smaller states. Those states whose resources are so limited as virtually to preclude them individually from providing for the requirements of their people in accordance with modern standards have indeed no other practical alternative before them. I would take this opportunity to impress on Rulers of such states with all the emphasis at my command, the wisdom of taking the earliest possible steps to combine with their neighbours in the matter of administrative services so

far as this is practicable." In a similar vein wrote Sir Stafford Cripps that "the first step for smaller states should be to get into groups or into federal relations among themselves and for this purpose the spirit of the scheme for co-operative grouping should be extended to wider units."

Though new in India, the process of co-operative grouping had before now been introduced in one other part of the British Empire, and as borne out by facts its ultimate usefulness is dependent not so much on theory as on its actual working. It will be appreciated that a system of joint administration necessitates a central administrative authority, and the extent of powers exercised by this authority is chiefly the determining factor for the success or otherwise of co-operative grouping consistently with the distinct sovereign entity of the individual state. The demarcation between federation and centralization is rather fine, and what is *prima facie* a federation may under certain circumstances, turn out to be really nothing different from de-facto unification or a merger.

The suggestions made by Lord Linlithgow and Sir Stafford Cripps had received the consideration of the regional political authorities, and it seems that the idea in this respect is to divide the administration of a group of states into various branches, each branch being assigned to the care of a joint officer designated as adviser. The Rulers are expected to accept the advice of the joint officer who in all matters relating to a group is also to have more or less direct access to the crown political authority concerned. The position of the advisers vis-a-vis an individual state is therefore likely to be somewhat anomalous, since, though virtually exercising jurisdiction within the states, the adviser is not ordinarily subject to the sovereign authority of any of the states which each state is supposed to retain. In the circumstances, there is no denying

the fact that joint administration involves some adjustment in the status of both the Rulers and the people and it does not seem that the scheme in its broad sense has received general approbation of the princes and the chiefs. Sometimes, there is even hardly any scope for disapproval, for, as in the case of Eastern States, the "advise clause" in the Sanads makes it mandatory on them to agree to any such changes initiated by the authorities.

On the whole, however, the scheme for joint administration in some form or other has gone ahead and the spheres of administration that have been considered to be of prior importance are Police and Justice. Thus, joint police forces have been formed or are already functioning in certain groups of states. In Northern India, the states' council of a certain group has a scheme of affiliation of administration, in which even leading states have joined and which embodies reciprocal arrangement for mutual assistance in relation to Police, Finance, Justice, Revenue, Education and Medical relief. In Eastern India, some states may avail of a board of medical officers in the agency to inspect and advise the state at their request in matters medical and Public Health. Also, the states in this group which had not got adequate veterinary facilities can make use on a basis of voluntary co-operation, of opportunities provided by the neighbouring states having suitable arrangements. In Central India, certain states have informally evolved a scheme which provides for the formation of regional groups for specified subjects, while other subjects of general applicability are reserved for the whole of Central India States groups. Yet another group of some small states has a scheme of employment of expert advisers in such spheres as may be found suitable, and of a common District and Sessions Judge. The Control of Advisers is to vest in one Ruler at a time by rotation, who will act in consultation with other Rulers. The appointment of the advisers is also to be allotted to different Rulers of the group by mutual agreement.

As has been mentioned above, in Western India and Gujarat, the problem of some small states has been met by their merger in a large state for the reason that "there has arisen in this part of India geographical, administrative and economic fragmentation¹ on a scale unknown anywhere else in the country." It may be remembered in this connexion that the purpose either of co-operative grouping or merger is "not only remedying their administrative deficiency but also facilitating their inclusion in any federal arrangement applicable to India as a whole"²

To ascertain how far this object is likely to be met by any mere process of co-operative grouping or merger, it is perhaps relevant to examine the evolution of the Federated Malay States. These States in Malaya were a confederation of some four states with a common administrative service and a principal administrator designated first as Resident-General and later as Chief Secretary. The States were thus made one for all administrative purposes. Their early history reads: "The Malay States were at first only places whose nominal Rulers had so failed to keep their house in order that the unruly subjects had become a danger to neighbouring British settlements and the Queen's

Government sent advisers to strengthen the hands of Malay States and assist them in establishing peace and good Government. Of course, Malay States were not British possessions and could not be so treated but as matters settled down and the States began to prosper, they required many servants and much material which could best be supplied from England."³

The idea about Malaya entertained at the beginning will be more apparent from the following words of Lord Curzon: "If I were asked to sum up what were the lessons which Eastern States had given me I should say they were these: In the first place remember always that you are not in India or in any foreign dependency for the benefit of what is called your own nationals."⁴

Despite these ideas, however, as the federation grew the Resident General came to exercise in the words of Swettenham, "a very large control over the protected states and from that date (1896), the Colonial office in some important matters made its authority felt."⁵ Thus the system though suitable as regards cost and efficiency vested very large powers in a person other than either the legal ruler or the representatives of the people. To be more explicit, writes Mills, "The evolution of the federated states has been very different and by the twenties federation had become amalgamation. . . . The four Sultans were dignified figure heads and indirect rule had become a little more than a facade. The Chief Secretary, the principal British Official, had become an uncrowned ruler who paid little more attention to his nominal head, the Governor and High Commissioner at Singapore, than the four legal rulers. The situation had neither been expected nor desired by the Government of Great Britain which had an unhappy feeling that the Sultans had been reduced to a position which had never been intended when the federation was established in 1896. The whole development had been so inevitable and gradual that the result was hardly appreciated until it was *fait accompli*. Reform was extraordinarily difficult owing to the need for uniformity which had created excessive centralisation; and for the past twenty years the problem of State rights versus federal control had been the chief political question of the federated Malay States. . . . Direct orders took the place of advice and the final and perfectly logical result was that control became centralised in the federal departmental heads and the Chief Secretary at Kuala Lumpur while the four Residents joined the Sultans as the 'on-essentials' of the Federated Malay States."⁶

Sir John Anderson, at one time the Governor and High Commissioner of the Federated Malay States likewise felt "that the Rulers had lost more than what they had anticipated when they agreed to the treaty of Federation."⁷ A Federal Council was established in 1909 by an agreement signed by the four Sultans but the vague and careless draftsmanship of this agreement surpassed that of the treaty of 1896: it created a Federal legislature and referred only incidentally to the grant of legislative powers. The problem of over-centralisation at Kuala Lumpur was however discussed on various occasions from 1922 onwards and there was

3. Swettenham: *British Malaya*, 1907, p. 280.

4. Quoted in Swettenham's *British Malaya*, 1907, p. 304.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 338.

6. Mills: *British Rule in Eastern Asia*, 1942, pp. 5-7.

1. Government of India communique, dated April 16, 1943.

a growing feeling that the Sultans and the Malays had been overlooked in the rush for economic development. The Chief Secretary and even the unofficial members of the Council cared mainly for the tin and rubber industries and the principle that "whatever is best administered is best" blinded the eyes of the authorities to the substance of the form of the Federated Government originally in view. The result was that neither the Rulers nor the Malays were happy and a time came when the Malays gradually felt for changes which admit them to Government employment and authority. In an article in the *Malay Times* of November 12, 1931, a small politically-minded group referring to the Council, pointed out that the members of the Council were usually relatives or favourites of the Sultans and urged Malays to show themselves capable of using new powers through State Council. The question had ultimately drawn the attention of the Home Government and the result was a visit to Malay in 1932 of Sir Samuel Wilson, the then permanent Under-Secretary of State for colonies. Decentralisation was considered, and Sir Samuel reported that "from a purely economic point of view, it would no doubt be advisable in a country of the size of Malays to have one central Government administering the whole territory."⁸ Decentralisation in his view was however necessary due to the discontent and uneasiness of the Sultans. His views about the people were not much positive since he thought that "encouragement of indirect rule will probably prove the greatest safeguard against political submersion of the Malays which would result in the development of popular government on Western lines."

The recommendations of Sir Samuel Wilson did not consequently fit in with the growing political outlook of the Malayan public, for, the *Times* correspondent in Malaya wrote thus in the issue of the paper of October 17, 1933: "When the report was first published it was clear that it had done nothing to reassure the antagonists to decentralisation or to justify its supporters. The minority who looked upon it as the inevitable and just recognition of the rights of the Malays found little support of their views in the report itself." About the attitude of the authorities the writer goes on to say, "What more do the Malays want, it is asked. The prosperity is solely due to the activities of Europeans, Chinese and Indians who developed their country. If the powers of the Rulers had been limited it is because of the speed with which development had taken place. The Malays had neither the experience nor administrative machinery to cope with it; or those responsible for opening up the country had themselves set up the necessary political machinery. The point of view of Malay Rulers that indigenous Malays were in danger of being swamped numerically and politically in their own country by the impact of new prosperity is equally true. The non-indigenous people are not averse in theory to the ultimate assumption of political power by the Malays but it is always referred to some vague and distant date when the Malays have proved themselves capable of it."

In this background came the war in the Far East

and the fall of Malaya with amazing quickness. For a time, public attention was focussed on the internal conditions of Malays prior to the fall and it was suggested that the disaster was in part due to the apathy and indifference of the local people. As remarked by Lord Cranborne on December 3, 1942, in the House of Lords, "There had been people here and abroad who had drawn the hasty conclusion that we had lost Malaya because the local inhabitants had not been fully associated with the Government of the country." On April 3, 1942, Mr. Rhys Davies, M.P., also said in the House of Commons "that a number of people are seriously concerned at the fact that we have never won the loyalty of the native population."

One view was that the British administration had established no roots in Malaya and about the colonial policy in general, a *Times* correspondent commented as follows in the issue of the paper of August 1, 1942:

"Whenever large issues were at stake, the uncertainty of road ahead made for official timidity. The Colonial Government was inclined to shy away from the important problems which raised political issue even when postponement meant accumulation of later difficulties both perceivable and formidable."

Thus, the joint administration and the federation set up at Malaya has ultimately been open to criticism obviously on the score that this was a process which conceded no actual powers either to the people or the rulers.

While initiating the merger of Western India and Gujarat States, the Government of India remarked that "the ultimate test of fitness of survival of any state is in his (Crown Representative's) opinion the capacity to secure the welfare of its subjects, and he regards the forthcoming qualified merger of these small states as a justifiable solution of any conflict in his obligations towards the rulers and the ruled."⁹ The underlying principle of this view is apparently the evolution of a contented Indian India suitable for Federal arrangement.

It will be seen that the schemes in respect of the co-operative grouping of the small states of India, introduced or suggested so far, chiefly relate to administrative efficiency. The question of the people or their part in a changed system does not figure much in this connection, while, as regards the princes themselves and their Government, some adjustment of individual authority in favour of the joint advisers is an important feature of the proposals. In effect, necessarily, substantial authority is likely to vest in a machinery which is neither based on popular participation nor is under the absolute control of hereditary Rulers. The Rulers are divested of their hereditary rights though remaining responsible to the ruled. The joint advisers, on the other hand, are to enjoy all their powers without any responsibility to the rulers or the ruled.

That the schemes may not, therefore, take the shape of the Malayan Federation and hinder federal arrangement or the desired solution of any "conflict in his (Crown Representative's) obligations towards the ruler and the ruled"¹⁰ is a matter which deserves adequate consideration by the States concerned. One wishes they could profit betimes by the Malayan lesson.

8. Report of Brig.-Gen. Sir Samuel Wilson on his visit to Malaya (Part Pap-Comd 4296, Vol. X, 1932-33), p. 11.

⁹, *Ibid.*, p. 12.

10. Government of India Communique, dated April 16, 1943.

11. *Ibid.*

WHY THE 'GANDHIAN PLAN'?

By DR. RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., PH.D.

PRINCIPAL Shriman Narayan Agarwal of Seksaria College of Commerce, Wardha, has brought out a most timely publication under the title *The Gandhian Plan of Economic Development for India*. The worth of the work and of its author is attested by the Foreword contributed to it by no less a person than Mahatma Gandhi himself, whose economic thought and scheme it seeks to represent. Mahatma Gandhi himself certifies that the writer has not misrepresented him in any place. In his own inimitable words he explains thus the scope and aim of the work :

"It claims to be a comparative study of the Charkha economics based - on non-violence and the industrial economics which to be paying must be based on violence, i.e., exploitation of the non-industrialised countries."

I may add that the modern mechanised and industrial economics is based on exploitation not merely of economically less organised, and "non-industrialised countries" like India, but also of non-industrial classes within the same country, and, in the case of India, such classes form by far the vast majority of her population, her dumb-millions, and inarticulate masses, as they are tragically, but rightly designated, in view of their colossal illiteracy, and depth of degradation and poverty, rendering them incapable of self-defence against scientific exploitation.

There are many plans of economic reconstruction in the air such as the non-official Bombay Plan and the official plans of the Government of India, which are being fashioned and hammered into shape by so many of its Post-War Reconstruction Committees. In my opinion, no plan is more suited to the conditions and realities of India's Economics, as established through the ages than the Gandhian Plan. Most other Plans overshoot the mark and become unrelated to the grim realities and the criying needs of India's economic situation. An economic plan to be effective must root itself in these realities instead of ignoring them and seeking to build on other foundations. Besides, a people's economic system is a part and product of its whole Scheme and System of life, its fundamental view and philosophy of life. The Indian way and outlook in life must determine the economic. Economic life is not an end unto itself but only a means of subserving the fundamental and higher ends and values of life. As Gandhiji states in his *Hind Swaraj*, the characteristic of modern civilisation "lies in the fact that people living in it make bodily welfare the object of life," inspired by a "mad desire to destroy distance and time." But this is not the Indian ideal of life which believes in limiting wants, luxuries and pleasures, and in economic self-sufficiency for every individual achieving it as far as possible through his own manual labour, leading up to the economic self-sufficiency of every individual rural unit, or -village, functioning as a self-governing Republic, as every village was constituted in the indigenous scheme of Indian Polity. A graphic picture of this indigenous political scheme and of the working of her untold number of rural republics and democracies which made Ancient India has been given in a

work which I wrote more than twenty-five years ago under the title *Local Government in Ancient India*, and was published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford. It gives a picture of the system by which India was able to preserve her culture and her soul against the vicissitudes of her political fortunes and changes in sovereignty. India must recapture this political and economic heritage for purposes of her coming reconstruction. As Lord Haldane put it in commenting on the work, "The life of a nation consists in growth and not in external causation, and that organic growth solves questions that are not capable of treatment from any mechanical point of view alone."

The fundamental and unalterable fact of India's economic life is that more than 300 out of 400 millions of her total population are on land, pursuing agriculture, and its allied occupations, and that these agricultural millions have to remain out of work in enforced idleness for more than half the year in the off-seasons of Agriculture. This I discovered, to my utter dismay, as a Member of the Bengal Land Revenue (Floud) Commission investigating rural problems of every description in typical regions all over India. Thus the main problem of economic reconstruction is to feed these starving millions by giving them work when they remain without work, and this work has to be brought home to them. They cannot find it out of their homes and native villages. The nation in India still lives in the village and in the cottage from which they cannot be easily divorced. This hard economic fact is as old as India's hills and rivers, and is as unalterable and fixed as her geographical features. No amount of centralised industrial planning can reach these dumb-millions in the villages where lie the roots of India's life. India's whole civilisation has been built up as a rural and not an urban civilisation. India has thought out her best and highest in her woods and wildernesses, away from the stir and strife of the city, in the silence and solitude of her hermitages and sylvan schools which count as their products the Vedas and the Upanishads, the record and repository of the highest thought ever evolved by mankind. Even now, as shown in the last Census, India still means, as she has been through the ages, a country of about 7 lacs of villages as against only about 40 towns of the Western standard, with a population of a lac and above. The only difference is that whereas in Ancient India, in the days of her national government and planning, every village was a centre of life and light under its suitable government as a self-governing republic, the present-day villages of India are dead institutions without a spark of corporate life left in them, and are centres of decay and degradation with the indigenous scheme of life and government being swept away by the onrush of a Western system of centralisation and over-government to which they were not used and were not able to accommodate themselves. The only way to reconstruct and revive these dead or dying villages is to make them self-governing once more so that the social tissues by which their corporate and communal life can be sustained may be restored by their exercise.

The planning experts cannot but themselves admit that large and heavy industries located at centres and cities here and there can absorb and employ only a fragment of the vast agricultural population of India. It has been estimated that "90 per cent of India's total population are employed in agriculture and allied occupations, 10 per cent in industry of whom only about 2 million (or less than 1 per cent) are working in large-scale industries." On the most optimistic estimate these industries at their best cannot absorb more than 5 per cent of India's rural millions in less than 25 years. But these starving millions are already on our hand. We must feed them at once and cannot leave them to feed on the hopes of the future.

The only possible programme of economic reconstruction in India is to promote the good of its greatest number by a scientific planning of those handicrafts which they can ply to profit in their homes and villages. Such a planning must start with the plying of the *Charkha*. It has been rightly called '*Charkha Economics*' as distinguished from the other types of centralised and mechanised industrial economies of the capitalist, socialist, or communist variety, or American, British, or Soviet systems. *Charkha Economics* is the indigenous Indian system of Economics, the economics of the small industry, of the cottage and home handicrafts.

In the Gandhian Plan, there is a comparative study of the *Charkha-Economics* and the other systems of mechanised and scientific Economics. It rightly points out that Economic planning should mean the least amount of control and coercion by the State. That Government is the best "which governs the least". The maladjustments of the prevailing economic systems are well brought out by Professor G. D. H. Cole :

"And what are we to say of the World in which a farmer, when he sows his crop, has to pray for a bad harvest in order to rescue him from financial difficulties?"

The Fascist Plan involving the totalitarian control of the individual by the State is totally foreign to India's tradition. It has established "the most dangerous idolatry of all ages, the deification of the state."

The British Planning has been a planning of drift, of piece-meal and un-coordinated planning. It has recently produced the Beveridge Plan seeking to guarantee to every citizen the Minimum of the necessities of life by means of Employment Insurance, Disability Benefits, Old-age Pensions, Children's Allowances and Medical Services by taxing the rich and the *have's* for the benefit of the poor and the *have-nots*, thus dividing the country, as Dean Inge puts it, into "two nations of the tax-payers and the tax-eaters." After all, earning a living by honest and honorable means is preferable to these artificial devices for securing it by doles and unemployment insurances.

Much has been made of the Soviet Plan on account of its ideals, but in practice it is falling far short of its ideals. Soviet society was planned as a classless society, where the State alone will count and own the factors of production. But the difficulty is as to the ownership of the State itself which under totalitarian control has passed automatically to a Dictator and a new managerial class. The complete regimentation of the people in regard to their political and economic affairs has crushed out individual initiative and freedom. The list of fundamental rights granted to its citizens by the

Stalin Constitution does not include the most fundamental and elementary of such rights, the right of freedom of moving from place to place, freedom of circulation, or free choice of one's place of residence. The Constitution assigns everyone to a given domicile, and a place of work to which he remains tied, the factory or the warehouse, which he cannot leave except by permission of its managers. A citizen cannot be absent from home even for 24 hours, without first securing a passport and a special visa. The Soviet System is even producing inequalities of income which it was out to abolish. These inequalities are daily growing, showing a difference of as much as 80:1. A more human, natural, and scientific system will be that based on decentralisation and self-government, if we are agreed as to the ultimate values of life and not making mere well-being of the body, by feeding, clothing, and housing it, as best as possible, the chief aim of life and civilisation. Civilisation should not be reduced to mere Matter and Motion. There is no point in conquering Space and Time if it is only for the benefit of the body, and not for Mind and Soul which are left to be starved. There is no point in going in for labour-saving machinery if it only degrades labour. As Bernard Shaw puts it :

"Those who try to make life one long holiday find that they need a holiday from that too. The best definition of hell is perpetual holiday."

That is why the Bible says that "man must earn his bread by the sweat of his brow."

In this new Economics, production will be for immediate consumption and not for distant profitable markets. As Gandhiji puts it, it will be still production by masses instead of mass-production. Under his system, it is the labour that is the current coin, not the metal. It does not taboo machinery as such. "The spinning wheel itself is a piece of valuable machinery." Only, as he says, dead machinery must not be pitted against the millions of living machinery represented by the villagers scattered in the 7,00,000 villages of India. As he further states, "The problem with us is not how to find leisure for the teeming millions inhabiting our villages. The problem is how to utilise their idle days which are equal to working days of six months in the year." Labour-saving machinery is out of place in this situation. Man is more important than machinery. He must be fed by work. Already the number of workers employed in the domestic industries is about five times that employed in large-scale production, while the percentage of workers in the large-scale industry is also on the decrease. In 1941 it was only about 4 per cent of India's total population.

In the *Gandhian Plan* instead of mass-production on a large-scale, it is production by masses on a small scale in the people's own homes. The system will, however, "welcome the machine that will lighten the burden of crores of men living in cottages."

As my brother, Professor Radha Kamal Mookerji, puts the case :

"The object of planned economy for India is neither economic autarchy and national aggression as sought in the Fascist countries nor economic imperialism based on the power and prosperity of a small capitalist and directive class, as in the democratic countries, nor again, a bare materialistic and regimented culture as in Soviet Russia. The ideology behind economic planning in India is the broadening of the economic

base of a peaceful agricultural civilisation for the purpose of national defence, on the one hand, and the full and free expansion of her ancient, moral and social virtues in the changed economic world, on the other."

I may conclude this note by referring to the observations made by that great administrator and historian, Colebrooke, towards the end of the 18th century with reference to the economic conditions then prevailing in Bengal and are even now prevailing all over agricultural India :

"To a Government as enlightened as British India, it cannot be a trifle consideration to provide employment for the poorest classes. No public provision now exists in these provinces to relieve the wants of the poor and helpless. The only employment in which widows and female orphans, incapacitated for field-labour by sickness or by their rank, can earn a sub-

sistence is by Spinning, and it is the only employment to which the females of a family can apply themselves to maintain the men, if these be disqualified for labour by infirmity or by other cause. To all it is a resource which, even though it may not be absolutely necessary for their subsistence, contributes, at least, to relieve the distresses of the poor.

In this view, it appears essential to encourage an occupation which is the sole resource of the helpless poor."

Colebrooke thus stands out as the champion of Charkha Economics as the most suitable Indian economics, on the success of which he bears the following testimony :

"India has in all times been the country most celebrated for Cotton Manufactures, and even now the finest Muslins of Bengal remain still unrivalled by the fabrics of Great Britain."

CHEMICAL FERTILISERS VERSUS COMPOST

By "CHITTAGONIAN"

BEFORE India is irrevocably committed to the expenditure of large sums of money on the erection of plants for the manufacture of chemical fertilisers it may be of interest to examine the history and potentialities of chemical fertilisers and to compare the result with the possibilities of compost manuring.

The obvious object of applying fertilisers to the soil is to increase production from the soil. Up to about a hundred years ago chemical fertilisers were practically unknown. Farming all over the world was carried on in small units, the soil being worked by hand, by the farmer and his family, with a varying amount of hired labour at sowing time and harvest time. The cultivators had an instinctive knowledge of the soil, its characteristics, its moods, and its possibilities. They knew, above all things, of the necessity to conserve the different components in the soil and achieved this by maintaining a correct balance at all times between woodland, arable land, pasture, water supply, fallow land. They developed the right rotation of crops, never growing a crop of the same species on the same land two years in succession and they returned to the soil everything they took off it, in the form of farmyard manure or compost. They knew the soil was a living organism requiring culture and care like every other living organism.

The rapid advance of Physical Science in the nineteenth century created a school of thought which made the cultivators' conception of the soil appear to be "old-fashioned." Physical Science reduced the soil to its component parts, mineral ingredients, water, organic matter from living plants, organic and inorganic substances originated from the decay of roots, leaves or even entire plants. The purely mineral components in themselves are unfertile. Fertility is determined by the quality and amount of humus present. Humus is organic and has so far defied Physical Science to evolve an exact chemical formula for it. All that is known is that in humus we have a mixture of the products of disintegration, more or less rich in carbon, nitrogen and oxygen. Soil bacteria and earthworms are the chief factors in the formation of humus. Bacteria also assist in setting free phosphoric acid already in the soil. Usually only very small amounts of phosphoric acid are

present in an available free state in any soil, so bacteria perform invaluable services by helping to release it. Bacteria also assist in the process of nitrogen-fixation, equally invaluable to the cultivator. When Physical Science had established these facts the theory was postulated, and accepted with enthusiasm by many, that if you found out by analysis what amount of nitrogen, phosphorus or other component a particular crop had extracted from the soil and replaced that component by its equivalent in the form of chemical fertiliser you re-adjusted the balance in the soil and could, with impunity, grow a similar crop on the same soil the following year. From this it was a short step to applying chemical fertilisers not only to replace components extracted by crops but to change the very composition of the soil so that, for instance, wheat could be grown on the same soil year after year, or sugarcane, or tea. When applied first, it was found that chemical fertilisers increased yields. Coming at the time when the industrial revolution was increasing the cry for cheap food chemical fertilisers were widely welcome. America with its vast provinces just being developed, particularly welcomed them and farming there rapidly became scientific. Wheat was in demand overseas. The small, hand-cultivated farm of the old world rapidly gave way to big, intensively cultivated areas operated solely with an eye to yielding the maximum number of dollars from the minimum expenditure. Woods were cut down, single trees torn out by the roots, pasture ploughed up, nothing allowed to remain fallow. The Biblical injunction to Moses, "For six years you may sow your land and gather in your crops, but every seventh year you must let the land alone, to lie fallow", if ever read, was considered out of date. "It might have been all right," Kansas thought, "for the Israelites in the desert, but it doesn't apply to us." Statistics as to the quantities of chemical fertiliser poured in to the soil in U.S.A. within recent years are not available, but there is no reason to suppose they would not be comparable with statistics for the European continent. There, it has been established, the consumption of chemical fertilisers increased by something like three hundred per cent between 1914 and 1937. The yield of barley from an acre in the same period went down from just over 2,100

pounds to under 2,000 pounds. So the era of diminishing returns seems to have been reached. What has been established in the U.S.A. is that lands very fertile even twenty years ago are now desert. In postulating the theory of returning minerals to the soil by means of chemical fertilisers science forgot that the soil is alive and is not composed of lifeless mineral ingredients only. The theory is all right so far as laboratory research goes but it fails in the same way as a theory to the effect that if you took the known mineral ingredients of the human body and fed a person on those ingredients in the form of synthetic chemicals only the person would continue to live. Few people would accept that theory as applicable to the human body. Yet they accept a similar one as true when applied to the soil, without question. They forget that the soil is a living organism, just as the human body is. The human body stands a lot of bad treatment in the form of wrongly balanced or insufficiently nourishing food. So does the soil. Some of the world's greatest men have been invalids. Many bumper crops have been taken off soils artificially stimulated by the application of chemical fertilisers. But sooner or later, the invalid dies. So does the sick soil. The brilliant invalid leaves his mark on the civilisation of his time. The soil, unfortunately, is gone for ever. Taking the once fertile prairie lands of the middle west of America as an example, the following is what happened.

Accumulating living soil at the rate of something like one inch in five hundred years Nature built up the prairie. The Red Indian inhabitants respected Nature and pursued "old-fashioned" agriculture. As the United States developed commercial farming spread westward, ousting the Red Indian and his methods. First the prairie was extensively over-grazed by cattle, then, in more recent years, large crops of wheat have been taken off it in addition. Such crops were only made possible by increasing quantities of chemical fertilisers. But as the quantities of chemical fertilisers increased, so the humus content of the soil decreased. Humus, it will be remembered, has defied science to produce an exact chemical formula for it. The soil bacteria and the earthworms, the main manufacturers of humus, left the prairie soil in exact relationship to the quantities of chemical fertiliser poured in. Deprived of its humus manufacturers, who are also its aerating agencies, the soil developed a hard crust. This, because of its inability to absorb moisture as well as before, started soil erosion and disintegration. High winds came along, the now much dreaded "dust storms" were created, as much as an inch of topsoil was lost in a single year (that Nature with so much patience had taken five hundred years to prepare), the prairie is now in a fair way to becoming desert. This is in no way an over-painted picture. Many tens of thousands of homesteads have been abandoned within recent years. In thirty years the nitrogen and the humus-content of the soil in Missouri have fallen about thirty-five per cent as compared with the original prairie. How much nitrogenous chemical fertiliser has been poured in in that period is not known, but it must have been a very large quantity indeed. The region being devoured by dust storms is moving steadily eastward and it is estimated at least a third of the cultivated area of the United States of America is on the way to becoming useless. Chemical fertilisers alone are not responsible

but the very important point for India to appreciate is that chemical fertilisers are symbolic of the unnatural methods of agriculture which have created these conditions in America. Without the extensive and ever increasing use of chemical fertilisers the wheat-grower of the prairie could not have abandoned rotative farming to the extent they did. The worms would not have gone away, humus would have been produced, the wind would have fulfilled its traditional function of adding small quantities of beneficial dust to the soil.

Yes, even the wind's functions are effected adversely by the excessive use of chemical fertilisers. Wind blowing over mountain areas with a sufficient humus content, whip up invisible particles of dust and deposit them on the plains below. These dust deposits help to restore the exhausted bases in the cultivated areas and add soluble salts such as calcium, iron, potassium, etc. The soil of Alpine meadows is largely formed by dust particles from the neighbouring mountains. The Swiss peasant does not use chemical fertilisers. He knows their use would crust his soil, then the wind, which now brings him invaluable dust deposits from the mountains, would become an enemy and whip away all his soil, in "dust storms" in a few years. At no place in the world, it is reckoned, is humus-containing soil deeper than twenty-four inches. So we see how short a life agriculture has when one inch is lost in a year as it has been recently in America. As a direct result of the loss of prairie lands the United States this year is being compelled to import wheat. With that example before us are we in India to blindly follow them in the adoption of chemical fertilisers? If we do we shall create conditions which will inevitably lead to crop failure in a few years such as will make the famine of 1944 appear small in comparison. Millions yet unborn will curse our blindness.

Protagonists of "scientific" agriculture allege that chemical fertilisers are harmful only when used in excessive quantities and say they should always, and only, be given in the correct proportions in accordance with soil analysis. Like medicine to an invalid. However completely impractical this is, is shown when we consider how many variations can be found in analyses of the soil of one single field, let alone a farm or district. A practical farmer walking along the furrows of a newly ploughed field can see with his knowledgeable eye at least a hundred variations in soil composition in a hundred furrows. Laboratory analysis confirms this. "Weathering" action, through sun, rain and wind assisted by soil bacteria and earthworms help to produce conditions suitable for sowing by the time seed time comes round. Soil analyses taken then would give different results from analyses taken at ploughing time. Analyses taken after a shower of rain give different results to analyses taken in dry weather. Truly the practical farmer may wonder on which analysis he is to base his calculations for the application of chemical fertiliser.

Another very strong objection to chemical fertilisers lies in the fact that many contain soluble salts such as potassium or ammonium sulphate or highly corrosive substances which quite definitely injure and destroy the micro-organic activity in the soil, to such an extent that soils intensively treated with chemical fertilisers for a number of years lose entirely their former biological activity. The number of years before this stage is reached depends upon the

humus content when the first application of chemical fertiliser is given. In parts of India where it is proposed to apply sulphate of ammonia extensively, the humus content already is low, so complete cessation of biological activity would not be long delayed. Are we prepared for that with all it implies?

It is not only the soil that re-acts unfavourably to excessive use of chemical fertilisers. The cow does too, "Scientific farming" is not content with allowing the cow to produce the quantity of milk, Nature intended she should. So she, in commercialised dairy farms in Europe and America nowadays, is fed excessively on certain proteins and salts, in order that her milk output shall be increased. Here too, a factor not amenable to test-tube analysis has been encountered, the fact that milk production is a part of the animal's sexual activity. By over-straining the production of milk inevitably the organs of re-production are weakened. The result has been such an increase in diseases attendant upon the birth and rearing of calves that scientists are now being asked to intensify their investigations in the possibilities of test-tube calves. Could Nature be outraged more? The quality of milk output increased in this manner, similar to the quality of outputs from soil stimulated by chemical fertilisers, is often of very doubtful quality. Hence the increasing insistence by Public Health Officials on the need or pasteurisation.

Compost manuring, with all it implies, is the very antithesis of chemical fertilisers treatment. Compost, being itself alive, assists in the rejuvenation of the soil whereas chemicals artificially stimulate it. Again comparing a sick soil to a sick person, who does not know that a cure eventually depends on a rejuvenation of the patient's system? Chemicals prescribed by the Doctor help but the medical profession itself is the first to admit that overdoses are definitely harmful. Yet India's sick soil is being prescribed doses of chemicals in quantities such as no sane doctor would ever prescribe for his patients! Compare the action of compost. To understand its action correctly it is necessary to remember, we do not feed plants when we apply manure of any description. We feed the soil. (Plants actually obtain most of their sustenance from the air, which is another factor overlooked often by advocates of chemical fertilisers). Nature maintains the vitality of the soil by humus-developing activities, bacteria, earthworms, roots that break up the soil, and weathering. Well-prepared compost, supplies additional quantities of humus-developers, bacteria and earthworms in an active, living, organic form. These merge in the soil naturally and help Nature in the maintenance of the soil's vitality. The underlying idea is to return to the soil everything which comes out of it. The aim is to develop in compost heaps a controlled fermentation which allows only a minimum loss of nutritive elements and provides the maximum quantity of humus. Often haphazard attempts result in disappointment. Complete success can only follow experience in the preparation of compost heaps, including a knowledge of what is being attempted. But our cultivators know what is required and there need be no fear of them failing India if encouragement of a proper nature is given to them to take up compost-manuring on an extensive scale.

To prepare compost it is first necessary to dig a shallow pit; not more than ten inches deep. The pit should not be longer than twenty-five feet nor wider

than twelve feet. When material is plentiful it is better to have numerous comparatively small heaps than one big one. First a layer of cowdung is placed on the bottom of the pit, as fresh as possible. Then all sorts of plant refuse, straw, chaff, kitchen garbage, egg shells, fish remains, village sweepings, tank cleanings, leaves, hedge trimmings, wood and charcoal ashes, slaughter-house refuse, horn and hoof remnants, in fact anything that will disintegrate into humus, are systematically placed on top. It is essential to keep the heaps covered while in preparation. Banana leaves, spread daily immediately after the kitchen garbage, are ideal for the purpose. Farm-yard manure should also be deposited daily. When the heap is about twelve inches high a layer of earth should be deposited, not more than two to three inches thick. Remembering that the fermentation which will now be going on inside is a living process, the deposit of earth should be such as to form a skin, just thick enough to hold the heap together, yet thin enough to allow it to breathe. Care should be taken to see that the soil covering is not taken from land which has been treated with chemical fertilisers which are hostile to bacteria. The process of layering, with a covering of earth at every foot in height, should be continued until the heap is five feet high. The heap should slope gradually inward as it grows in height and should not exceed six feet in width at the top. This form of structure is convenient to work and also helps in aeration. Along the top a shallow trench should be cut, not so deep as to expose the highest layer of compost material. In this water should be poured daily from a tub into which cowdung and urine has been deposited. It is necessary to keep the heaps moist. An effective way of assisting in this is to insert a few bamboos through the trench at the top. After about a month the heap should be turned, the outside of the original heap being put inside, the bottom at the top. Over-dry sections should be mixed up with over-damp. Experience teaches perfection. Soon a composter becomes proficient. After another month another turning is necessary. In most parts of India fermentation is complete in about three months though this varies somewhat with the seasons.

The final result is a fine sweet-smelling powdery earth. It can be applied to the soil at all times in quantities great or small. The cultivator knows when he applies compost he is assisting the soil's rejuvenation and is adding to the humus content, that invaluable factor in crop production. The process of fermentation in the heaps attract large numbers of soil-bacteria and earthworms, a certain indication that the work is proceeding on the right lines, Nature's way.

As farms exist to-day in most parts of India, denuded of trees and not using correct rotation of crops, it is probable there would not be available sufficient material for compost-making to successfully rejuvenate the soil quickly and we cannot expect the cultivator to put his farmyard manure in a compost heap so long as we impose conditions on him which compel him to use cowdung for fuel, or die. This aspect is not insoluble. Given the will on the part of the leaders of public opinion to solve it, it could soon be solved. Compost from the villages can be supplemented by compost made in the smaller municipalities and by fertilisers of a very similar nature made by passing corporation refuse through sludge plants in bigger towns and cities. The process is exceedingly

simple and the sale of the resultant fertiliser at a nominal price per bag would bring in large sums of revenue from departments at present causing considerable strain on municipal budgets. The benefit to the soil would be incalculable.

The results from using compost are not so spectacular as from chemical fertilisers. Being a natural method and Nature's law being gradual, it takes some years before an appreciable change is noticeable.

In five years or so both the quality and the quantity of crops are quite definitely increased, and, what is equally important, the humus content of the soil has also increased. Animals as well as human beings fed on crops from compost-treated land improve in health. The crops are so nutritive that smaller quantities suffice, another important aspect, and one which should appeal to India in her present position. It is on record that cows in Bavaria reared on crops grown on compost-treated soil refused to eat when transferred to a farm where chemical fertilisers were used.

How long will it be before descendants of the present-day cultivator's half-starved cow in India are in a position to do that?

That the benefits to be obtained from widespread compost farming are real and not merely matters of theory is well illustrated in Pennsylvania, U.S.A. There

peasant farmers of Dutch descent adhere to it, the traditional method of their forefathers. The result is they are still a healthy, happy, prosperous community, little affected by booms and slumps in the commercial world. They are very nearly self-contained, most of their wants apart from food (which they grow themselves) coming from nearby villages. In the depression in the early thirties none of the people in this community required State relief whereas people on neighbouring sugar farms (where rotation farming is ignored and chemical fertilisers used extensively) required very large sums in State relief. The financial aspect is serious enough but the mental, moral and spiritual one is worse.

The choice before India is clear. To elect to follow the example of the unbalanced farming of the prairie lands assisted by chemical fertilisers and thereby bring certain tragedy and desolation or to return to Nature's way of developing Nature's bounty by encouraging widespread compost farming (including compost made from municipal refuse), thereby starting India on the road to that rejuvenation of her people, through rejuvenation of the soil, which is the first essential in preparing the country to take its proper place in the world of the future.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE BRAHMO SAMAJ TO HINDU RENAISSANCE

By SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

PROF. D. S. Sharma of Madras in his recently published monumental work entitled *Renaissance of Hinduism* devotes one chapter to the study of Rammohun Roy and Brahmo Samaj and considers in his book, first of all, their contributions to the modern Hindu Renaissance which is still in progress. Raja Rammohun, the illustrious Father of Modern India, was born on 22nd May, 1772, in the village of Radhanagar in the Burdwan district of Bengal and passed away on 27th September, 1833, at Bristol, England. Rammohun was the first reformer of Hindu society and religion, and the pioneer of the present Hindu Renaissance. Rammohun, observes Prof. Sharma, is the morning star of the New Day which dawns with Ramakrishna Paramahansa and reaches its noon in Mahatma Gandhi.

The reaction of Hinduism to the impact of Western civilization first made its expression in and through Rammohun, and took the form of Brahmo Samaj founded by him in 1828. Brahmo Samaj that has in the course of full one century ramified into four branches, namely, Adi Brahmo Samaj, Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, Bharatvarshiya Brahmo Samaj, and Sammelan Brahmo Samaj—has creditably worked out its mission of liberalising Hindu society and religion. Brahmo Samaj, principally a reform movement, has greatly succeeded in removing from Hinduism superstitions and orthodoxies that accreted in the medieval age. The Hindu society is so liberal to-day that it is indistinguishable from Brahmo Samaj. A Hindu is as liberal today as a Brahmo. That the modern Hindus have a broad outlook on religious and social matters is due to the liberalising influence and activities of the Brahmo Samaj for about a century and a quarter. Brahmo Samaj is no longer separate from Hindu society. It is an important part, an advanced section, of Hindu

society. Rabindranath the poet, Jagadish Chandra the scientist, Prafulla Chandra the chemist, Deshbandhu the patriot, Brojendranath the scholar, and a galaxy of great men, all of whom belonged to the Brahmo Samaj are the pride of the Hindu nation. Ramananda, the founder and late editor of *The Modern Review*, is known all over the world as a Hindu journalist. "Though Brahmo Samaj," remarks Prof. Sharma, "is a peut force now, it has rendered useful service to Hinduism in three ways: It popularised social reform, it prevented conversions to Christianity by creating a halfway house, and it roused the orthodox Hindus to organise themselves and work for a revival of their religion." Historically speaking, as the Arya Samaj of Swami Dayananda saved Hinduism in West India from Muslimisation so Brahmo Samaj saved Hinduism in East India from Christianisation. Hinduism, being originally based on the Vedas, is rightly called Vedic religion. When Buddhism exerted its influence on Hinduism and was about to make it soulless and godless, Sankaracharya appeared and revived the Vedic Dharma and saved Hinduism from Buddhistic pressure. In the modern age, the Vedic foundation of Hinduism was strengthened and upheld by the Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj—the former revived the Vedic Jnana Kanda, or the Upanishads, and the latter the Vedic Karma Kanda or the Samhitas.

There are ignorant Hindus (now even among the educated section) who are unaware that Rammohun was born a Hindu, was brought up a Hindu and died a Hindu. It is said that one of the last words the Raja was heard to mutter in his death-bed at Bristol, was the sacred syllable 'Aum', so dear to the heart of a Hindu. He was as much proficient in Hindu scripture as in Christian and Islamic scriptures. Rammohun

was the first prophet of renaissance Hinduism and was in the words of Prof. Sharma "a zealous Hindu, proud of India's past . . . proud of the achievements of his race and was eager to conserve all that was good and great in his ancestral religion." He himself says in his autobiographical sketch that the ground which he took in all his controversies was not that of opposition to Brahmanism (Hinduism) but to a perversion of it. He made himself bold and came forward to fight the battle of Hinduism against the insolence of the Christian missionaries of Serampore who attacked Hinduism at the time in their Bengali organ called *Samachar Darpan*. But for the defence of Brahmo Samaj and its reforming zeal, a large portion of the Hindu society would have been converted to Christianity as evidenced by the fact that Madhusudan Dutta, K. M. Banerjee and other leading Hindus of the day embraced Christianity and was lost to Hindu Samaj. The Hindu philosophy of Vedanta was first revived by Rammohun, who during 1815-19 published his *An Abridgement of Vedant* and his translations of Isha, Kena, Katha and Manduka Upanishads and two papers on Defence of Hindu Theism. He was a profound Sanskrit scholar and is reported to have established a Vedanta College at his own expense. He started with his own money, for the free education of the Hindu boys, an Anglo-Hindu School, where Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, the second leader of the Brahmo Samaj, got his early education. It is a thousand pities that the great reformer was misunderstood by his people in his life-time as he is today by some biased and perverted minds. In 1816 he with his friend, David Hare, made suggestions to Sir Hyde East, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court for the founding of the Hindu College which later became Presidency College of Calcutta. The idea was originated and sponsored by him but unfortunately for us he had to resign his membership from the Managing Committee of the College as the Hindu members resented his presence there. The orthodox Hindu leaders said that they would rather be reformed by anybody else than him!

By the adamant efforts of Rammohun, the crude and brutal custom of 'Sati' was abolished and declared illegal in 1829 by Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor-General of India. He agitated against polygamy, an extensively prevalent evil of Hindu society in his days and showed that it was contrary to Hindu Law except under certain specified circumstances like barrenness or incurable sickness of the wife. He studied the Smritis with their commentaries and quoted from twelve Hindu law-givers to prove his contention. Rammohun was the first Hindu who went to the West with a Mission. In England he was highly honoured and royally entertained. It is wrong to think that the Rajah had any intention of going against the best traditions of his country or breaking away from the religion of his ancestors. The mission of his life was to brush away some of the nasty impurities that had gathered round the Hindu traditions in decadent days, as well as to restore Hinduism to its original purity and develop its social and political aspects according to the needs of the times. In order to make his appeal authentic and supported by Hindu scriptures, he took his stand on the Upanishads and Brahma Sutras, the foundational scriptures of Hinduism. He regretted that the current system of religion adhered to by the

Hindus was not calculated to promote and protect their political and social interests. He therefore thought it proper that necessary changes should take place in Hinduism for the sake of our political advantage and social uplift. He never contemplated radical reform of our religion or radical reconstruction of our society.

The Brahmo Samaj as conceived by Rammohun preserved its Hindu character throughout. The original meditation of the Samaj he founded consisted in the repetition of the Gayatri Mantra, and chanting of the Upanishadic Texts, followed by a *stotra* taken from the Mahanirvan Tantra. He was not an advocate of idolatry, but never was against it. Like a true and enlightened Hindu, he laid down in the trust deed of the Brahmo Samaj that "no object animate or inanimate that has been, or is, or shall hereafter become or be recognised as an object of worship by any man or set of men shall be reviled or slightly or contemptuously spoken of or alluded to." He correctly defines the Hindu attitude of image-worship when he says, "It will also appear evident that the Vedas although they tolerate idolatry as the last provision for those who are totally incapable of raising their minds to the contemplation of the Invisible God of Nature, yet they repeatedly urge the relinquishment of the rites of idol worship and the adoption of a purer system of religion on the express grounds that the observance of idolatrous rites can never be productive of eternal beatitude."

The Brahmo Samaj during its second period which begins with the entry of Maharshi Debendranath Tagore as the leader, practically retained its Hindu character. It was not he but a section of his misguided followers who in their iconoclastic followers widened the gulf between Hinduism and Brahmoism. The Brahmapasana he conducted in the Samaj was almost the same as that of Rammohun. It consisted in reading selected texts from the Upanishads and collective chanting of a *stotra* of the Mahanirvan Tantra, of course, in an altered form. He sent four students to Benares for the study of the Vedas, so that they might serve the Samaj with their Vedic knowledge. The Maharshi and most of his adherents retained their sacred thread in spite of the opposition of Keshab Chandra Sen, the third Brahmo leader and his party. For the use of the Samajists, Debendranath compiled a series of extracts known as "Brahmo Dharma" from the Upanishads, the Smritis, the Mahabharata and other Hindu scriptures. "In spite of all his rationalism", rightly opines Mr. Sharma, "Debendranath was a conservative Hindu, whose spiritual life was nourished by the Upanishads and who was for introducing reforms in the Hindu society slowly but cautiously." Seceding of the Brahmo Samaj from the parent community and its rejection of the Vedas alienated the Hindus from this movement and this separatistic spirit dealt a death-blow to it. Pandit Sitanath Tattabhusan, a leader of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj and the learned author of *The Philosophy of Brahmoism* rightly observes as follows in his *Autobiography*, published in 1943: "The discarding of Vedantism by the Brahmo Samaj under the Maharshi was a great mistake—one which had done and is doing a good deal of harm to the Brahmo Samaj. It had led to a neglect, on the part of the Brahmos, of our ancient scriptures and was thus discouraging scholarship and causing spiritual sterility. It had also created

an unnecessary gulf between the old and the new society, leading many Brahmos to call themselves non-Hindus and cease from taking a just pride in the glorious and spiritual achievements of the Hindu race."

As Maharshi orthodoxly maintained some Hindu customs and usages in the Samaj such as 'Upanayan' rite, Keshab Chandra left him and started a new branch of the Brahmo Samaj. Keshab and his followers became more Christian than Hindu in their belief and outlook. They were in the beginning so influenced by Christianity that it gave rise to a popular saying that Brahmoism is Christianity minus Christ. But later on he gave a cosmopolitan character to his Samaj as evident from *Sloka Sangraha*, a book prepared for use in the divine services of the Samaj and containing passages from scriptures of all religions—Hindu, Buddhist, Jewish, Christian, Muslim and Chinese. Next to Rammohun, Keshab went to England and spent there six months preaching his message of religious synthesis.

Keshab came of a staunch Vaisnava family, hence he could not get rid of the Vaisnavite bent of his religious tendencies. He, therefore, introduced in the services of the Samaj, 'mridanga' and 'cymbals', the musical instruments used by the Vaisnavas in their Bhajans. In spite of the passing of the Civil Marriage Act in 1872, the marriages of Keshab's two daughters took place with the two Hindu princes of Cooch Behar and Mayurbhanj according to Hindu rites. Though he adopted some Christian rites, he retained the Hindu rites of 'Homa' and 'Arati' and some festivals. The banner of his Samaj bears the Christian cross, Islamic crescent and Hindu trident. "His religion", remarks Prof. Sharma, "was a sort of conglomerate of Brahmo rationalism, Vaisnava emotionalism, Christian supernaturalism and Vedantic mysticism." His colleague, Gour Gobinda Roy, was a great Sanskrit scholar and wrote a Sanskrit commentary on the Gita and an interpretation of Vedanta in Sanskrit. He met Sri Ramakrishna Paramhansa in 1875 and frequently visited him with his party at Dakshineswar Temple garden. The close contact with this Hindu saint Hinduised Keshab gradually and consequently he introduced the formless worship of God as mother in his Samaj. Sri Ramakrishna loved Keshab dearly and used to come to him to his Calcutta house. Ramakrishna's influence gave a Hindu turn to the Samaj. Keshab's adoption of Hindu rites brought him perilously near justifying idol-worship which was abhorrent to the Brahmo Samaj from its very inception. He wrote at one time in the *Sunday Mirror* thus: "Hindu idolatry is not altogether to be rejected or overlooked. As we explained some time ago, it represents millions of broken fragments of God. Collect them together and you get the Indivisible Divinity. Their idolatry is nothing but the worship of a divine attribute materialised."

Ananda Mohan Bose, the first leader of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, became the President of the Indian National Congress held in Madras in 1893. Sitanath Tattabhusan of this Samaj has published good translations of some Upanishads and popularised Vedanta in the Samaj. According to Pandit Sitanath, the main contribution of Brahmo Samaj to the religious development of India is that, it has given a negative and antithetical turn to the old theism of our country. The late lamented Ramananda Chatterjee, another Brahmo leader, took active part in the Hindu Mahasabha and devoted his long life to the protection of

the political rights of the Hindus. Rabindranath Tagore, characterised by Prof. Sharma as the Leonardo da Vinci of our renaissance, has played a very important part in the modern renaissance of Hinduism. He was the youngest son of the Maharshi and was once the Secretary of the Adi Brahmo Samaj of which his father was the head. Like a Rishi, he was saturated with the spirit of the Upanishads. The poet quotes freely from the Upanishads and his message is a restatement of the ancient Hindu wisdom to meet the needs of modern times. His 'Sadhana' which contains a series of lectures delivered at the Harvard University, U.S.A., shows "how deeply he pondered over the sacred texts of the Upanishads and how clearly he pointed out their significance to the modern mind." Prof. Radhakrishnan who has written an interesting volume on the philosophy of Rabindranath rightly says that the writings of the poet form a modern commentary on the Upanishads and that the soul of ancient India is mirrored in them. The publication of his *Gitanjali* in 1912, the award of Nobel Prize to him in the following year, the founding of his Visva-Bharati in 1921 and his delivery of the Hibbert lectures in 1930 are memorable events in the history of the present Hindu renaissance, as these epochal events have made Hinduism known throughout the civilised world. Though Tagore was an opponent of Hindu orthodoxy, he was undoubtedly a prominent leader of Hindu renaissance. The Upanishads, the Himalayan source of the Upanishads, were the scriptures of his spiritual life. Like his father, he never considered himself as being outside the pale of Hinduism. His novel *Gora* contains an impartial criticism of the Brahmo Samaj as well as the Hindu orthodoxy. Tagore has broadcasted to the distant corners of the globe the age-old message of Hinduism through his poems, stories, novels, and dramas, which are now read almost in every country of the world.

In the light of history, Brahmo Samaj may be described as a Neo-Hindu movement, a protestant sect of Hinduism, like the Arya Samaj. Lala Lajpat Rai, a great patriot and leader of the Arya Samaj, says: "The Arya Samaj is a champion of Hinduism in more senses than one. Its members are proud of Hinduism. They have no hesitation and will never have any, in staking everything they possess in defence of the Hindu community. Hinduism created the Arya Samaj. Hinduism has vitality enough to save itself by other means, if the Arya Samaj should fail it." Miss Adrienne Moore in her thoughtful book *Rammohun Roy and America* observes that though Rammohun during his life-time was more esteemed by the West, yet after his death he has been more appreciated by India which now acclaims him as the Father of her Renaissance. "If Rammohun was more influential during the generation after his death," concludes Miss Moore, "it was Rammohun the Hindu, shorn of Christian embellishments, who lived on."

From the above short study, it is clear that the line of demarcation between the Brahmo Samaj and Hinduism is nothing but imaginary and that the Brahmo Samaj has made substantial and significant contributions to the Hindu Renaissance in which we live. None can deny that the Brahmo Samaj has broadened and broadcasted, widened and intensified, forwarded and fostered the modern Renaissance of Hinduism in all possible ways.

MENACE OF FOREIGN CAPITAL

By SIDDHESWAR CHATTOPADHYAYA

It is reassuring to note that Mahatma Gandhi has advised Indian businessmen not to co-operate with British capitalists on fifty fifty basis. We are of the opinion that this and similar proposals would not have been made by responsible men like Professor A. V. Hill had not the Bombay Planners invited foreign capital specially from America to the amount of Rs. 700 crores. Speaking in 1916 on the resolution which led to the appointment of the Industrial Commission Sir William Clarke, the then Commerce Member, said, "The building up of industries where capital, control and management should be in the hands of Indians is the special object we all have in view." He deprecated the taking of any steps which might "merely mean that the manufacturer who now competes with you from a distance would transfer his activities to India and compete with you within your boundaries." It is an irony of fate that exactly this has happened and sections 111-116, Government of India Act incorporating what is known as commercial safeguards for Britons run counter to the views expressed by the Commerce Member. In protected industries like paper and cement Britons hold the superior position. A Czecho-Slovak shoe factory is throwing millions of Indian shoe-makers out of employment without having to bear the burden of unemployment relief which in other countries falls mainly on industry. Two motor tyre factories, one near Calcutta owned by the British and the other at Bombay owned by Americans, can meet the needs of the country and, therefore, make Indian venture in this direction not only superfluous but impossible in view of the fierce competition that will follow. In soap, since the establishment of a British factory in the country, indigenous concerns find it difficult to maintain their existence. These are only a few instances. In old established industries like jute and coal the foreign concerns hang like a mill-stone round the country's neck. Indian-owned jute mills have been forced against their vehement opposition and under a Government Ordinance to obey the mandate of the ring of the British jute mills in the matter of working hours. Otherwise each such mill would have served the purpose of three or more such establishments and the position of Indians (which is negligible now) vis-a-vis the British in the industry would have improved. Indian colliery proprietors with their limited capital can not generally buy screening plants and coal-cutting machines with the result that their cost per ton of coal raised is higher than that of British-managed collieries. Judged by the pre-war wagon basis of each colliery Indian-owned mines have been getting very much less wagons than the British-managed since the beginning of the war. The same thing happened during the last war. Soft coke used by the poor and middle classes in cooking food has been placed down in the list of priorities. Otherwise Indian colliery proprietors who generally manufacture soft coke would have fared a little better. Foreign capital so much dreaded by Gopal Krishna Gokhale has become, the greatest menace in modern India. The situation is more serious than we generally comprehend. Vested and sectional interests are being created in the country and fissiparous tendencies carefully promoted and financed. A section of the nationalist Press drawing a substantial part of its revenue from advertisements of foreign concerns no longer carries on, as in the days of Surendranath Banerjee and Matilal Ghose, the ceaseless propaganda against goods produced by foreigners but devotes most of its leading articles to Mr. Leopold-Améry, which is rather a safe

thing to do. The news of police shooting of strikers of an European concern near Calcutta could not be published until after 3 days' agitation culminating in a bonfire of certain newspapers. It is our considered opinion that in spite of Mahatmaji's warning Indian big business will ultimately form an alliance with foreign capital specially American if not on 50 : 50 at least on 70 : 30 or 75 : 25 basis. This fresh invasion in addition to what already exists will mean parcelling out India to different nations of the West and creating a second China. At this critical hour of the country the Indian National Congress which is the salt of this earth has lost its savour and become capitalist-ridden. The future historian will describe the entertainment of Mahatmaji and the Viceroy in different parts of the same house and at the same time as the first nail in the coffin of Indian nationalism. Our veneration for Mahatmaji is boundless but the serious danger that faces the country leaves us no alternative to presentation of truth in all its nakedness. History and literature, as in the case of Shakespeare's Brutus, provide examples of high-souled patriots being made tools in the hands of designing men who did infinite harm to society. The Radical Democratic Party whose leader is declared to be in the pay of the Government has very strong words against Indian big business but nothing against British industry which sets the pace of exploitation. The Communist Party about which searching questions should be put in the legislature tries to fasten all blame on profiteers whose nefarious career of crime would end in no time if high officials were not their partners. In the recent Kishan Sabha Conference at Netrakona, Bengal, it sowed seeds of discord between the peasants and the landlords keeping mum over the exploitation of jute-growers by jute mills mostly under British management. The annual income of landlords whose number is 783,000 does not exceed Rs. 12 crores while the undue gain made by jute mills in a year is at least Rs. 40 crores. Foolish criticism has been made of moneylenders. The Bengal Money Lenders' Act and the Bengal Agricultural Debtors' Act made it impossible for anybody to advance loan to agriculturists who had to sell their land outright during the last famine. The condition of rayats in Khas Mahal areas and in provinces not under Permanent Settlement is not better but far worse than in Zemindary tracts. At least 20 crores of rupees are allowed to fall into arrears in Bengal by Zemindars and may thus be considered as agricultural loan at a low rate of interest. This is inconceivable elsewhere. The speeches of the President and Swami Sahajananda at the recent Krishak Praja Conference at Rajshahi follow much the same lines of uninformed criticism. Now all these parties designed to vivisect India are gaining in strength only because the Congress does not dissociate itself from Indian big business which should be neither exterminated nor petted. The entire forces of the country should be marshalled against foreign capital within or outside the country. This can not be done until rural people get industrial goods like cloth at a cheap price, which means curtailment of profits at the top. Eire would not be a free country now if the Irish did not spurn the repeated offers of British capitalists to industrialise that country and boldly declare that they were content with their potatoes and sprat (fish). A strong movement should immediately be started in India for the boycott of goods even made with 5 per cent foreign capital. The technique of the Swadeshi movement of Bengal in 1906 may be followed.



Book Reviews



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EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

WHY PAKISTHAN?—AND WHY NOT? : By K. T. Shah. Published by Pratibha Publications, Peoples' Building, Sir Phirozsha Mehta Road, Bombay. Pp. 284. Price Rs. 5.

Recognising the fact that nearly all discussions of the Pakistan proposal as laid down in the 1940 Lahore resolution of the Muslim League have come either from those who stand for it or those who are opposed to it, and that they are all characterised by the lack of that detached outlook which only can bring about a solution, the learned author has gone back to a long disused form, the Socratic dialogue, in order to place all points of view before his readers. This has been done because he believes, and that rightly, that no problem whatever its nature, has ever only one side and that a scientific treatment presupposes the examination of all points of view.

It is therefore that Prof. K. T. Shah who already enjoys a unique reputation as one of our foremost economists and political thinkers has presented his thoughts on the Pakistan problem in the form of a round table conference lasting for six days in which representatives of all shades of opinion find a place. These discuss the ethics, economics and politics of the proposed homeland of our Muslim brethren, and examine not only the Pakistan resolution in all its implications but also such definite proposals as the Punjabi's, the Aligarh Professors', the Latif and the Sikandar Hyat schemes. Some reference is also made to the Ambedkar proposal.

Though it cannot be said that the discussions lead to any final agreement among those participating in them, there can be no doubt that the unbiased examination of every aspect of the problem has admirably clarified the issues.

While the nature of the form adopted has prevented the learned author from giving any definite solution of his own, those who read between the lines will not experience much difficulty in finding at least the outlines of what Prof. Shah seems to regard as a more or less satisfactory way of solving this problem.

This is one of the very few books which has attempted, and that successfully, to treat this vexing problem and the success attained has been due only because the author has handled his subject without prejudice and without passion. It is recommended as a thought-provoking work which should set every lover of his motherland thinking furiously.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

DARKENING DAYS : By Ela Sen. Published by Susil Gupta, Calcutta, 1944. Pages 179. Price Rs. 4-8.

Pen-pictures of familiar scenes of the Bengal famine—pictures of the threatening clouds, the bursting of the storm, the human and social wreckage left behind and the general aftermath—pictures drawn by a deft and

skilful hand, constitute the subject-matter of this book. The authoress has not devoted much space to the assessment of the total human loss or to the apportionment of responsibility for the Bengal disaster of 1943. That remains a wide field of controversy. She has been more concerned, and rightly so, with the disastrous consequences of the impact of famine on the frail structure of Bengal's economic and social life. The bodies of children and the honour of women have sold cheaply, and human greed no less than human cruelty has deepened the tragedy, the ominous shadows of which have not yet disappeared from our midst. Admittedly, the book has been written from a woman's point of view and the entire tragedy has been seen through the sufferings and humiliation of women trapped in the meshes of famine. That does not, however, mean that the sufferings of men have been overlooked. The short stories which make up the major portion of the book bring back to life all those poignant scenes that have been imprinted on our memory for ever. Lakshmi, Juthika or Sukhi are not imaginary characters; they are real, so are their tragedy and humiliation. If rehabilitation is to have any meaning, it must secure, before everything else, the salvage of this human wreckage and the resurrection of their sense of honour and self-respect. Ela Sen rightly focusses the attention of her readers on the extreme urgency of this aspect of the rehabilitation problem, even though in places the striking realism of her narration is clouded by the vapours of sentimentality. The sketches of Zainul Abedin have added to the realistic as well as artistic quality of the book. Abedin's treatment of the pariah dog and the scavenging crow is something unique in the entire gallery of artistic representation of this dismal tragedy. Frankly, I failed to appreciate the printer's choice of the crimson background for Abedin's sketches, and without being dogmatic, I might say that a pale blue background would have perhaps been more in consonance with the theme of the book as well as the spirit of the sketches.

MONINDRA MOHAN MOULIK

KEATS'S CONCEPTION OF THE POETIC VOCATION : By K. B. Roy, M.A. Messrs. Ram Krishna & Sons, Lahore. Price Rs. 3-8.

Mr. Roy, while a research scholar in the University of Lucknow, undertook the study of Keats's conception of the Poetic Vocation as revealed in his letters and poems. Prof. Amaranatha Jha introduces the results of that study embodied in the volume under review as a valuable monograph. Certainly there is still scope for much fruitful work in this direction. Dr. Takeshi Saito broached the subject twenty years ago and his chapter on the function of poetry deserves wide publicity even to-day.

Throughout his letters Keats had scattered numerous observations on the poet and his vocation,

and they have been liberally laid upon contribution by all students of Keats ever since their publication. Some of them have been quoted in the book, but one feels that Mr. Roy might have used them more freely. Keats who found that he could not exist without poetry, who declared 'there is no greater sin after the seven deadly than to flatter oneself into an idea of being a great poet', thought a good deal on the greatness of his vocation and made strenuous efforts to advance towards his ideal. In his verses he says, with reference to poetry :

A drainless shower
Of light is poesy; 'tis the supreme of power;
'Tis might half slumbering on its own right arm.

Most of the chapters are descriptive and some of them are interpretative. But it is difficult to understand why there is duplication of matter. The *Odes* and *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* are both fondly dwelt upon again and again. Pages 145 and 167 may be compared. This might have been easily avoided. The interpretation of *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* appears also to be a little fantastic. Selincourt had no doubt referred to its conception as 'invested with a sense of tragedy' and Saito commented : "Sympathy could not be deeper." But that is a far cry from Mr. Roy's interpretation (?) of the 'hero' (the Knight) as 'self-effacement and self-annihilation and throwing one's lot in common with fellow-sufferers.' There are also certain typographical errors, in fact, too many of them. There is also a peculiarity (?) in the printing, the last word of a page is repeated in the next page just as they carry it on in typing. This unusual 'feature' might have been avoided without any loss of contents, and with some gain in space, etc.

P. R. SEN

UNITY : *Hamara Hindostan Publication, Bombay.* Pages 79. Price Rs. 8.

This is a very timely publication being a collection from the writings of Mahatma Gandhi, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the late Mahadevbhai Desai, Khwaja Ahmed Abbas and Sriji K. G. Mashruwalla on Hindu-Muslim unity and other allied subjects with Gandhiji's interpretation of the Gita and Moulana Azad's interpretation of the Quran in the Appendices.

India in spite of differences of religion, race and languages is one and undivided and the same ancient civilization is claimed by all as their own. It is the third party i.e., the alien rulers who are responsible for the gulf of the differences that divides the Hindus and the Muslims. So long the third party controls the political destiny of India there is hardly any possibility of a united India growing undisturbed. Almost all the political leaders and thinkers are of opinion that the Constitution of India must be drawn by Indians themselves and so long the British Parliament retains its sovereignty and the English nation refuses Indians the right of self-determination, the unity between the Hindus and the Muslims and a compromise with other minorities and interests cannot take place. It is almost a vicious circle between Unity and Independence—which to come first.

A book of this nature deserves wide circulation among the politically-minded people of the country.

WAGE-LABOUR AND CAPITAL : *By Karl Marx with an Introduction by Frederick Engels. Published by Central Publishing Union, Lucknow. Pages 32. Price As. 8.*

The original essays criticising the then classical Economists by Marx appeared in the form of leading newspaper articles in 1849. Subsequently Marx changed some of his views and these articles in a modified form

(as Marx would have himself done) were edited and published by Engels from London in 1891.

This publication is a cheap reprint meant for the students of Marxian literature.

A. B. DUTTA

THE BROTHERHOOD OF RELIGIONS : *By Sophia Wadia. With a foreword by Mahatma Gandhi. Second Edition. Published by International Book House Ltd., Ash Lane, Bombay. Pp. 288. Price Rs. 3.*

The learned authoress is the distinguished editor of that high-brow journal, the *Aryan Path* and *Indian P. E. N.* as well as the leader of the Theosophical Movement, Bombay. Though English is not her mother-tongue, yet she is a charming speaker in English. She has devoted her life to the establishment of Brotherhood of religions in India, her adopted motherland. Deeply she loves India and her eternal wisdom and says that she is inspired by India, the modern heir of ancient Aryavarta whose immemorial wisdom has made India the motherland of all those who love the path of the spirit.

The book, under review, is a compilation of lectures "chosen from among many delivered at different places and under different auspices during five years" on almost all religions. These lectures, observes Mahatma Gandhi, in the foreword, "show at a glance how much similarity there is between the principal faiths of the earth in the fundamentals of life." Madame Wadia examines all religions with reverence and brings out pointedly the essential unity underlying them. She rightly distinguishes the essentials of religions from their non-essentials and emphasises the need of following the former and setting aside the latter as the *sine qua non* of true religious living. The root of all religious quarrels is an appalling ignorance of the essentials of one's own faith as well as other faiths. This ignoble ignorance will be dispelled and our religious outlook broadened by a comparative study of various faiths to which this book will serve as an excellent introduction and dependable guide. An elaborate index and a glossary of Pali and Sanskrit words used in the book are appended.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

DOCTRINE OF KARMA : *By Swami Abhedananda, Ramakrishna Vedanta Math, 19/B Raja Rajkrishna Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.*

This is the second edition of Swamiji's lectures on Doctrine of Karma and philosophy of work; and to these have been added two other lectures on Delusion and Heart and Mind. These are fascinating studies on Karma in all its aspects—on its nature, on laws governing it as well as on Karma Yoga. The lecture on the law of compensation will remind the reader of Emerson's lecture on the same subject and both should be read together.

ISAN CH. ROY

BENGALI

BANGLA SAMAYIK SAHITYA (Bengali Periodical Literature) : *By Brajendra Nath Banerji. Visva-Vidya-Samgraha Series No. 33. Visva-Bharati, Calcutta, 1945. Pp. 86.*

Any work from the industrious and careful pen of Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerji hardly requires a recommendation but speaks for itself. The present sketch, included in the well-known Visva-Vidya Series, which has already popularised itself by thoughtful contributions of eminent writers, is a short and clear version, within the limits of some eighty pages, of his more elaborate and fully documented History of Bengali Periodicals; but it does not lose its importance on that

account. Meant chiefly though it is for the general reader, no pains has been spared to make it complete, accurate and interesting; but the specialist also will find in it some matter which is new and valuable. No better work can be recommended to the busy reader who wants to have a short but reliable account of an extremely interesting subject.

ELLER U 11

S. K. DE

KHELAR MATH : By Jogendra Nath Gupta. Published by the Author from P.851A, Mahanirban Road, Calcutta. Pages 256. Price Rs. 2.

Mr. Gupta as Editor of the *Sishu Bharati* (the Children's Encyclopaedia) is well-known among the juvenile readers of Bengal. He has contributed a good number of books to the Bengali literature and not a small number for the young readers. *Khelar Math* or the Play Ground—when it was being published in instalments in the *Kaishorak*, kept young readers anxious from month to month till the story was concluded. It is a fascinating tale with tit-bits of juvenile adventure—all around the game of cricket. School students, teachers, villagers all meet and part full of life and reality and the hobby of adventure to find the missing foreign stamps is really exciting and keeps the young minds in suspense. We shall not be surprised if some young readers fail to go to the play ground being absorbed in its study.

This is an innocent story of adventure for the young and as such deserves wide circulation among those for whom it has been written.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

SHILINDHRA HAMARE MITRA TATHA SHATRU : By Kameshwar Sahaya Bhargava. Allahabad University, Allahabad. Pp. 29. Price not mentioned.

This is a pamphlet which deals with Fungus and its several uses in medicine, industry and food as well as some of its indirect uses. It traces the history of Fungus from the earliest recorded times both in East and in West. On striking the balance of its advantages and disadvantages, the writer—whose capacity for research is quite evident—comes to the conclusion that Fungus is at present more a foe of man than his friend.

PRAKASH-CHIKITSA : By Dr. Sudhir Kumar Mukerji. Allahabad University, Allahabad. Pp. 72. Price not mentioned.

This is a Hindi translation of two chapters of Dr. Nilratan Dhar's *New Conceptions in Bio-Chemistry*, dealing with the value of sunlight in curing certain diseases and in increasing the "vitaminness" of a number of edibles. Had the style been simpler, the usefulness of the book to the lay reader would have been enhanced considerably.

G. M.

CANARESE

CHARAKA SAMHITA—CHIKITSA STHANA Part I : Edited and published by *Ayurveda Teertha Adya Anantacharya, Bijapur*. Price Rs. 6.

The book under review is a Kannada rendering of the original Sanskrit work of the same name. Charaka and Sushruta are the two important works extant on the ancient lore of Ayurveda. Charaka is regarded as the most ancient and authoritative work on Ayurveda and as such is held in very high esteem. Its very ancientness has lent scope for variations in readings and interpolations. The editor has tried his level best to consult different texts available and determine the correct readings. He has further added a few prescriptions of medicines in the light of his own experienced practice ranging over a lengthy period. The translator has done a very useful work in appending the Kannada

equivalents for different herbs and drugs. Sjt. Adya deserves well-merited praise for putting such a useful work on the market for the benefit of Kannada Ayurvedic students and public.

V. B. N.

GUJARATI

HRADAYANJALI : By Mrs. Indumati Desai, Brouch. Printed at the Patidar Printing Press, Kadi. 1943. Paper cover. Pp. 84.

These are rhapsodies in the vogue of Miran Bai's devotional songs addressed to Krishna. They are both in prose and verse, and show a good command over language. She is a disciple of Arvind Babu of Pondichery and a genuine believer in the following verse which she prints on the last cover, "With the Divine all is bliss."

NAVIN KAVITAVISHE VYAKHYANO : By Prof. B. K. Thakore, B.A., I.E.S. (Retd.). Printed at the Sadhana Press, Baroda. (1943). Pp. 189. Price Rs. 2.

The Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad, has opened a Post-Graduate class, before which Prof. Thakore delivered lectures on the New or Modern poetry of Gujarat. The lectures are divided into four sections and embrace almost every phase of recent poetry, as represented by numerous young and rising composers. The lecturer writes that the period is one of transition, and is bound to give rise to "Revolutionary" writers. The reviews are so thorough and couched in such trenchant and fearless language that they have become a milestone in the path of criticism or review in the literature of Gujarat. It is not as if the reviews are unsympathetic or harsh; on the other hand, at numerous places one finds words of encouragement, and appreciation, which go to hearten the young composer.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



My Pictures

We give below the first part of the article, as published in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, on "My Pictures" by Rabindranath Tagore, written in London on July 2, 1930 :

When, at the age of five, I was compelled to learn and to repeat the lessons from my text-book, I had the notion that literature had its mysterious manifestation on the printed pages, that it represented some supernatural tyranny of an immaculate perfection. Such a despairing feeling of awe was dissipated from my mind when by chance I discovered in my own person that verse-making was not beyond the range of an untrained mind and tottering handwriting. Since then my sole medium of expression has been words, followed at sixteen by music, which also came to me as a surprise.

In the meanwhile the modern art movement, following the line of the oriental tradition, was started by my nephew Abanindranath. I watched his activities with an envious mood of self-diffidence, being thoroughly convinced that my fate had refused me passport across the strict boundaries of letters.

But one thing which is common to all arts is the principle of rhythm which transforms inert materials into living creations. My instinct for it and my training in its use led me to know that lines and colours in art are no carriers of information; they seek their rhythmic incarnation in pictures. Their ultimate purpose is not to illustrate or to copy some outer fact or inner vision, but to evolve a harmonious wholeness which finds its passage through our eyesight into imagination. It neither questions our mind for meaning nor burdens it with unmeaningness, for it is, above all, meaning.

Desultory lines obstruct the freedom of our vision with the inertia of their irrelevance. They do not move with the great march of all things. They have no justification to exist and therefore they rouse up against them, their surroundings; they perpetually disturb peace. For this reason the scattered scratches and corrections in my manuscripts cause me annoyance. They represent regrettable mischance, like a gapingly foolish crowd struck in a wrong place, undecided as to how or where to move on. But if the spirit of a dance is inspired in the heart of that crowd, the unrelated many would find a perfect unity and be relieved of its hesitation between to be and not to be. I try to make my corrections, dance, connect them in a rhythmic relationship and transform accumulation into adornment.

This has been my unconscious training in drawing. I find disinterested pleasure in this work of reclamation, often giving to it more time and care than to my immediate duty in literature that has the sole claim upon my attention, often aspiring to a permanent recognition from the world.

Yeats on India

In the case of Yeats, the "superhuman" or "supernatural", in short the non-rational, played

an exceedingly important part in his evolution as a writer and poet. Dr. Alex Aronson writes in *The Aryan Path* :

Yeats was not the first to discover that poetry is born out of a mystical experience, a kind of supernatural trance where all earthly conflicts are solved and the subconscious itself is transformed into artistic creation. Many before him had experienced a similar spiritual awakening.

The fact that, from his childhood onwards, he felt attracted towards things Eastern, and particularly towards India, indeed proves that not only intellectually, but also temperamentally he was drawn towards the subconscious of the human mind. And more than once he found in India what was so sadly lacking in the West : an intuitive approach to life, a religion born of an inner need, a challenge to materialism.

Yeats was a dreamer and more than once he deceived himself into believing in an India of his own creation, the India of the Romantics; indeed, as to so many other European thinkers and poets before him, India was to him a wish-fulfilment rather than a reality. And first and foremost it was an escape, a looking back rather than a looking forward, an India coloured by the nostalgic emotions of a dissatisfied European poet.

Yeats's discovery of India can hardly be called an intellectual and even less an academic achievement.

His poetry, indeed his love for all that is primitive and simple and rooted in the soil quite naturally led him towards India.

Yeats, in his early manhood, was intensely pre-occupied with the past, that dim and primeval darkness of ancient times. "There are two ways before literature," he says, "upward into ever-growing subtlety . . . or downward, taking the soul with us until all is simplified and solidified again." (1906). This was written six years before Yeats discovered Tagore's English rendering of *Gitanjali*. And it was quite in the nature of things that he found in *Gitanjali* just those elements of poetry which were lacking in the West: the living tradition of the past, a continuity in the life of the people whose roots are deep down in the soil.

It is from this time onwards that we find Yeats definitely turning towards the East for inspiration. Sometimes, indeed, Yeats feels that Europe has outgrown her past, that every seed has borne its fruit; " . . . it is now time to copy the East and live deliberately."

A poet's approach to a foreign civilization must necessarily imply a valuation. In the case of Yeats we may safely say that many of his values, both literary and cultural in general, were derived from that revivalist movement which he himself helped to create and which was by no means determined by purely literary considerations. It was a return to the primeval simplicity of the past, the unsophisticated civilization of the "people." There is no doubt that India was to him the fulfilment of many of his dreams, a vision of the final harmony in human life.

The Rhine Front

The New Review observes :

It is important to note that the Allied offensive could not get well under way earlier than one month ago. As the Ardennes counter-offensive was petering out in early February, Marshal Montgomery passed to the attack, but was stalled by the German skilful defence. Crerar's Canadians fought bravely through mud and water, hopping from dry spot to dry spot and from dike to dike, pushing their way across minefields in a murderous frontal assault which reached the Rhine. The American Third Army bored through the West Wall, painfully inching forward in the Eifel forest. But in the centre the American First and Ninth were stopped. The dams of the Roer and Urft rivers had been blown up by von Rundstedt, and let loose a flood which widened the Roer up to one thousand yards and barred the access to the Cologne plain. The Americans captured the Urft dam but had to wait for the ground to dry before resuming their advance. It was only by the fourth week of February that the Allied offensive could develop on a large-scale.

Then things went well, and in three weeks the Allies had taken 150,000 prisoners, many more than the Russians in their well-publicized Warsaw-Oder drive. Crerar's troops went on slithering through slime, slush, sludge, and pushed from the Maas-Rhine corner southwards up the Rhine valley. The American Third plodded on east of Ptum. The American First and Ninth jumped the Roer, broke through in the centre, on and on, to Cologne, to Bonn, to Coblenz and even sprinted across the Rhine at Remagen. Then Patton's Third took on, rushed down the Moselle, leaped across the river, swerved south and hemmed in the German northern flank whilst the Seventh forced back the southern flank so as to squeeze and crush the German pocket. The west bank of the Rhine was clear of the enemy. The manoeuvring had been brilliant and the victory complete.

Several points stand out in a retrospective view of the last months. The first is the failure of the German High Command to gain the time they wanted. For three months they delayed the Allies by the Ardennes' counteroffensive, by timely flooding of valleys, by desperate delaying tactics. The delay partly worked against them since it meant a more thorough and prolonged bombing of their communications and war plants, but it was considered imperative since they relied on a turn of the war in April. By April, they hoped new secret weapons would be ready, and they knew that in any case a new class of 17-year olds would supply a number of fanatic divisions.

Lastly one remarkable development of last month's operations was the sudden appearance of an American Fifteenth Army and disappearance of the British Second. The American Fifteenth has no special feature, but the British Second is a very mobile weapon. It was the British Second under General Dempsey which, at the close of the Battle of France, made the spectacular rush to Brussels and Antwerp. Along with our Parachute Army, it was rested and refitted for the coming break-through.

The Way the Political Wind is Blowing in India

In the course of an article in *The Hindustan Review* under the above caption, 'An Onlooker' observes :

Islam is, on a correct interpretation of its teachings, as embodied in the Quran, a religion of concord and

tolerance, and of goodwill towards all human beings and it is not limited in its scope to Muslims alone.

It was in this very sense that the greatest Muslim born in India, under British rule, Sir Syed Ahmad (the founder of the great educational institution at Aligarh, which had long since developed into the well-known Muslim University) interpreted the true spirit of Islamic teachings when, applying them to the political conditions of India, he observed, in the course of a speech, at Gurdaspur, in the Punjab, made in 1884, as follows : "From the oldest times the word 'nation' is applied to the inhabitants of one country, though they differ in some peculiarities which are characteristic of their own. Hindu and Muhammadan brethren, do you people any country other than Hindustan? Do you not inhabit the same land? Are you not burnt on, or buried under, the same soil? Do you not tread, and live upon, the same ground? Remember that the words 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' are only meant for religious distinction, otherwise all persons—whether Hindu, Muslim, or Christian—who reside in this great country of ours belong to one and the same nation. As all the different sects in this country can only be described as one nation, they must each and all unite for the good of the country, which is common to all."

Indeed, in a later speech, at Lahore, Sir Syed went further, and declared: "I call both these communities which inhabit India by one word, 'Hindu', meaning thereby that they are inhabitants of Hindustan."

One year earlier, addressing a public meeting at Patna, Sir Syed Ahmed had spoken to the same effect :

"Both my Hindu brethren and my Muslim co-religionists breathe the same air, drink the waters of the sacred Ganges and the Jamuna, eat the products which God has given to this country, live and die together. Both of us had shed off our former dress and habits, and while the Muslims have adopted numberless customs belonging to the Hindus, the Hindus have been vastly influenced by the Muslim habits and customs. I say with conviction that in all matters of every-day life the Hindus and the Muslims really belong to one community as children of the soil, and not two. I grieve at the sight of those who do not understand this basic point, and inculcate views which would ultimately lead to a permanent cleavage between two sections of the Indian community. I have always said that our land of India is like a newly-wedded bride, whose two beautiful and luscious eyes are the Hindus and the Muslims; if the two live in concord with one another, the bride will remain for ever resplendent and becoming, while if they make up their mind to destroy each other, she is bound to become squint-eyed and even one-eyed."

He was equally eloquent when speaking at Lahore, a little later, he expressed himself as follows: "In the word 'nation' I include both Hindus and Mahomedans because that is the only meaning which I can attach to it. We inhabit the same land, are subject to the same rule, the fountains of benefits for all are the same, and the pangs of famine also we suffer equally. These are the different grounds upon which I call both those races which inhabit India by one word, i.e., 'Hindus', meaning that they are the inhabitants of Hindustan."

Contrast the above noble sentiments—inspiring to a degree—with those expressed by Mr. M. A. Jinnah in his discussions with Mahatma Gandhi, in September last year, and the effect is a mental depression which looks irremediable.



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An Account of Piracy During the Reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb

The neglect of sea-power by the Mughals cost them much. They were never able to secure their seas from pirates. Prof. S. P. Sangar writes in *The Calcutta Review* :

Their ships were not well-equipped to repel the onslaughts of the pirates, who were ever on the look-out for Indian vessels laden with riches. They would seem, on the other hand, anxious to seek help from the European East India Companies. Every sort of pressure was brought to bear on their Presidents, resident at Surat, to grant passes of safe conduct for Indian ships sailing to other countries. Even the attitude of the English at Surat could not be sympathetic towards the nefarious activities of the pirates. In view of the mental and physical hardships in prison and the financial losses they had to undergo, including the serious menace to the safe prosecution of their trade, they themselves thought it essential to take measures to stop the robberies on the seas. The system of issuing passes was considered the best, though these passes were not always a guarantee against piracy. The pirates belonging to the English nation were requested not to molest the Indian ships furnished with English passes as that was likely to produce an injurious effect on their (English) interests. Moreover, expeditionary ships were sent by the English both from India and England to search out the haunts of the culprits, encounter and extirpate them.

The Mughal authorities did not, however, yield to the situation easily. If they were not strong on the sea, they were not weak on the land. They did not sit idle after a ship belonging to India had been subjected to the pirates' raids. They were not slow to inquire about the nationality of the culprits. This known, the government compelled the members of that nation in India to compensate the sufferers. If a ship was looted by some Englishmen, the President of the English East India Company at Surat had to face a difficult situation. The merchants concerned demanded justice from the Mughal authorities. The latter at once ordered a guard to be placed over the English Factory. The President was taken into custody and asked to make up the loss. Sometimes, the members of the Council as well had to suffer imprisonment. If this proved unavailing, they would threaten the English trade throughout India. The English factors at Agra, Ahmedabad and other places were imprisoned and their goods sealed.

The pirates, almost all of them, belonged to European nations.

They were English, French, Dutch, Portuguese and Swedes. Besides these, there were the Maratha warships which cruised about their newly built forts in the sea opposite the island fortress belonging to the "habshis." Then there were the *Sakans* : they were also notorious for their acts of piracy. But the Maratha and Sakan pirates were not so dangerous as the European ones. The piracy in the Indian seas grew with a corresponding growth of Indian trade.

Two Mughal vessels, one of whom had a pass from the Surat Factory, were looted in 1635 at the mouth of the Red Sea by Gobb, the captain of a ship licensed by Charles I of England.

The looting of a Surat merchant-vessel early in April, 1636 put the English to great trouble. As soon as the news of the piracy was whispered into the ears of President Methwold, he went to see the 'governor' (customs-officer). There he had to face the angry looks of the persons who had suffered losses. He returned home and soon found that his house had been placed

under guard. A quarrel with the guard was followed by its being redoubled. A few days passed in efforts at compromise. The President, then, went to the 'governor's' durbar. At the end of the proceedings he and his companion found themselves prisoners. They were removed to a close and inconvenient room where, 'chindus', a common vermin, allowed them no rest. Their most terrible experience was the 'clamorous swarms of the offended multitude of pretenders' which they brought upon us. These people showered upon the two a whole tirade of contemptuous epithets. Meanwhile, the *Taufiki*, the looted vessel, arrived. Methwold was called before the 'governor' in the darbar where he cross-examined the *nakhuda* of the junk.

The English President was not prepared in any case to acknowledge the fault of his own countrymen. But he was helpless to make a stand against the facts.

To put further pressure, certain English goods from Agra and Ahmedabad were taken possession of and the English at Surat complained to the Company that unless the goods at Ahmedabad were released, the *Discovery* must sail partly empty. The outcome of all this was that the company had to pay the huge sum of Rs. 1,10,000 to satisfy the demands of the robbed merchants. The President and Council at Surat decided to send the *Blessing* to search and seize the offenders.

Just upon the heels of this incident came the news of another act of piracy. A *Dieu* junk was looted by some pirates and the charge was levied against the English. The merchants at Ahmedabad became clamorous for the satisfaction of their demands. The *Dieu* affair brought about, first of all, the imprisonment of the factors at Ahmedabad. They were not to be released until they found sureties. Then came the order forbidding them to go outside the city walls. They found, moreover, their effects sequestered. At Agra their house was seized and their broker kept under surveillance. They had to suffer in Sind as well ; the goods and money there were confiscated. The *Dieu* merchants had petitioned the Viceroy for justice and the latter was making enquiries. Matters lingered on in this way for over a month, when the king ordered the release of their persons and goods at Agra, Ahmedabad and Thatta.

In October of the same year some English pirates again looted an Indian vessel. The departure of the interested parties for the court of justice frightened the English at Surat.

In 1638, Indian vessels were plundered and their crews tortured by an English Captain. The English at Surat had to suffer for these misdeeds of their fellow-countrymen. They were kept in prison for two months and could not secure their release before the payment of Rs. 1,70,000 as compensation.

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The Niagara Falls

Dr. H. L. Pasricha writes in *The Indian Review*:

Six million horse-power stampeding in wild waste over a 165-foot precipice—that was Niagara Falls up to a generation or two ago. Countless generations of Red Indians wove the "Thunder of Waters" into their myths and legends. French missionaries of the 17th century, venturing through a wilderness, brought back amazing tales of wild waters leaping down a mountain-side.

It was an obscure fur-trader, Chabert Joncaire by name, who first saw both power and beauty in Niagara Falls. Sometime in 1757 he dug a little circular ditch just above the American Falls. With a six-foot fall he ran a saw-mill that may have used 20 horsepower. The lumber thus produced was used in building ships to bring down furs from the Upper lakes.

Modern methods in the Niagara power industry began in 1852 with the digging of what is known as the Hydraulic Canal. This canal was part of a project to take water from a point about a half mile above the American Falls and bring it across the city of Niagara Falls to the cliff wall of the gorge below the Falls. By letting the canal water flow over the cliff, power could be developed on a far greater scale than had ever been undertaken before. As in 1852 electricity had only been recently applied to telegraphy, the dream of the Niagara power pioneers of that generation never went beyond water wheels directly connected with machinery.

Even so, it was a great dream.

Some pioneers sacrificed careers and fortunes to a dream they never saw come true.

Walter Bryant and his friends struggled against unexpected obstacles until they had lost \$300,000. Horace H. Day and others who then took up the challenge sunk \$700,000 in the project before they confessed failure.

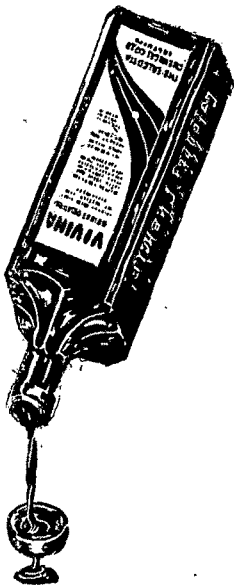
But the hour produces the man. In 1877 Jacob F. Schoellkopf and his associates bought the canal property at public auction and set-doggedly to work, building, experimenting, testing, perfecting. They struggled and persevered. Soon a flour mill was using 900 horse-power developed from the canal water.

Then came electricity which revolutionized the entire Niagara power industry. In 1879 Prospect Park in Niagara Falls was lighted by arc-lamps fed by Niagara power. By 1881 water-wheels of 2,000 horse-power capacity were connected with dynamos by rope-drive, and the electric power developed was sold for commercial use.

Others came to share in the great power development. The trial had been blazed. Capital was slowly obtained for the necessary experimental work. Great electro-chemical industries spread about the Falls. Constant and dependable low-cost power in the quantity production of ferro-alloys, chlorine and alkalis, electrodes, graphite phosphorus compounds, sodium, potassium, aluminium, and a score more basic products was the magnet that attracted them.

New water-ways, tunnels, receiving basins, grew to mammoth constructions of cement and steel and stone. Improved electrical machinery continuously increased in size, efficiency and power, until units of 70,000 horse-power were reached and a vast web of transmission lines radiated from the Falls to serve wide country-sides and multitudinous populations.

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Scientific Co-operation

A. L. Poole and I. E. Coop, both of whom are New Zealand scientists, discuss the need of 'scientific collaboration between the United Kingdom and New Zealand in war and peace' in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* :

The term scientific co-operation is axiomatic. Scientists the world over consciously or unconsciously assist one another in so far as they work upon and develop the accumulated knowledge of other scientists. It is true to say that the flow of scientific knowledge is free because of the practice, and indeed the necessity, for scientific workers to publish their results. Some work might remain hidden for a time, but eventually it finds its way out.

The importance of this scientific knowledge to a community cannot be gainsaid. It will be appreciated that any country, if it is to give a good account of itself in a world rapidly changing under the impact of science, must develop the science of those industries which are its main livelihood and keep abreast of scientific development in other fields. In times of war this becomes a matter of the utmost urgency.

New Zealand has attempted to do this : but with a population of only some 1,600,000 in a country a little larger than England, Scotland and Wales, she cannot have scientific services on the scale of larger countries; she must necessarily lag behind these, with their better equipped laboratories, in the development of fundamental science, as well as of much applied research. She endeavours, however, to keep abreast of this, particularly of applied research, by specialised co-operation, and has given much thought to the development of this service.

The foundation of wider scientific co-operation was laid in the early days of the history of the Dominion, when the University of New Zealand was established. The first teachers were recruited from Britain, and the University itself was modelled along the lines of British Universities. The practice of recruiting British scientists into the New Zealand University still goes on, and so keeps it abreast of the most recent British teaching.

The custom has also grown up of many New Zealand graduates in science coming to Britain, either independently, or as holders of scholarships, to further their training and experience. These graduates are not compelled to return to the Dominion and many remain in Britain. Those who do return take back with them the advanced learning of British Science and those who remain frequently impart a freshness of outlook acquired from a young country.

In medical sciences it is the practice for a number of graduate doctors to proceed to the great English hospitals to specialise in some branch of surgery or medicine.

When we look beyond the sphere of university training to the field of research, we again find the closest co-operation with Britain. The exchange of literature and the personal exchange of views and information between scientific workers in both countries is proceeding all the time. Moreover, visits of scientists from one country to the other are frequent, and scientific representatives from both meet at imperial and international scientific conferences.

All the above methods of scientific co-operation have become common between many countries. But because New Zealand is a small and isolated country she has deemed it wise to build up more highly-specialised scientific co-operation in the form of scientific liaison services. This is being done under the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research.

War Artists of the USSR

Vsevolod Shevtsov writes :

In Stalingrad, in the Crimea and now in Yugoslavia, Hungary and Prussian territory, among tankmen, sappers and tommygunners you will come across people with a sketch book in their hands and knap-sack across their shoulders. They are war artists from the Moscow Studio called after the well-known Soviet battle scene painter Mitrophan Grekov.

Fifty studio artists have made it their goal to depict in their pictures the grandeur of the Patriotic War which the Russian people are conducting against the Nazis. In order to attain their goal they have selected front line surroundings to be their "workshop." All the artists in the Grekov Studio have been at the

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front as soldiers or commanders. They have seen quite a bit of fighting as tankmen or tommygunners. Some of them were in partisan units. They have had extensive experience in battle and they all have good knowledge of the technique of the war and people fighting it. For them the front has become a kind of "art academy". Many artists were awarded orders for their bravery and courage. Nikolai Obrynba, an excellent painter, destroyed 37 Germans with his tommy-gun while he was fighting in a partisan unit. When he was not fighting Nikolai Obrynba was busy in painting. During the three and a half years he spent in the partisan unit he painted ten pictures depicting the life of his friends, people's avengers.

Nikolai Zhukov, an outstanding Soviet graphic artist and Stalin prize winner, is at head of the studio. Together with studio artists he tours the front making drawings and collective materials for large canvases. In the last year and a half he has made more than 300 sketches at the front. Sketches cover a wide variety of themes.

In his poster-leaflet "Lebensraum" we see an endless snow-covered field dotted with upright crosses crowded with German helmets. Over the field a crow hovers menacingly. Another fine example of Zhukov's work is the series "Soldier's Slang." The word "In Order" is popular among fightingmen and is applied in a great variety of meanings. The artist created a series of sketches under this title. A picture showing a dead German is entitled "In Order", a soldier shaving in a trench "In Order" and so on. In the series "Frontline Lyrics" is the sketch "Frontline Vase". It depicts a soot-covered soldier's pot with a bouquet of field flowers. At the front artists portrayed heroes of the Patriotic War, Nazi war prisoners, trophy material, and events of the frontline life. Recently Zhukov returned from the front having marched with the troops of the

Belo-Russian Front from the very beginning of its offensive to the banks of the Nieman. — (*Pass News Agency of the U. S. S. R.*)

Canada

In an article in *The Catholic World*, C. J. Eustace notes the conflict of interests in Canadian politics between the English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians:

It is an interesting fact that, according to the latest Canadian census (1940), Canadians of British stock ceased to be a majority. Today less than 50 per cent of the Canadian population is of Anglo-Saxon origin. The three major ethnic groups in Canada are the English, the French, and the European Canadians. The numbers of those of British stock are slightly in the majority amongst the three groups, but while the birthrate of the French and European Canadians is increasing, that of the British Canadians is on the decline.

Canada today is a melting-pot, in which the various racial and religious groups are attempting to find a *modus vivendi* which will allow them to develop, each according to their religious and cultural peculiarity, although welded together by the common federal basis of Canadian politics. This process of "becoming Canadian" is not achieved without difficulty, nor without bitter recriminations from the different interest groups, which attempt to exert pressure on the social structure, chiefly through the instrumentality of provincial politics.

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About 70 per cent of the Anglo-Canadian population is now born in Canada, so that although the first generation of immigrants spend most of their lives looking back to the "Old Country," to the soil of which they remain attached, their children become Canadians without much difficulty. On the other hand, the French-Canadians are 95 per cent Canadian born, and inherit the specifically French-Canadian culture of their forefathers, of which they are extremely proud and jealous.

French-Canada is solidly Catholic, and today, amidst the uprush of secular humanism which has in common with the other secularized countries of Western civilization, seized hold of the Dominion, Quebec is amongst the few Catholic nations that remain in the world.

Mutual recriminations between French and English-speaking Canadians have been violent during this war. The broad divisions between the two racial groups in matters of religion, language, and culture, have their repercussions in the political field, so that the cause of Canadian national unity has not been helped in recent years. French-Canadian provincialism, and their nationalistic ambitions, account for a good deal of the suspicion with which their English-Canadian compatriots view them, while English-Canadian pragmatism, financial and industrial exploitation, make the French suspicious where often no suspicion is justified. An early French-Canadian epigram describes aptly the temper of Quebec politics:

"The French, like the English,
Pretend to maintain their rights—
There is the resemblance;
The French by equity,
The English by duplicity—
Here is the difference."

Certainly Quebec is worth watching, being in a sense a microcosm in which religious, racial, and cultural traditions are clashing with the new neutral colored, agnostic civilization of money and technology, which threatens to engulf the world. The French Canadians are well aware of the advantages of maintaining a balance between the best of their Christian tradition, and the best of what scientific humanism can offer them. Their task is the difficult one of finding a *via media* between these not irreconcilable tendencies of modern life.

Thomas Mann and Anatole France

Waldo Frank writes in the *Jewish Frontier*:

When I was an undergraduate at Yale, I prized among my possessions the picture of a white-bearded man in a grey moleskin robe and a red satin skull cap, above which was printed *The Greatest Living Writer*. This was Anatole France. Thirty years later the same quasi-literate middle class opinion would probably append the title to the portrait of a shrewd, clean-shaven burgher, with the square head, cropped hair and prominent nose of a German peasant, named Thomas Mann. Anatole France was not the greatest writer of his time—not by a long shot. But his gifts explained his vast contemporary glory. From Voltaire to Renan, from Proudhon to Flaubert, an atmosphere had gradually ripened in the bourgeois mind, which likes its reading to flatter its pride of connoisseurship: a stylish cult of anti-clericalism, social revolution, and a romantic harking back, under the guise of realism, satire and erudition, to colourful classical pasts. Anatole France, in lucid prose and accessible mild mood,



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mirrored this taste. The middle classes of the entire Occident accepted in him what they had been cool to in several generations of pioneer writers, who thus at last vicariously forced themselves upon them.

Mann is the very different paragon of an age with a very different climate. His democratic faith, no longer like the Frenchman's political and economic, is moralistic. His realism reveals the decay, not of a class but of a world. His satire, unlike his predecessor's, is neither social nor (as in *La Revolté des Anges* and *L'île des Pingouins*) classically universal; but intimate and psychoanalytic. Whereas Anatole France, a skeptic in religion, was a believer in the rationalistic faith, in the simplistic psychology of nineteenth-century progress, Mann applies the psychology of Jung to the soul's arcana and to the myths behind history. And in place of the classical learning which helped Anatole France to write his delightful sensual tales of Gallie France, of Rome and of Greece, the new favourite—in the collapse of the whole classical world, of its modes of thought and modes of satire also, harks back to primordial Palestine and Egypt.

Mann's books, before he began his *Joseph* tetralogy, were adaptations of German romanticism to French realism. *Tristan*, *Tonio Kroeger*, *Der Tod in Venedig*, record the experience of hyper-sensitive sons of Novalis and Tieck, in a civilization rapidly going to pieces from within. The hour was ripe for great aesthetic syntheses of this collapse: hence Joyce and Proust. *Der Zauberberg* (1924) is Mann's more obvious inventory. The symbolism of the sanatorium on the top of Europe, where German, Italian, Jewish, French and Russian consumptives of the leisure classes depict the disease of the world through their personal pathologies, is too schematic for great art. The book's texture of character-portrayal is the competent, heavy, undistinguished realism of a whole generation of French

novelists. Its psychology is too obtrusively Vienna. And the characters, unlike those of Proust, fail to reveal beneath their limitations of class and their unlimited discussions, the living human plasm. *Der Zauberberg* is far from being a great novel. But by catching up in accessible form a whole generation of trends which the average mind resisted or ignored in deeper writers, it gave perfect satisfaction to those who wanted to be "in the know" without paying the hard price of discovery and experience which new great art exacts.

The first volume, *Die Geschichten Jakobs* (translated *Joseph and his Brothers*), appeared in the year of Hitler's accession to power. For some time, Mann tried to carry on in Germany, honestly convinced that he could fight the enemy at home more efficaciously than abroad. Of course, it did not work: Mann, with his typical liberal mind, underestimated the demonism of the Nazis. He retreated to Switzerland—to Zurich, where, doubtless, he was in close contact with Jung whose psychology of the "collective-unconscious" was so strong a factor in his conceptions. Finally, he came to America. By this time, however, the first three tales of the tetralogy were written.

A North German author of high eminence, a contemporary of German anti-Semitism at its most virulent, a "good European"—having for a quarter century cultivated the gamut of Europe's thoughts and themes, chooses for his most ambitious, final work the retelling of a classic Hebrew story. This is an urgent sign of the times. And deeply significant it is that the Hebrew story has evoked from Mann the very best of his writings. Surely it could not have done so if the subject had been alien to his European spirit—if, indeed, it had not revived his European spirit. We have here a convergence between a man and a theme, too profound to be fortuitous.

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Discovery of the Central Temple of Tlatelolco

In *Mexico News* Martinez Del Rio tells us about the archaeological discovery of the central temple of Tlatelolco in Mexico City :

The majority of the writers of the daily press in Mexico are already acquainted with the archeological discoveries which have been made during the past few months in a big vacant lot which extends to the west of the old church of Santiago Tlatelolco. By a rather cruel irony of destiny, the territory just mentioned, so active in prehispanic times and during a great part of the colonial period, is today one of the most quiet and peaceful districts in Mexico City. It takes quite a bit of imagination to picture that the garden with its luxuriant trees and its green lawns which are so inviting, coincides (as has been proven) with the busy market place and the noisy fairs, as described by the conqueror Bernal Diaz del Castillo, and that the place was, without doubt, the greatest centre of all the New World.

The history of Tlatelolco can be summed up in a few sentences. Its date of founding is still far from being precisely figured out, even though there exists a sort of tradition that it was older than the twin city of Tenochtitlan. It is certain, however, that both cities were founded during the times when they were subject to the hegemony of Azcapotzalco. Much later, on the downfall of the political power there, conquered by the forces of Ixcoatl of Tenochtitlan, Nezahualcoyotl of Texcoco and his colleagues, around 1428, Tlatelolco was made free and independent and was kept that way for about half a century when, in 1473 it was conquered by Axayacatl, master of Tenochtitlan, who took away its independence and made it part of his city. During the Spanish Conquest, Tlatelolco put up its final resistance, presented by Cuauhtemoc and his noble fighters. Shortly afterwards, on the ruins of the buildings of the old sacred temple (which lay in front of the market to the west and which coincide in general terms with the block today occupied by the church of Santiago, the Military Prison, and the adjacent barracks) there

appeared a magnificent convent in which worked Sahagun, Torquemada, and other distinguished men.

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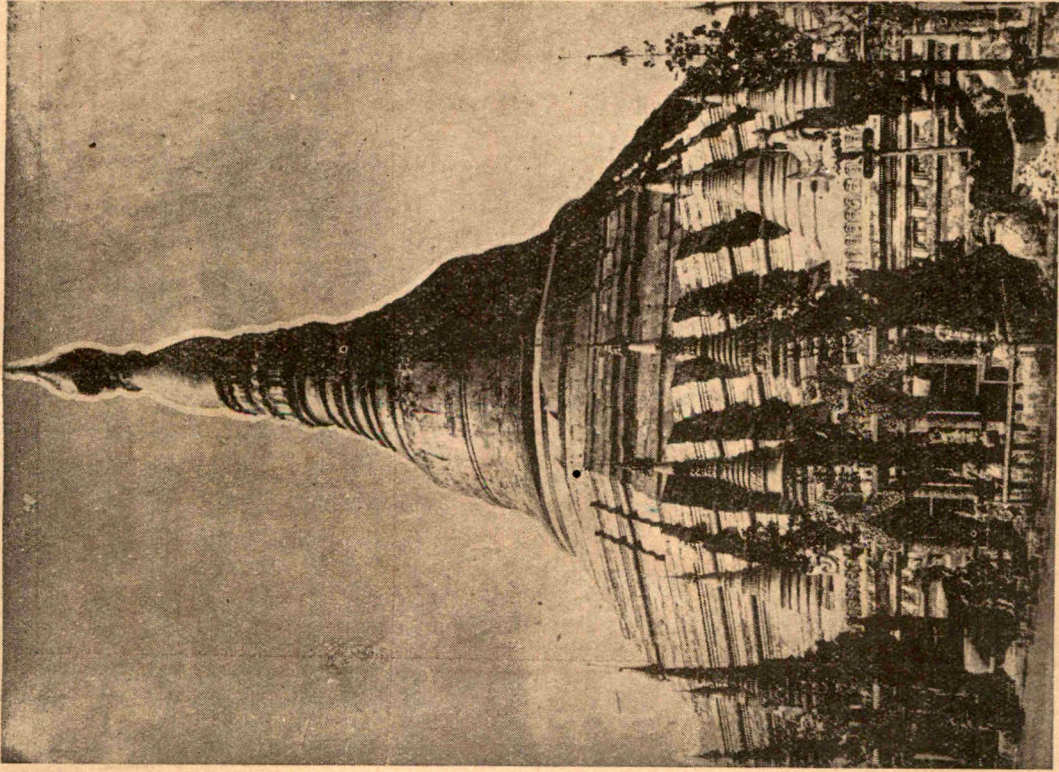
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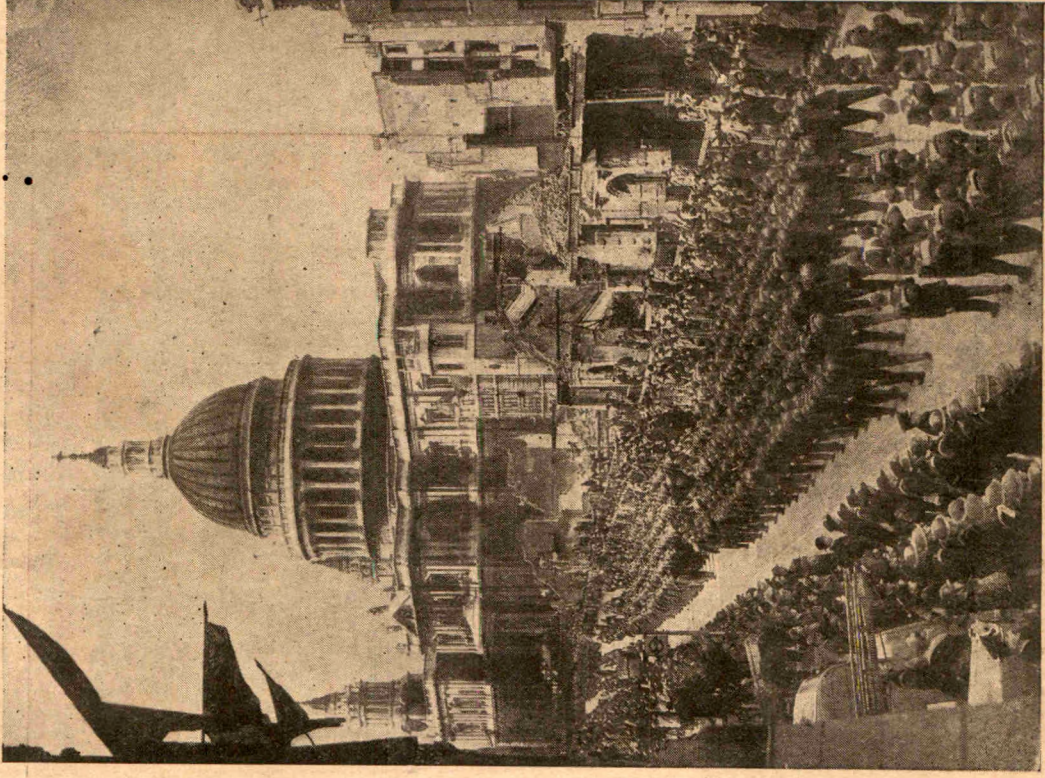
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THE MODERN REVIEW

JUNE



1945

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WHOLE No. 462

NOTES

The Famine Commission Report

The Famine Commission's Report on Bengal has been published. In spite of shortcomings usual to such official documents, it is revealing. The chapter *Looking Back* gives one at least a good knowledge of how the devastating famine took its course and how the corrupt, inefficient and greedy people in charge of administration cleared its course instead of blocking it. We are no believers in official enquiries of this nature and we still think that much more would have come out had the Commission been composed entirely of non-officials of a high judicial status. The Governments of Bengal and India have been criticised, but not to the extent they deserve. The responsibility of the India Office has not been properly assessed. That the famine was man-made, that men, women, and children died as much because they could not pay for the food they needed as because food was not available, is now admitted and the Commission seems to be inclined to the same view. But the actions of the three most primarily responsible for the famine have not been fully discussed. Sir John Herbert and his worthless administration brought the famine, Lord Linlithgow's indifference fanned it and Mr. Amery's active apathy prevented outside help to come in time. Sharks under human skin thrived and made a thousand rupees for each life lost. The Commission has assessed that these people had made an extra profit of Rs. 150 crores, but has not tried to find out who these people were. All Government measures contributed to help the loot then going on, abrogation of all vestige of price control at a moment it was needed most, delay in introducing rationing and entrusting procurement to private firms.

Bengal at this time was completely Pakistanised. Through intrigue, Sir John Herbert had succeeded to dislodge the progressive coalition ministry prepared to form an all-party government which, the Commission believe, might have done good and in its place saddled the Pakistanwallas with power. The League Ministry, out to achieve Pakistan had Ispahani the Pakistanwallah as their purchasing agent and another champion of Pakistan, Sir Md. Azizul Huque holding the Food portfolio at the Centre. Frantic recruitment of champions of Pakistan were made in the ever expanding

department of civil supplies. Both the Famine Commission and the Rowland Commission have told us that the entire administrative machinery in Bengal has become corrupt and inefficient. They have refrained from discussing the real cause of this breakdown, but the people of the land know that it is Pakistanisation under the communal recruitment rules that has brought down the administrative services to this level. Rationing was held up because sufficient numbers of adherents to the policy of Pakistan could not be found. In the villages, most of the presidents of the Union Boards were champions of Pakistan. We ask our Muslim friends to enquire whether any of them had starved during the famine. The Commission has carefully avoided a calculation of mortality on a community basis. Had it been done, it would have shown that almost all the deaths were confined to Muslims, the camp followers of Pakistan, the scheduled castes coming next. The caste Hindu, the target of attack of the Pakistanwallas, escaped with the least number of deaths, although they had to suffer heavily.

If any demonstration of what Pakistan would be like in practice was needed, it has been clearly provided in Bengal during 1943.

Bengal Administration Report

The Report of the Bengal Administration Committee has been published. It has been virtually admitted that the administrative machinery of this province has practically broken down, it has become so corrupt and inefficient. The Committee has sought to confine inefficiency and corruption mainly to the temporary staff and the lower grades, but there is no use doing so. The entire machinery from top to bottom is equally to blame and is thoroughly inefficient. The officials, high and low, have lost all touch with the people. The attitude of not *some*, as the Report states, but *almost all excepting a very few civil servants*, towards the public is one of aloof superiority—superior officials of all descriptions are equally inaccessible to the people. Even a few years ago this was not so. The Magistrates sat in their open offices in the court and were accessible to the people. Now the rules have been reversed, they lock themselves up in their *khas kamras* in their quarters wherein the people have no access. The Report

states that war has made money-making easy. This vice of bribery is not merely confined to temporary officials appointed to grant permits for commodities in short supply, it extends to the whole machinery in one way or other. We don't know whether any effect has been given to the Ordinance of 1943 requiring an enquiry about the properties of Government servants. The Report considers it imperative that any sudden accretion of wealth by a Government servant must be accounted for and the onus must be on him to prove that it was not acquired by unfair means.

The Report is revealing although it has touched only a fringe of the problem. Its recommendations about recruitment are unconvincing. The Commission did not enquire about the working of the communal ratio rule in recruitment and has pronounced no opinion on it except that this rule should not apply to the technical personnel. We consider this rule to be one of the prime causes for this break-down. Inefficient people, safe in service for the sole fact of being a member of a particular favoured community, have been recruited in large numbers not only at the bottom, but even at the tops of the departments. A virtual Pakistanisation has been carried out in Bengal during the past few years. The Commission regrets that even minimum qualifications for recruitment have not been adhered to at several places. The tactics of promotion have not been discussed in the Report. The Pakistanisation of the services, particularly in the matter of 'capturing' the tops, seem to have been done in a very clever manner. The tactics have been this. At the heads of many departments a Hindu official at the end of his tenure is placed with a young Muslim posted next to him. In a few months or years, the Hindu officer retires and the next incumbent 'naturally' steps in, who is invariably always a Muslim.

We are firmly of the opinion that heads of all departments must be appointed irrespective of any communal consideration whatsoever. For about ten years, if not much more, the Co-operative Department has been under Muslim officers. We do not know if any special advantage accrued to the Muslims of Bengal on this score but it is a fact admitted by the Commission that the entire department is now dead, the worst sufferers being mostly Muslims. The Agriculture and the Public Health Departments also are under Muslim officials, but no special good even to that special community has come out of that.

The political aspect of the Report is extremely objectionable. A multiplication of districts or multiplication of officers will solve no problem. As many as four Additional District Magistrates have been appointed for the district of 24 Parganas, but all its vital problems of education, sanitation, public health, etc., remain unsolved and unattended. That the Sundarbans, within 50 miles of Calcutta is a disgrace to the administration is admitted by the Committee. The problem of the Bidyadhari remains bad as of old. Then what do these A.D.M.'s do? Are they drawing their salary merely to assist the police? Is not development work on which so much emphasis has been laid by the Committee, a part of their duty? Those who had occasion to visit the headquarters at Alipore have reasons to believe that these officials have not enough work to do. They are not even accessible to the public.

In the opinion of the Committee the spirit of adventure is lacking partly because all the actions of Government

servants are liable to criticism by the Legislature, and on this ground they recommend perfect immunisation of the services from the influences of the Legislature. We do not agree. Parliamentary check on recalcitrant officials is salutary and necessary, it helps to maintain some touch between the departments and the people. This system has worked very efficiently in Britain. Here the cause of Parliamentary interference is deeper. The Legislature itself is composed of backward people elected on communal grounds coming there for the benefit of their own small communities. These people are prevented from thinking in terms of the welfare of the nation or the province and are concerned merely with the immediate interest of the respective communities, which naturally narrows down further to the welfare of families and groups. Loaves and fishes in political adventuring are naturally sought to be distributed and undue advantages sought. This virus will disappear at the moment when the character of the legislature is changed through the introduction of joint electorates and when recruitment to services begins solely on a test of merit. Let every minority community have ample opportunity for qualifying their youths for the services but let recruitment be made only through competitive examinations.

The Report seeks to officialise the entire life of the province down to the Union Board by increasing the number of Circle Officers and by placing a Government appointed Secretary for each Union Board. In these Union Boards also we find Pakistan in action. Almost all their presidents have been Muslims, and the Committee think that they have failed to serve the public the majority of whom are Muslims. A mere officialisation of the entire machinery under a set of high officials themselves immune from the legislature will further complicate matters and will quickly bring about a complete destruction of the administration machinery. Indeed the remedy would be worse than the disease.

Government of India's Industrial Policy

The Government of India's industrial policy, as stated in their press note, is in short a hybrid mixture of all the three kinds of economic doctrines the world has so far seen, *viz.*, capitalism, socialism and fascism or State-checked socialism. If their proposals are implemented, the industrial structure of the country would include industries: (1) owned and managed by the State, (2) owned by the State but managed either by private agencies or by public corporations, (3) owned both by the State and by private interests, (4) financed partly by the State and partly by private interests, and (5) financed and run solely by private interests. So we find a procession of socialism to capitalism *via* fascism.

The plan seeks to "develop" industries by means of nationalisation of the important ones and a perfect system of controls and licenses. The people by now have had enough experience of all these three specially when they are planned and enforced by an alien government in the interest of the governors and at the cost of the governed. The experience is so deep, so wide and so lasting that we may not dilate upon it. The natural suspicion will be that with the war drawing to a close and with the prospect of the Defence of India Act becoming inoperative in some foreseeable future, the plan is a clever device for permanently arrogating the same measure of control. In the list of the industries to

be nationalised, one finds all the important industries owned and managed by Indians, viz., iron and steel, cotton, sugar, pharmaceutical drugs, etc., but does not find the mines, jute, engineering, and tea, all of which mostly owned and managed by the British, even mentioned. Coal finds a place in the list, but with an important proviso that "the case of coal will be examined and dealt with separately." Coal is the most vital commodity needed for any and every large-scale industry in the country because electrical power is both dear and scarce. In any scheme of nationalisation, coal should have topped the list, but here it comes last. We wonder how jute, an industry affecting the welfare of 60 millions of human beings can be left out of any plan of nationalisation. These omissions will naturally confirm the suspicion that this "nationalisation" under the British Government, with transport, tariff and exchange under their thumb, will kill whatever Indian industry has raised its head and dared compete with its white compatriot. We are not opposed to nationalisation, quite the contrary. We will favour nationalisation only when a peoples' government, in the fullest sense of the term, comes into power. We are firmly opposed to any plan of "governmentalisation" of industries under a foreign rule even when the complicity and assistance of some Indian industrialists have been secured for it. The essential conditions for successfully operating a scheme of nationalisation, viz., control over transport and a clear enumeration of the tariff and exchange policies are absent in the plan. Where they have been mentioned, it has been done in the usual bureaucratic language: "The formulation of a tariff policy appropriate to the post-war needs and conditions of the country is under active consideration." A policy which has been long formulated by the dominions like Australia, Canada and South Africa in the midst of the war is still under the "active consideration" of the Government of India even when the war is rapidly drawing to a close.

The most significant sting of the plan lies in its tail. At the conclusion it states: "To ensure that unhealthy concentration of assets in the hands of a few persons or of a special community would be avoided. This may be secured by a judicious exercise of controls, such as capital issues control and the licensing machinery for the regionalisation of industry." This clearly means Pakistanisation of the economic field. Here we consider it sufficient to quote the comment of the greatest Hindu champion of Pakistan and an unwavering believer in British good-will, viz., Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar. He says:

All forms of control and interference that are adumbrated in the Government *communiqué* are devised only to increase bureaucratic power in the conferment of opportunities for profit-making. It is not a half-way house but a fraud and a snare. The most significant part of the *communiqué* on which public attention should be frankly brought to hear is the Government's observations on the unhealthy concentration of assets in the hands of few persons or a special community. Reference is made to minorities and backward communities as if industry also should or could be hitched to sentimentality. It is a mere bait to catch political fish. The communal virus has attacked the Legislature, the Civil Services and admission to educational institutions. It threatens to infect the judiciary and the defence services. If the Government of India should succeed in introducing the poison into trade and commerce

and the industrial effect of the country, the disaster would be complete.

Post-War Policy on Inland Steam Vessels

During the last Railway Budget discussions in the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. K. C. Neogy moved a cut motion to obtain the verdict of the House on the post-war policy regarding the ownership and management of steam vessels plying in inland waters that either link up the railway systems or compete with them. The river ways in northern India have always played a great part in providing means of communication, but due to irrigation works the navigability of some of them has been seriously affected. Not so however in the case of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, nor is there any serious difficulty about the navigability of the numerous tributaries that flow out of or into these two rivers. In Eastern Bengal and Assam, the railway system is broken up in places by large waterways that traverse that area and these intermediate stretches of water are being run by private shipping companies mostly owned and managed by the British. These steamship companies carry on a lucrative trade at the cost of the railway which is now a State concern. Mr. Neogy said that "some of the railway officials had the candour to admit that the steamers on occasions filched away traffic from them." (Legislative Assembly Debates, Feb. 23, 1945). The Eastern Bengal Railway was taken over by the State about 1884, and at that time the railway provided some of the services at present run by private companies. But these private companies which were also in the field started such a rate cutting competition that near about 1885 the Government decided to close down their own services and hand over their fleet to the private companies. What Mr. Neogy wanted was to revert to the position that obtained in 1884.

This point was very categorically and very specifically raised by Mr. Neogy in 1929 when Sir George Rainy was in charge of the Railways. In that debate Sir George said: "If the desire of the House is that steamship services should be entirely Indianised, there is only one honest straightforward way of tackling the question and that is buy out the existing companies at a fair valuation." Sir George Rainy added on that occasion that due to financial difficulties, a proposition of that character might not be feasible at that particular moment. But things are entirely different now. As a matter of fact, we can easily utilise a portion of the sterling balances that stand to our credit for the purpose of purchasing these companies which are domiciled in Great Britain and have sterling capital.

Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari said, the purchase would require only about ten crores of rupees. He pointed out that this matter was raised in the First Round Table Conference when Sir Pheroze Sethna gave a history of the two steam navigation companies which dominate our inland waters. Sir Pheroze characterised Bengal as a maritime province with a network of inland waterways and referring particularly to the I.G.S.N. and the R.S.N. said:

These two companies were previously run by different European agencies. They are now run by one and the same European management. These companies have done well for themselves. They have always tried to stifle opposition and succeeded in doing so by cutting down rates. Lord Reading observed that if there is unfair competition, we

should be justified in introducing legislation. Legislation of this nature was brought in the Assembly by a very energetic member of that day, Mr. K. C. Neogy, amending the Inland Steam Navigation Act and that legislation was being defeated at every step in actual practice.

The same opposition to Mr. Neogy's very sensible proposal has happened this time as well. Mr. G. W. Tyson, a spokesman of British big business, rose to oppose the motion. His sole argument seems to have been that these companies "came into being at a time when capital was shy and when services were required of that kind; and they have done a very great deal to open up the communications system of Bengal and Assam." He therefore pleaded for letting these companies alone. He however forgets that similar argument did not deter the Government to purchase the railways. The proposed policy is in no way a "thinly veiled expropriation of existing interests" as he suggests. Sir Edward Benthall evaded the issue altogether and candidly stated: "We have no policy, we have not formed any policy in this connection; we have not any idea of the views of the provinces in this matter." He had however a very strong and well-defined policy when it was a question of preventing a road competition of railways which in effect meant a complete discouragement of forming motor services most of which are likely to be Indian owned. He has no policy whatever when it concerns purchase of British steamship companies which have prevented the growth of Indian shipping concerns by means of a rate war.

Mr. Neogy's cut motion was passed 55 voting in its favour and 40 against it.

The Ambedkar Plan

The Sapru Committee has served at least one valuable purpose, it has set leaders both national and communal, furiously thinking about the future constitution of India. The country has now at least four plans—the Mahasabha Plan through Bhopatkar, the Liberal Plan through Sapru, the Communalist Plan through Zafarullah, and the Scheduled Caste Plan through Ambedkar. Only the Muslim League lags behind with no plan of its own. Congress has its own ideas which are fairly widely known. It is however not in a position to produce anything concrete at the present moment when the leaders are locked up behind prison bars.

The plans are all widely discussed. We consider it a good augury. Words breed action. Discussion has its value. Sane and sober debate on these plans will certainly help clearing out the mist and focussing the light of public opinions on things concrete and enduring.

In the Ambedkar plan, one of the sections in the communal life of the country, which has always demanded special concessions for itself, has questioned the principle on which the appeasement has continued. Dr. Ambedkar is perfectly right when he calls the policy of appeasement as a policy of the coward's surrender to the bully. His own words are:

The attempts at the solution of the Communal Problem are either in the nature of a coward's plan to cower to the bully or of bully's plan to dictate to the weak. Whenever a community grows powerful and demands certain political advantages, concessions are made to it to win its goodwill. There is no judicial examination of its claim; no judgment on merits. The result is that there are no

limits to demands and there are no limits to concessions. A start is made with a demand for separate electorate for a minority. It is granted. It is followed by a demand for a separate electorate for a community irrespective of the fact whether it is a minority or majority. That is granted. A demand is made for separate representation on a population basis. That is conceded. Next, a claim is made for weightage in representation. That is granted. It is followed by a demand for statutory majority over other minorities with the right for the majority to retain separate electorates. This is granted. This is followed by a demand that the majority rule of another community is intolerable, and therefore without prejudice to its rights to maintain majority rule over other minorities, the majority of the offending community should be reduced to equality. Nothing can be more absurd than this policy of eternal appeasement. It is a policy of limitless demand followed by endless appeasement.

The coward *versus* bully aspect of the case as put forward by Dr. Ambedkar is not new. In the past whenever this point was raised it was bypassed with agility on the grounds of "sacrifice" and "concession" both easy words since the loss would be borne by others. Now perhaps the forceful language of the third claimant would bring sense into the heads of those "leaders" who are still crying out for appeasement. Probably for the first time, this plan asks the Muslim to forego their right to a statutory majority in some provinces in return for weightages in the minority areas.

Contradictions in the plan are easily discernible on a little scrutiny. Dr. Ambedkar has denounced the unprincipled policy of appeasement but has himself expanded it. He declares that he stands for a United India but makes out a case for the creation of an *Achhutsan* in addition to the Pakistan. He speaks for the protection of the peoples' rights but does not believe the peoples' right to frame their own constitution in a constituent Assembly. He pleads for an imposed constitution manufactured in the political factory of Great Britain and duly shipped to this country to be distributed through the British Chambers of Commerce. The Ambedkar plan makes a fundamental breach of the inalienable birth right of mankind on which is based all the measures of liberty and equality. Franchise and the right of self-determination and self-government must be enjoyed by all persons on an equitable basis. This fundamental principle of democratic government is denied when one party which happens to be in a natural majority is reduced into a permanent minority and is artificially subjected to the rule of a motley group of minorities.

If there is to be independence or even self-determination in the measure of "dominion status" in this country, then all such schemes will have to be discarded. For such schemes depend totally on the presence of a paramount power with the right of invidious discrimination inherent in it. Thus it is an axiomatic truth that Pakistan would mean perpetual helotry of those very champions of it who would have to depend on the foreigner for succour in extracting undue advantages from other inhabitants of the country. The present constitution has the British bayonet explicit in Sec. 93 and the safeguard clauses, while the Ambedkar plan has it skilfully concealed.

Dr. Ambedkar on Weightages

In enumerating his plan for the provincial legislatures, Dr. Ambedkar has devised weightages on

an astounding scale for the Muslims and Scheduled castes. The nature of weightages will be clear from the following tables :

MUSLIM WEIGHTAGES IN PROVINCES

Legislature	Population ratio	Ratio of representation	Weightages (approx.)
Madras	8	24	3 times
Bombay	10	28	3 "
U.P.	15.3	29	2 "
C.P.	5.7	25	4.5 "
Bihar	15	28	2 "
Orissa	2	22	11 "

SCHEDULED CASTE WEIGHTAGES

Legislature	Population ratio	Ratio of representation	Weightages (approx.)
Madras	16.5	30	2 times
Bombay	9.6	28	3 "
Bengal	12.6	25	2 "
U.P.	21.4	29	1.25 "
Punjab	4.4	9	2 "
C.P.	20.2	34	1.5 "
Bihar	13.8	28	2 "
Assam	8.7	20	2.5 "
Orissa	17.6	36	2 "
Sind	4.2	19	4.5 "

SIKH WEIGHTAGES

Legislature	Population ratio	Ratio of representation	Weightages (approx.)
Punjab	13.2	21	1.5 times

While for the scheduled caste in Bihar with almost the same percentage, the weightage is more than double and for the Muslim in Bombay with a little less, the weightage is almost treble.

The weightages do not also seem to have been put in an increasing ratio for the decreasing minority. Its effect on Indian Christians will be :

INDIAN CHRISTIANS

Provinces	Population ratio	Representation ratio	Weightage
Madras	4.1	5	Nil
Bombay	1.7	2	Nil
Bengal	.19	1	Nil

As Dr. Ambedkar plans only 100 seats for each of the Provincial Legislatures, he thus takes only the nearest whole number for the population percentage. Here weightages are nil. He is generous to offer the Muslim of Orissa, with a 2 per cent population, a weightage of 11 times and the scheduled caste of Sind with a population ratio of 4.2 a weightage of 4.5 times, but does not give any weightage whatsoever to the Indian Christians of Madras and Bombay with almost the same population ratio. In the case of the Frontier Province, his plan has utterly broken down. He admits, "I have not framed any scheme of representation for the North-West Frontier Province as the minority is so small that even the principle of relative majority cannot help it."

Effect of this plan on the Hindus will be :

Province	Population ratio	Representation ratio
Bengal	30	33
Punjab	22.1	23
Sind	23.8	40

Here also the inequality is apparent and glaring.

Dr. Ambedkar's weightage scheme therefore boils down to this. The Hindus are to suffer most. They must surrender their legitimate and natural claims everywhere. The Muslims and the Scheduled Castes, being minorities with sufficient strength to resist encroachments on their rights are to get weightages up to 11 times. The Indian Christians, a microscopic minority with no power to resist even annihilation, are not to get any weightage. The Hindus of the Frontier Province and Aborigines in all the provinces have been completely left out of the scheme. Still, in a mood of self-elation, the learned doctor declares : "The representation is a balanced representation. No one community is placed in a position to dominate others by reason of its numbers".

Dr. Ambedkar on Communal Problem

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's solution has been based on the principle that a majority community "may be conceded a relative majority of representation but it can never claim an absolute majority." He wanted to apply this principle of his both to the Hindu and Muslim majority provinces. In either case, according to him, the representation given to the majority should not exceed 40 per cent. Dealing with representation in the Legislatures, Dr. Ambedkar provided for the following percentages in the Central Assembly :

	Population	Seats
Hindu	54.68	40
Muslims	28.5	32
Scheduled Castes	14.3	20
Indian Christians	1.16	3
Sikhs	1.49	4
Anglo-Indians	.05	1

(Percentage of population is taken after deducting the number of aboriginal tribes from the census figures). Dr. Ambedkar said that the distribution was made on the following principles :—

(1) Majority rule is untenable in theory and unjustifiable in practice. A majority community may be conceded relative majority of representation but it can never claim an absolute majority.

(2) The relative majority of representation given to a majority community in the Legislature should not be so large as to enable the majority to establish its rule with the help of the smallest of minorities.

(3) The distribution of seats should be so made that a combination of the majority and one of the major minorities should not give the combine such a majority as to make them impervious to the interests of the minorities.

(4) The distribution should be so made that if all the minorities combine they could without depending on the majority form a Government of their own.

(5) The weightage taken from the majority should be distributed among the minorities in inverse proportion to their social standing, economic position and educational conditions, so that a minority which is large and which has a better social, educational and economic standing gets a lesser amount of weightage than a minority whose numbers are less and whose educational, economic and social position is inferior to that of the others.

The representation provided by him, Dr. Ambedkar claimed, was a balanced representation. No one com-

munity was placed in a position to dominate over others by reason of number.

To us, Dr. Ambedkar's formula provides no solution at all. Our judgment is based on the following arguments:

(1) Majority rule is both tenable in theory and justifiable in practice when such a rule is based on political and economic interests of the nation as a whole. It becomes untenable and unjustifiable only when a majority is based on communal or sectarian interests. Instances are too familiar to be quoted. In India itself, even under a rule of communal representation, a Hindu majority under the Congress in six provinces and a Muslim majority under the Frontier Congress did not kill the rival minorities. Even the British Government, the initiator of this sinister politics in India, could not swallow the Muslim atrocity story in the Congress provinces. All Hindus, or all Muslims, or all the Scheduled Castes did never combine in any one of the eleven provincial legislatures. Communal parties were no doubt there, but the general tendency has been for all the three sections to form parties on a political basis. Bengal, the province most ridden with communalism, is no exception but an example.

(2) and (3) Dr. Ambedkar's expectation will be completely belied if the Hindus can make a coalition with his own community which is not at all impossible in consideration of the vital fact that whatever name and colour you give them, the Scheduled Castes are a part and parcel of the Hindu community. If these two parties combine they get 60 out of 100 seats in the Legislature. Who will then save the other four minorities—Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians? If it be the other way round, if the Hindus and the Muslims combine in response to the very popular propaganda, they get 72 out of 100 seats. Who will then come forward to protect Dr. Ambedkar's own community? Under this scheme, the Scheduled Castes, Christians, Sikhs and Anglo-Indians will be under a perpetual necessity to ally themselves with one or other of the two major groups and thus will ever be under the tutelage of one or other of them. If however it is at the back of the Doctor's mind that all the minorities will combine and make the Hindus the target of their attack, he will do well to realise that such an imposition of a minority rule over the majority even with the help of the British bayonet is bound to explode.

Communal Policy Must Be Interim

The Ambedkar and the Sapru plans, taken as an interim measure with a fixed time period and with joint electorate as an essential factor in the scheme, have certain characteristics worth consideration. Both are similar in their harmful aspects, *viz.*, planning for the rule by a motley group of minorities over a natural majority of people possessing one of the most ancient civilisations of the world, the granting of a veto power to such minorities, etc. The former is a slight improvement on the latter in that it has for the first time asked the Muslim majority to share the same treatment as suggested for the Hindu majority. The latter is an improvement on the former in that it makes joint electorates the fundamental and the most essential condition for drawing up the constitution. There are several other points of similarities and differences,

good, bad or indifferent, which may not be dilated upon. What we want to emphasise upon is that, any plan at communal settlement must be an interim measure and must expressly be so. It must have a time period well within the average life-time of the present generation which has begun to take active interest in politics. *No leader, no party, no group of any description whatsoever has any right to sell the unborn generations into slavery.* To our Congress leaders, with special reference to those amiable legal gentry who have been trying for a communal settlement, blissfully ignorant of the conditions of the masses affected as in Bengal, we want to utter a note of warning. Bengal has been pained to find that in all matters relating to communal settlement of this province, she has not been given the same consideration as was done for other provinces. The decision against the Communal Award, the Poona Pact, the unwillingness of the Congress to give the case of Bengal a special consideration while forming the first Ministry—a hesitant and retrograde step which saddled the Muslim League firmly in the province—and all subsequent communal talks including Mr. Rajagopalachariar's declared readiness to grant Pakistan without consulting Bengal, are all cases in point. The psychology seems to have been 'what's the harm if *Bungaal* dies?' These amiable gentlemen, caring more for the immediate than for the future, completely forget that if *Bungaal* dies, the whole of India will die. The British conquerors had been quick to realise that the key to India lay in *Bungaal*. They seized *Bungaal* first and then their expansion over the rest of India was easy. With grave concern they perceived the rise of Raja Ram Mohun Roy and the birth of a national movement which lighted the whole of India. The economic regeneration of India was a direct result of the Hindu Mela and the Swadeshi movements of *Bungaal*, and the royal road to amass fabulous wealth by the Indian industrialists was paved by the princely sacrifice of men like Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy of *Bungaal* and the intense sufferings of the Bengali youths and people during the boycott movements. Bania Britain understood the significance of *Bungaal* in Indian polity and economy but bania India did not. Since the Swadeshi movement, they began to take series of measures to crush Bengal in which they have very nearly succeeded with the tacit—and sometimes express—support of many of our so-called all-India leaders.

Another drift in the political life of our country has equally pained us. Those very groups and parties which have so far either sought to frustrate the national movements, or have stood aside at safe distance, are now coming forward with long lists of demands to share in the fruits earned by the blood and toil of countless sufferers. It is all the more regrettable to find the very leaders of the national movements hesitant and lacking in self-confidence and yielding everlastingly to those reactionaries who are really the enemies of the country. To us, concessions granted to the reactionaries seem undue, unnecessary and harmful. Under a democratic rule, no stigma attaches to a party government. A party which has striven and fought for political advancement is the only one entitled to enjoy it. Coalition governments are deliberately encouraged by agents of Imperialism because they will be weak. Active patriotism with the consequent suffering, and not an accidental birth in a particular community, should be the *sine qua non* for the enjoyment of political power.

The Fate of a Political Prisoner

The *Independent* reports that Mr. Nandlal Sharma, a well-known educationist, has started proceedings in the Nagpur High Court making sensational allegations against jail officials of harassment and torture and of denial of legal facilities. Mr. Sharma, in his application, says :

There is ample evidence to show that the Jail authorities had a studied plan to torture and harass the security prisoners in order to break their morale.

I had warned the authorities previously against their behaviour with the security prisoners, as a result of which the conditions inside were every day worsening. The conditions were even brought to the notice of the Provincial Government. But they seemed to be sleeping over the matter.

The Jail authorities with their whole paraphernalia of warders and convict prisoners used to make a daily round of their torture campaign in the cell wards where some selected detenus were confined separately for the purpose.

The cell would be opened and the detenu would be ordered to stand in a particular posture while he was beaten with elbows on the back. Upon his moving forward he was pushed back with both hands, some times even against the wall. Sometimes, he was beaten with elbows on sides, and at others, he was forced to lie down, blanketed and severely thrashed with blows and also kicked but always in such a manner as would leave no trace of the beatings. This is what is popularly known in the C. P. Jails as "Kambal Parade."

Finishing with one detenu they locked him again and came upon the other, in this way giving its taste to each one of them according to his physical endurance. This seemed to be a part of their daily routine. But despite all the caution in beating, some of the detenus vomitted blood. The campaign thus went on from day to day. In its course, some got their bones fractured and some were unconscious for hours. On the second day of beating, I protested and requested the Superintendent to stop this barbarism, but it continued unabated.

The barbarism reached its height on the third day when a boy detenu who was in my row in another cell, was forced to lie down, his clothes taken off and unnatural offence was perhaps committed upon him.

This was too much for me and I requested the Superintendent to allow to apply to the Government bringing to their notice all these incidents and demanding an independent enquiry into the matter. But my request was turned down. To assert my right of appeal to the Government I had to resort to a hunger strike.

Now the full fury of the authorities' rage fell upon me. My cell was closed with double doors. I could not see the sun for months together. As a result I developed itches all over my body and whenever I scratched, blood and pus came out. Not only was no medical attention paid to me, but even water was out of my reach for days together. Bath was out of question. I could not get even a wash after the call of nature for a week or so. Flies swarmed over my body, as the whole of it oozed pus and blood.

At last the authorities thought to deal with me more severely. On a cold December evening, all my clothes were taken off from my body and the cell was filled with water while I had temperature of 102. As a result, I broke down and became unconscious. This caused a sensation throughout the jail. The medical officer was then obliged to treat me and somehow I was saved. Permission to apply

to the Government was now at long last granted to me and after giving the application I broke the fast. For this fast I was prosecuted.

When an intensive propaganda about the Nazi camp atrocities was started in England, a member of the Parliament drew attention to conditions in the Indian jails. We must however refrain from comment till the judges have assessed the truth of the allegations.

Aftermath of Indian Famine

Mr. Richard J. Walsh, Editor of the *Asia and the Americas*, writes :

Last autumn the United States National War Fund refused to grant any more money for American relief to India. The grounds were that the famine was over, the needs not abnormal and the situation not caused by the war.

And yet, a few weeks later the highest British authorities testified to the continuing need.

On November 25 the British Ambassador at Washington wrote to the American Friends Service Committee that he had had a letter from Governor Casey of Bengal saying that the Bengal Central Relief Fund had just granted \$153,000 to the Friends for the purchase and distribution of vitamins, dried milk and medical supplies in Bengal.

American labour organisations also would not agree that the famine was over, and insisted that out of their share in the National War Fund \$200,000 be spent for India relief in the coming year.

As 1945 opened, reports from workers in the field in India were in gist as follows :

The aftermath of the famine is taking a heavy toll of life and health. *For each million Indians that died of starvation in the past eighteen months, there were 12 million who did not quite die.* They were left with wasted bodies, easy victims of malaria, cholera and dysentery. They are dying now by tens of thousands in epidemics. They need to be treated for months to come with special foods and vitamins. Meanwhile they must be protected against disease by medicines.

Many of the survivors are the very young, the very old and the widows. For wage-earners gave their own food and died to save the lives of their dependents. Many deserted their families, often to do work with the military. These millions of the destitute must be taught ways of earning a living.

While harvests have been good in some famine areas, there is risk of acute food shortages in various parts of India. North Bihar and Malabar and parts of Bengal are likely to be short.

Unless transportation and distribution work with precision—which is not possible because of priority war traffic—there will be acute famines again this year.

It is quite true that for each million persons that died in the famine, there were at least 12 millions who did not quite die, but were left with wasted bodies, easy victims of malaria, cholera and dysentery. Nothing has been done to save them except some amount of barren propaganda, multiplication of some officials and piling up of some more files in the dungeons of the Secretariat. A very timely warning about malaria given by Maj.-Gen. Stuart was allowed to go unheeded. Nothing has been done to rehabilitate the people uprooted from their homes through no fault of theirs. The costly dignitaries at the Central Secretariat seemed to think more about the white people of battered Europe for whom they provided Rs. 8 crores, while tens of thousands of people were dying in Bengal due

to causes directly attributable to the war. This amount, if properly and scientifically applied for the rehabilitation of Bengal, would have saved millions of precious lives.

Famine or Food Crisis ?

Richard Walsh continues :

The latter point calls for explanation. Mrs. V. L. Pandit, who worked in the famine area and is now in the United States, says that instead of the word 'famine' the term 'food crisis' should be used. For, she says, there was enough food in India. The crisis was not caused by Nature. It was man-made. And despite the argument of the National War Fund, it was a direct result of the war. The war affected food supply and distribution in these ways :

The Allies lost Burma, Thailand and Indo-China and with them lost the normal imports of rice into India.

Refugees from Burma swarmed into Bengal.

Troops, many of them American, were concentrated in north-eastern India buying and eating large quantities of food, especially the vitamin-giving foods.

Ocean shipping space to India was reduced.

Rail transport for civilian needs was cut.

Local water transport was almost stopped because the small boats were seized by the army, an utter catastrophe for Bengal.

Retail prices for food doubled or trebled and this in turn started large-scale hoarding.

India's best men either are in the war or are in jail, and so unable to work on civilian problems.

It can happen again, as long as war goes on in the India-Burma-China theatre, as long as the moving of food by sea, land, river and creek is subject to the interruptions of war. Indeed, it is happening now. A normally marginal economy has sunk below the margin. Any small disaster causes a breakdown as two recent floods did.

To stop American relief now would be a tragedy. Our money has done or can do little enough in relation to the total need and the efforts of many relief agencies, British as well as Indian. But that little has had an impact of goodwill and fellow-feeling between our two peoples that almost puts us to shame, considering how few we actually reached with our foods and drugs.

We do not yet definitely know if any substantial help of America has reached the famished and dying people of this country. The Indian people believe that the Americans could do much more than what they have actually done for India. The U.S.A. and the U.K. have together made a profit of about Rs. 160 crores by selling gold in India by utilising the Indian Reserve Bank as their agent. Had India been under a National Government, this gold would have been purchased by the Reserve Bank and sold in India, the profit accruing to the Indian exchequer.

India : A Case History in Diminishing Returns

The *Amerasia* publishes, in its issue dated Feb. 9, 1945, an article on British Imperial Policy in Asia in which it states :

Under the colonial system, India's agricultural and industrial resources have remained largely undeveloped, and the vast majority of her people are unable to earn more than a bare subsistence income, with the result that she cannot provide a prosperous

and expanding market for British industry. It is true that as a source of raw materials, India has continued to supply about 5 per cent of Britain's total imports, but as a market for British manufacturers she has declined sharply in importance. In 1913, for example, Britain exported to India 15 per cent of her total exports; in 1929, 10.7 per cent; and in 1935, 7.2 per cent.

Furthermore, though the British Government retained the power to regulate the exchange rate between the rupee and the pound in such a way as to favor British exports to India, India maintained a favorable balance of trade *vis-a-vis* Great Britain before the war amounting roughly to \$44 million annually during the period 1936-39. This is the typical result of a colonial economy in which the market is gradually saturated because the colony is developed primarily as a source of raw materials and cheap labor, and there is no effort made to expand productive facilities or raise the people's purchasing power. In India, the major emphasis has been placed on increasing Indian production of a few money crops for export, with little or no attention being given to the requirements of the domestic market. India's major commercial and industrial centres are all located at or near seaports, and Indian railways and roads are designed solely for the transport of goods between the interior and the coastal centres. There is no adequate trade or transport system for distributing domestic production in the home market. Most of India's 730,000 villages have not yet been reached by surfaced roads or railways, and internal trade is still further hampered by the customs barriers erected by the major Indian States. Freight rates are so high that peasants are discouraged from growing a surplus for shipment to other parts of the country. Then too, the production of money crops for export has largely by-passed India's villages, and the vast majority of her agricultural population have no share in Indian wealth and are not consumers of modern industrial products.

The colonial economy imposed on India by British rule has in fact failed to increase the consuming power of 70 to 80 per cent of the Indian people. The United Kingdom, which is more than twice as densely populated as India and where, as we have seen, the standard of living of the vast majority is certainly not excessively high, has succeeded in developing an annual purchasing power of £97 per capita, while that of India even including the foreign population is less than £6.

Comment is superfluous. Only some illustrations from latest official publications are given below :

	1928-29	1938-39	1940-41
Agricultural production—			
Rice yield per acre	871 lbs.	736 lbs.	683 lbs.
Wheat „ „	656 lbs.	668 lbs.	685 lbs.
Other cereals „	508 lbs.	440 lbs.	492 lbs.
Bulls and Bullocks—			
Cows	48,650,000		46,855,000
	36,484,000		36,445,000

Diminishing returns continue in spite of an "intensive" grow more food campaign at a high cost to the public exchequer.

	1928-29	1938-39	1940-41
Educational progress			
No. of Ed. Institutions	232,429	230,526	232,766

These are all figures for British India with a population of 295,808,000.

Anachronisms at San Francisco

Mr. S. A. Sabavala, special representative of the *Bombay Chronicle*, has pointed out some anachronisms at San Francisco, which are interesting likewise no less important. It throws much light on the character of personages and countries entrusted with the great task of framing a charter for the security of the world. Mr. Sabavala states :

The death of Mussolini and the presumed end of the Fuehrer have caused little stir. The world has turned its eyes to reconstruction and the war continues to remain very much in the background.

It is an ironic fact, however, that while Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who declined to meet the Duce, rots in a British prison while Lord Halifax who dined and wineed at the Palazzo Venetia and who enjoyed fox hunting with Field Marshal Goering at Karenhall continues to sit at this great Security Council as a British representative.

There are, however, many such anachronisms at this conference. Dr. T. V. Soong, head of the Chinese Delegation, for instance, lays continued stress on the Atlantic Charter, yet when asked whether the Charter applied to India he asked the questioner to refer to the powers that framed it. Although much is said about the sovereignty of nations, India, Korea and Poland still remain outside this conference, and there is no doubt that the United States will keep what she has won in the Pacific. The game that is being played here is to discover which of the world powers is the most sincere and the least hypocritical. The U. S. leads in this field, but one must reserve judgment until the end of the conference.

The value of public opinion as a check against aggression is also in discount. The Ethiopian delegation pointed out in a plenary session that public opinion was overwhelmingly in favour of their country during the Italian aggression, yet Ethiopia was ravaged, spoiled and humiliated. Similar anachronism was noticed in the Jap aggression of Manchuria and China. What public opinion wants and what politicians at the helm of governments do are two very different things in the modern world whence the succession of World Wars which fools believe to be ending with the present one !

India and World Peace

Mr. B. Shiva Rao writes in *Asia* :

The British Government has made repeated declarations since 1942 that India's independence is no longer an issue between her and British but only awaits agreement among her political leaders. This has been commonly interpreted to mean that it is a matter of some months perhaps—or a year or two at the most—after the termination of this war. That seems to most people, who are naturally and rightly interested in victory at the earliest possible moment, a point of comparatively minor significance. Surely, they argue, India can afford to wait for that brief period.

Such reasoning is short-sighted and fallacious ; shortsighted because it does not take into account the essential facts even of the war situation in Asia ; fallacious because the postponement of a decision of the post-war status of India and the other countries of Asia is only adding to the political and social complications of an already complex problem.

A settlement of the Indian problem in the spring of 1942—during Sir Stafford Cripps' visit to New

Delhi—would, I firmly believe, have shortened the war against Japan. It is a bold statement to make—but one which has the support of one of the highest British military authorities in this war. India has recruited nearly two million-and-a-half men and the number of Victoria Crosses (the highest distinction in the British Army for gallantry and valour) awarded to Indians is twenty-one, far above the record of any of the Dominions.

To demand an agreement between all parties in a country on matters of State policy is, in other words, to ask for the moon. No country in the world has ever witnessed all its political parties agree on political and constitutional problems ; the U.S.A. and the U. K. are themselves no exception. In France, political power with the right to frame her future constitution has been handed over to Gen. De Gaulle in spite of the fact that there are strong organised parties against him. The absurd claim for an agreement between the political parties of France was not made a condition precedent for handing over power to her.

Sir F. Puckle "Looks at India"

In the *Asia and the Americas* for April last, Miss Dorothy Clotelle Clarke puts some straight questions to Sir Frederick Puckle, the British propaganda official in the U.S.A. She writes :

Will Sir Frederick Puckle (author of *As the British Look at India* in the January issue) kindly explain why "any important minority" is not a minority still ? "The Mohamedans don't want" is the flimsy excuse that Great Britain offers whenever the question of India's freedom is raised. Mohamedans constitute only one-fourth of the population of India, while two-thirds of the population is Hindu. What kind of freedom or democracy is it in which the majority must await the pleasure of the minority ?

And if Great Britain has that deep "sense of responsibility toward India" claimed by Sir Frederick, why is it that 60 per cent of the population is undernourished, millions hunger to death and nearly 90 per cent of the people are still illiterate ? Why are agriculture and industry also so backward ? Indians cannot be altogether to blame when they are not allowed to govern themselves. What has the government done in the way of public sanitation ? Why has India been developed only enough for purposes of exploitation ? Are there any undernourished Englishmen living in India ? How does Great Britain justify the imprisonment and punishment without trial for political offenses of thousands upon thousands ? Why has India's standard of living kept so low—even below subsistence level ?

These are some of the unanswered or evaded questions that lead to doubt concerning Great Britain's sincerity in her promises of freedom to India. This doubt cannot be dispelled simply by harping on India's religious differences or her failure to snap up the crumbs tossed to her in the form of a "this or nothing" Cripps proposal.

If another Cripps proposal offers India rule by the majority instead of favoring a small minority, and a voice in the provisions of the proposal she is to accept, then it will be time to complain that Indians cannot agree. And what if they should have a civil war to settle the question of unity ? We fought one and survived—and many a war has had as little justification. No, the Cripps proposal was apparently for the British but a means of stalling for time. Great Britain does not mean to give up her riches as long as she can keep India in slavery.

In reply to the first portion of Miss Clarke's questions, Sir Frederick has nothing more to say than to advise her to read the text of the documents relating to the Cripps proposals and Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's pamphlet *The Way Out*. This argument, if it may be called so, will convince nobody except Sir Frederick himself and his kith and kin. He next says, "Most people forget that since 1920 the administration of education, public health, agriculture and the like has been in the hands of Indian Ministers of the eleven provincial governments, responsible to elected legislatures." This is a gross misrepresentation. The Ministers were responsible to the Legislatures but the Governments were never so. The Civil Service in whose hands real power lay were always, as now, beyond the reach of the Ministers. Besides, finance was another deterrent. Crores and crores of rupees were frittered away in financing useless wars, or meeting losses arising out of exchange juggleries or in charity abroad. The Ministers were mere scapegoats for shielding the real exploiter.

As regards-exploitation, Sir Frederick says: "Twenty years ago, India was given the right to fix her own tariffs, and has so exercised that right as to reduce imports of British cotton goods by 90 per cent; a strange example of exploitation." This is also a strange example of stating facts having no relation to truth. Theoretically India has been given the right to fix her own tariff, provided some conditions are fulfilled to the satisfaction of the British authorities, and this "right" has been utilised in the case of very few industries like Iron and Steel and Sugar only after very stiff, prolonged, and effective agitation by the people in and outside the Legislatures. Such protection, when granted, was sought to be nullified by means of trade agreements like the Ottawa Agreement. In respect of cotton textile industry, Sir Frederick's statement is a travesty of truth. This industry got protection only in 1930 when it had already entrenched itself firmly on the soil. This protection was also sought to be nullified by a counter-veiling excise duty which was removed under intense public pressure. The progress of the industry after the grant of protection has not been very much rapid as may be seen from the following table, taken from official source :

COTTON MILLS			
	1920-21	1928-29	1939-40
Mills	227	248	355
Looms	109,422	148,847	167,726
Spindles	6,243,948	7,643,113	8,403,126

The Indian cotton textile industry made its progress during the last world war and the three years of post-war boom. This is one industry in India which cannot be said to have thrived *under* protection but *in spite* of and notwithstanding serious obstacles placed in its way. Whatever protection was given to the Indian industry was sought to be annulled through exchange manipulations by altering the ratio from 16 to 18 pence per rupee.

Nehru Wanted Not Only Indian Freedom. But Freedom for Asia

Mr. Shiva Rao continues :

India under leadership of her own men would have done even better. Nehru would have made himself responsible for recruiting a much larger number

for a counter-offensive in Burma. Her freedom would have put heart into the peoples of Burma and the other enemy-occupied countries of Asia. This, again, is based not on speculative inference but has the backing of some of the highest civil administrators of Burma.

Nehru said to me a day before his arrest in Bombay in August 1942: "India would regard it as dishonourable betrayal of the Allied cause to negotiate a separate peace with Japan or any of the Axis Powers. We (meaning the Congress Party) want to see not only India free, but also Burma, Malaya and the rest of Asia now under the Japanese."

What is America's role in the Asiatic theatre of war; merely to beat Japan, to build up a system of security in the Pacific (by taking away the territories formerly mandated to her and for the rest), hand back to their former owners the colonies of south-eastern Asia? Have the sentiments and the aspirations of the many millions of the indigenous populations no significance for the people of the United States?

Is such handing back possible—and morally and politically justifiable? What do the five hundred and odd millions in India and South-Eastern Asia think and say about European rule? That is a factor which has received singularly little notice in America.

The Japanese will be thrown out of all the countries they have occupied in the last three years. But the peoples of those countries will never again revert to their former psychological attitude after their experiences of 1942. India and Burma and Malaya will not forget the cardinal fact that the White man's prestige is, after all, an exploded superstition. The boast of the Britisher has been that a few thousands could administer a vast country like India. Will it be so easy (or even possible) after this war, in India or elsewhere in Asia?

The White Paper on Burma is only a foretaste of what lies in store for the "liberated countries" in Asia, India expects no better. She knows that power has to be wrested from unwilling hands and that is exactly why the Congress is in gaol.

Maxwell Justifies Non-Elections in India

On May 1 at Caxton Hall, London, a meeting was held to discuss Indian affairs. Sir Reginald Maxwell, ex-Home Member of the Government of India, presided and Sir Frederick James, Col. Armstrong, Sir Walter Wilson and some others spoke. Presiding over the meeting Sir Reginald Maxwell justified non-elections in India. He said that a general election would only produce a new version of the old body, without any new ideas. He felt that more than half the debates wherein he participated should not have come before the Central Assembly, as subjects under discussion were provincial matters. He justified the rule by Ordinances. He asserted that there was not a real curtailment of opportunity to ventilate grievances.

Referring to the speeches made and the time taken, Sir R. Maxwell said there was much waste of time; too many people spoke just for the sake of speaking. There was considerable misuse of interpellations; the use of adjournment motions was also reduced almost to absurdity. At the beginning of each session, there were 30-40 adjournment motions. "I regarded most of the resolutions as trivial. They only gave non-officials an opportunity to feel steam-heat."

Referring to the absence of Congress members from

the Legislature, Sir R. Maxwell accused Congress members of abandoning interests of the constituents at the moment of danger in a crisis and when they were needed most. He added, "It was noticed over the whole country that Congressmen were not watching the interests of their constituents but that of their party; but in the absence of Congress members, the debate on disturbances showed a sober realisation of the true situation: in fact, in the absence of Congress members debates have been conducted in moderate language and with reasonableness."

These are stock arguments repeated *ad nauseum* by champions of Imperialism and need not be replied. Maxwell and James received a home thrust from Col. Armstrong, an Irishman, who said:

It would have been very much to the good if the Government of India in 1919, had listened and acted on the advice of unofficial members who, unanimously, rejected the Rowlatt Bill in the then Imperial Legislative Assembly. If that had been done, Amritsar would not have happened. Anyone who wants to see India within the British Commonwealth should read the history of Ireland and ponder over the position of Ireland to-day—Irish troubles, her past, her present position. Whether she achieved independence or not, what has happened to one nation which has achieved the Commonwealth Status we should see happening in India. "It is good to listen to the people of India. These people call us Ma-Baps and we know they mean it, and when they get annoyed with us over our actions we naturally feel very bitter. The truth is they expect us as Ma-Baps to fulfil our duties. We cannot just neglect them."

Sir Frederick James made some references to individual members of the Assembly in which he admitted that a veteran member like Mr. N. M. Joshi, nominated by the Government, "almost consistently voted against the government." Sir Reginald said that Mr. K. C. Neogy was the most virulent opponent of the Government but a very able man. Sir James agreed.

The *Bombay Chronicle* reports that not more than 55 people were present at this meeting. It was organised by the die-hards to denounce India's claim for general elections.

Mudie Mission on I.C.S. Recruitment

The *National Call* reports:

Slowly but surely, the mystery surrounding the visit to London of Sir Francis Mudie, the Home Member, appears to be lifting. It is no more in doubt that the Home Member's hurried trip related exclusively to the question of the recruitment of the I.C.S. Several complicated problems arise in question with the recruitment of the I.C.S., which was stopped a year after the war started. The needs of civil administration, both in the Central and Provincial Governments have increased, and so greater strength of personnel seems to be required. The British Government supported by traditionally loyal elements do not want the fifty-fifty ratio between the Indian and European incumbents of the heaven-born service to be changed. On the top of it, there is the decision of the Government to reserve at least fifty per cent of the future vacancies for those who had put in war services. They are to be accommodated. The Government of India Act provided for a review of the position of the I.C.S. and I.P.S. after five years of the introduction of the constitution. Nothing had been done to review the position but it cannot be long delayed.

There is the off-chance of a National Government at the Centre at not a distant date, and at least within some years after the war. How far would present decisions bind the new entrants and the new government has to be settled and laid down. It is said that the new recruitment would be on a short-term basis, and on a much larger basis than annual recruitment made on the strength of probable vacancies. Probably the recruitment would be one-third over and above the normal requirements, and compensation would be provided for those who want to quit under the new order said to be coming after the war.

The zeal of the die-hard officials to reserve at least half of the Indian steel frame, which, in fact, acts not as a service but as a ruling corporation, is understandable specially when a National Government in India may be envisaged at a date not too distant. It is necessary that our Legislators at the centre took stock of this position and prepared for an opposition to another one of the shameful deals imposed on India by unilateral action. Mudaliars and Noons may support, but let not the Legislature ratify.

A Muslim Ulema on Pakistan

Khwaja Athar Hassan, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the seventh session of Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind held at Saharanpur, referred to the communal question in his address. He said that in ancient times there was no religious opposition between the Hindus and the Muslims. He remarked that the communal problem was a product of the British rule.

Referring to Pakistan, he said that Mr. Jinnah was not pressing for Pakistan because the Hindus and Muslims were two different nations but because he was annoyed with his Hindu friends. He emphasised that the Muslims and the Hindus could not be regarded as two separate nations.

The President of the Conference, Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani, who presided, said that Pakistan meant the establishment of Hindu Raj in Muslim minority provinces. The Ulemas constitute an important section of the Muslim community. Many of them are profound scholars in the Islamic scriptures and know far more about the religion, culture and language of the Muslims than the President of the Muslim League. It is a well-known fact that the League does not represent all the Muslims in this country and the section which disagrees with the League includes some of the ablest and the most learned members of the community.

The Frontier Pathan Needs No Guardian

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, in his recently published book *Gold and Guns of the Pathan Empire*, discusses the attitude of the Pathan to Pakistan and writes:

In spite of all the propaganda carried on by the Muslim League, the Pathan has realized that the problem of his freedom forms part of the larger problem of India's freedom. Unlike his co-religionists in other parts of India, he has not allowed himself to be gripped by the fear complex—the fear of Hindu domination. It is for the Pathan unthinkable—an insult to his self-respect—to need a promise of protection from any section of the Indian population, however numerically strong it might be. He would much rather rely on his own strong arm to get his freedom and retain it against all enemies

after he has won it. We will therefore fight for our freedom, without asking for any guarantees for this quarter or that.

The Frontier Pathan needs no guardian either with or without a bayonet. Like a true Indian he believes in self-help and realises the great Indian teaching—

नायमात्मा बलहीनेन लभ्यः

(Realisation does not come to the weak). He prefers proceeding along the royal road of joint electorates to crawling through the blind alley of separatism, in order to achieve his political goal. The defeatists and the weaklings of the League may well take a lesson from them.

The part that the Red Shirt movement had played in the making of the modern Frontier Province has also been revealed by Mr. Qaiyum. The Red Shirt movement was in its inception purely a social reform movement. "Its promoters aimed at eradicating blood feuds and vendetta. They were anxious to do away with un-Islamic customs involving waste of money on marriages and deaths." When a volunteer corps of Khudai Khidmatgars was set up in April 1930, those who joined it were pledged "to obey the order of God; to be fearless and non-violent in thought and action; never to be affected by flattery or abuse; to protect the oppressed as against the oppressor, and never to accept any remuneration for service." It was only in August 1931 that the Red Shirt organisation was affiliated to the Congress and joined with it in the fight for freedom.

A New History of the Indian People

Sir Jadunath Sarkar has issued the following appeal :

A new history of the Indian people, containing the fruits of the latest research and written by India's own sons in a popular style and priced so low as to be within the reach of all of our countrymen, was planned by Babu Rajendra Prasad and Sir Jadunath Sarkar in 1938 as a much needed national undertaking. For carrying the work out a society named *The Bharatiya Itihas Parishad* was registered at Benares and steps taken to distribute the chapters among suitable scholars. Owing to the war and the dispersion of scholars and libraries, four years were lost. But now two most important and interesting volumes are ready for the press and a third is half complete. The complete volumes on the Maurya and Gupta Ages have reached my hands in manuscript, and the press has agreed to finish printing them before the end of October next. The Gupta volume has been edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. A. S. Altekar, and the Maurya volume by Profs. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. H. C. Roychaudhuri. The volume on Akbar is in my own hands and I hope to finish its press copy four months after actually starting the printing of the other two volumes. Thus it is hoped that, unless something unexpected happens, we shall see two volumes (the Mauryas and the Guptas) offered to the public in November, 1945 and a third volume (Akbar) handed over to the printers in time to come out in May, 1946.

Each English volume requires an outlay of about Rs. 11,000 all told. Liberal donations in the past have enabled us to keep the office going during the last six troubled years, complete 2½ volumes in manuscript and save a reserve of Rs. 10,000. Now that the preliminary work has been all done our speed will be quicker in future. Seven new volumes are now being assigned to different editors.

We appeal to generous donors to give us Rs. 11,000 for the year 1945-46, so that this national work may not perish untimely nor be reduced to a money-making transaction.

The need for a people's history of India written by Indian scholars is only too keenly felt. We have no doubt that the very modest sum required for completing this outstanding work will be subscribed in no time.

The Cloth Famine

Just as Major General Wood had come down to Bengal in 1943 to calculate her food stock and to tell the world that there was no food shortage, similarly Mr. Vellodi had swooped over Bengal in the same style of a lightning tour and has declared that there is no cloth famine here. The same set of questionable and inefficient officials who were responsible for the food famine came in for undiluted praise from this brown dignitary at the cloth secretariat. This is precisely what he said : "The steps that the Bengal Government has recently taken and the policy they are following are, to my mind, unexceptionable—indeed, considering the state to which the trade has reduced the cloth position, I cannot see what other steps they could have taken—and if their efforts are not impeded in any manner, the public of Bengal will soon have reasons to be grateful for those measures." We do not know what "soon" means to Mr. Vellodi, but on this side of India we find that more than a month has elapsed since this statement and the position has further worsened and not improved. Public co-operation came in an astounding measure, Ward Committees were formed and they agreed to undertake the Herculean task of distributing 500 pairs of cloth among more than a lakh of needy people. The same ridiculous and costly moves of the cloth control authorities continue unchecked. The movements of these unwanted parasites announcing the date and time of their august visit to Ward Committees are being advertised in daily papers at an unnecessary cost to the public. Traders' shops have been sealed but the bales of cloth are being handed over to other traders, nobody knows whether *benamdars* of original blackmarketeers or not. To sum up, the situation remains as acute as ever, cloth remains beyond the reach of the needy and within easy access of the crafty. Pakistanisation of the cloth trade is vigorously going on with the popular committees to shield the sinister move. Mr. Sanat K. Ray Choudhury, ex-Mayor of Calcutta and a member of the Ward Committee No. 9 has resigned and said : "Old and reputed Hindu shops *all over the city* have been excluded, to make room for new Mahomedan shops and even for intended shops. One Mahomedan shop in Ward No. 9 whose usual business was not in cloth was supplied with 16 bales for which it had to rent a godown in haste. It is doing business on the footpaths because there is hardly any room inside the shop In order to make up their quota one owner was given three shops in the Ward."

Two of the most fundamental problems in the cloth crisis, viz., increase in production and stoppage of exports, still remain unattended. Mr. Krishnaraj Thakersay, Chairman of the Textile Control Board, said long ago that the production *can* be stepped up. On May 7, Sir Victor Sassoon, one of the cotton mill magnates of this country, has stated : "The only absolute solution for the present difficulties in the

cloth trade is to produce more cloth—to produce more cloth more machinery must be installed or there must be no stoppages of the machinery which is now available and it must work to its maximum capacity. Neither of these remedies can be successful unless coal is available to work the machinery." We showed last month that the Textile Commissioner had advised closure of mills for want of coal instead of exerting himself for securing more coal for the industry. Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, India's "representative" on the Combined Production and Resources Board at Washington under whose direction cloth is exported out of India, stated that the chief remedy of cloth shortage was to step up production. The meeting of the Board was quite alive to this need. Mr. Kasturbhai categorically stated that the meeting recognised that, while there were insurmountable difficulties for the U.S.A. and the U. K. to step up production, *India was in a fortunate position to do so, if coal or fuel oil could be made available to it.*" It is quite clear that nothing has been done in this direction.

About the second issue, export of cloth, Mr. Kasturbhai chose to be silent and did not state whether he could secure the consent of the Board for a reduction in the quantity of cloth now being exported in order to relieve the keen scarcity within the country. Nobody knows whether Mr. Kasturbhai's support in the decision to export cloth made by the C. P. R. B. at Washington was tacit or explicit. That matters little, cloth was and is being exported. Similar actions of Indian industrialists have set Gandhiji to take a second view about them and his suspicions about them have grown so high that he thought it necessary to warn even some of his most trusted lieutenants in the industrial field from identifying themselves with any shameful deal.

Stabilisation of Agricultural Prices

The Expert Committee set up by the Government of India on the question of stabilisation of prices of agricultural commodities was due to meet in Bombay on May 7 and 8 last but its proceedings have not reached us as yet. Sir T. V. Krishnamachari is the Chairman of this Expert Committee and so far he has not uttered a single word about it. At the present moment he is busy at San Francisco representing the Indian Native States there. Giving a synopsis of the Committee's objects, the *Indian Finance* writes:

This committee is to consider (a) the principles on which producers' prices of agricultural produce, whether crops grown for industrial purposes or for food or the produce of animal husbandry of all descriptions, should be fixed and (b) the methods by which the fixed prices could be made effective and an assured market provided. The Committee would make recommendations in relation to the conditions expected to prevail in post-war India, (1) in which the Government control over the procurement, distribution and prices of commodities exist in a substantial measure and (2) in which such control has been released or abolished and normal trade channels restored. A fair price to the cultivator is an excellent desideratum no doubt, but the difficulties in the way of achieving the end are so

many. Any scheme of stabilisation of agricultural prices shall be based on a thorough study of the cost of articles entering into the cultivator's cost of production and also the cost of commodities whose cost enter into his standard of living. This involves careful collection of data over wide and representative areas. Recently, Mr. Hudson made an announcement in the House of Commons that the policy of guaranteed prices and markets would be continued and that prices would be determined every February after an examination of farmers' costs. Fortunately, farming costs have been studied for many years past by the several advisory centres in the United Kingdom. In fact, recently, the collection of statistics extended further and covered numerous new items too. The British Government to-day have figures regarded as sufficient, comprehensive and representative to serve as a safe basis for an official price policy. Though the considerations that will decide the prices to be fixed have not yet been decided, there is no doubt that the U. K. has enough data on which to go ahead with a programme of stabilisation of agricultural prices. But in India we know only too well that the farmer rarely keeps accounts, if at all. In this country agriculture is more a way of living than a business and the agricultural produce enters the market for sale only after meeting the requirements of the village cultivator and his family. In other words, it is generally the surplus that comes into the market and the ryat does not produce for the market as his sole object and the extreme fragmentation of agricultural holdings has made the position worse.

This gives a fair account of what our self-appointed trustees are doing in their own country for their own welfare and in this unfortunate country, the land of their trust. Stabilisation of agricultural prices is a prime necessity in our economic life, but it cannot be and should not be done piecemeal. Many of India's cash crops like jute, oil-seeds, tea, coffee, rubber, copra, cotton and coir have international markets. There can certainly be a national and local fixation of prices for these commodities but that should be done with an eye to international repercussions. Many of these commodities command a very much lower price in the international market than they normally should. In order to maintain a stable and high level of prices for them, similar to those commanded by the products of other nations, attention must be directed towards improving the quality of the Indian produces so that they might compete equally with foreign products. Grading, standardisation and improvement in packing methods should also be attended to.

Rabindranath Memorial Fund

• In our last issue we informed our readers that by the end of April the above fund had reached 3 lakhs. The latest information supplied by the General Secretary of the All-India Rabindranath Memorial Fund indicates that the 4,50,000/- mark has been passed. We appeal to our readers to contribute liberally to Rabindranath Memorial Fund. All remittances and correspondence should be addressed to the General Secretary at 1, Burman Street, Calcutta.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE War in the West is now a matter of past history. For over five years and eight months the most desperately bankrupt nation of Europe fought with fury against the democratic powers. Since the June of last year the odds against Germany were being continuously raised until they reached over five to one in numbers and even more than that in war-machines and air-planes. Her munition centres and the arteries for transport were being continuously disrupted by vast air-armadas and her defence lines in the West were engulfed by fire and steel from the unprecedented concentrations of artillery by the Americans. Under this tremendous pressure the whole defence system was being ground down slowly when the final assault was delivered in the East by the Soviets' forces. American armoured spearheads had pierced deep across the Rhine at that time and within a short period the Ruhr was isolated and finally reduced. Breslau and the great Silesian arsenals, including the vast Herman Goering plants, had already ceased to function and thus with the cutting off of the Ruhr 75 per cent of Germany's armament production was shut off. Rapid degeneration of the defence followed and finally came the finale of Nazi Germany's *Gottterdammerung* with the passing of Hitler.

Hitler's dream of world dominance came within an ace of success despite the titanic odds against the Axis in the matter of numbers, treasure and resources, both material and mechanical. The undreamt-of heroic resistance of the Soviets' peoples put the first brake on the chariot-wheels of the conquering Nazi hordes. Even with that the Germanic forces continued to press on and but for the providential autumn rains, which came down in a deluge three weeks before time and bogged down all German transport across the Ukraine, it is an open question as to whether Stalingrad could have withstood the assault. As it happened the weather turned the scales and Stalingrad witnessed a debacle for the assaulter from which the forces of Hitler never recovered. Three years of heroic fighting by the Russians had given the Allies time to prepare vast armies and to tool up to perfection the gigantic American production centres under peaceful and undisturbed conditions. And after that extremely prolonged period of preparation was over the Second Front was opened and the Germanic forces in the West, greatly weakened by four and a half years of a tremendous war, turned to face desperate odds in numbers and armament. The tidal wave of American production started battering down the Western defences, while in the East too it toned up and strengthened beyond measure the fighting strength of the Russian forces. And thus was Germany's fall sealed under the twin arms of Fate, the Russian soldier and the American armament factory. The Wehrmacht functioned with great skill until the very last, utilizing the last ounce of strength to hold up and to inflict losses on the forces of the United Nations but it was proved in the ultimate that those two factors, the fighting spirit and endurance of the Soviets' forces and the production capacity of the U.S.A. had gone far beyond the calculations of the Nazi High Command.

In the East the Japanese are now face to face with the stark reality that loomed in the haze and smoke of the European battle-fronts. Now at last the Allies

have their hands free, and are in a position to bring all their forces into action against the sole remaining partner of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. Some time must elapse before the full effect of this harnessing of the total resources of the Allies can come into play, but that day will come now within a measurable period of time, with all factors of uncertainty taken out. The question is now as to what is the measure of the defence organisation that Japan has been able to put up during the three years of time she has obtained in the meanwhile. There can be no question now that the Japan of to-day is immensely stronger than the Japan that assailed the A. B. C. D. group at the end of 1941.

To-day Japan has built vast factories in Manchuria and has drawn on the immense resources of the conquered territories, of which but a fraction has been recovered as yet. To-day she is fully aware of the might and capacity of her opponents and she has also found by the process of trial and error the efficiency or otherwise of all her defence strategy. So the struggle ahead will have little in the matter of surprise and chance for either side.

Up till now there are no signs that the Japanese have weakened nor does there seem to be any indication of flagging energy or spirits, which all seem to go to indicate that the Asiatic struggle will be no less desperate than that in Europe. But of course here the superiority of the Allies would be even more marked than in the case of the European war. Indeed, here the Allies would have the added advantage of superiority in technical matters, which would go a good way to offset the handicaps of great distances and the lack of facilities and bases for transport and supply. Iwojima and Okinawa are good indications, and given speed and efficiency they might be taken as correct presages for the struggle ahead.

The Americans have nearly perfected two mighty organisations for their main assault. The first is the magnificent carrier-borne air force, which has effectively pulled the teeth of the Japanese navy and has as well acted as powerful long distance artillery in bombarding shore-defence systems. The second is the technically superb amphibious landing organisation. The Japanese have not yet found any answer to either of these and as such the Americans are able to force landings in the face of carefully prepared defences. Of course once the landing is started the main Japanese defence organisation comes into action with great violence and ruthlessness. But the defenders have nowhere up till now been able to augment their strength, even to the extent of making good their losses, whereas the invaders are able to press on in ever increasing numbers and with greater weight of armament.

But of course this relates to sea-girt islands, a good long way from the home-land bases of the Japanese air and naval forces. The task of the American navy would become harder and costlier as the campaign comes nearer the nerve centres of the Mikado's forces. And once the campaign becomes continental in character, many new factors hitherto not encountered, are likely to come into play. The duration of the war against Japan is dependent entirely on these little known factors on which very little light has been thrown up till now, the technical qualities of Japanese armour and fighter planes being the main.

A SCHEME—OR A DREAM ?

By SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt. C.I.E., D.Litt.

I see no reason why I should be asked my opinion by the grand schemers of India's future constitution. Queries from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Dr. Arundel, Allama Mashriqi and other all-India leaders require detailed answers, and I do not keep a stenographer-typist. The world evidently does not know that I am a nobody, a non-party non-leader non-follower individual unit of the population, an old man harmless except for the fact that he is idling, consuming rice and *dal* which might better nourish some more active and useful member of society. What is the value of the scheme of a mere Featherless Biped (the old Greek definition of man) like me, or in the more elegant idiom of Persia, this *zerra-e-bemiqdar* (this worthless atom), this *faqir-e-haqir* or poor beggar? So, I remained silent, preferring to face the charge of discourtesy by not replying to my august correspondents.

But the Bengal Government has come to my rescue. For several weeks I have been eating *reconditioned rice*, which is the only variety of our staple food supplied by the Government rationing control in Calcutta. Old people whose knowledge of the English language is hopelessly out of date, call it rotten rice. What pitiful ignorance! Those who are experts in modern English call it *reconditioned*, which has a romantic sedative effect on the ear—though not on the stomach. From eating this rice in my old age, I have developed a V-dyspepsia—a dyspepsia that has at last proved victorious over my five years of regular daily exercise and visit to health resorts. Last night I had a dyspeptic dream, and what should I dream of, but the political plans of India's future, of which the daily papers are full, and which had been reposing in my sub-conscious brain. In the close heat of a summer night in Calcutta,

Tossing in bed an hour alone

I dreamt that India might still be free.

But how?

A POLITICAL PLAN FOR INDIA

Two basic principles must be accepted at the very outset:

(1) The plan should be formed with an eye to the future evolution of our State and not to the immediate gain of the moment, and it should be pursued patiently and unflinchingly, as a long-term scheme of national integration, improvement, and strengthening, instead of thinking solely or mainly of what Burke calls "petty shifts and temporary expedients," i.e., the current political game of party manoeuvring or forming pacts to "capture" some voting body. Short-lived concessions to the current needs of the situation should certainly be made, but never—and here the planners should be adamant—never to such an extent as to sacrifice or even to weaken the great long-term ideal.

(2) Have a solid core or nucleus of a truly national character for all real national work in the various fields of State activity, which will stand absolutely free from all considerations of religion, rank, wealth or race and similar disintegrating factors. Only a perfectly integrated political society like that of England (Ireland not included) can have such a national unified system in full measure. But Indian leaders must

never lose sight of this ideal; they may start with a 50 per cent adoption of this principle now but must keep it ever at the forefront of their programme and steadily work up to it. As the different sects and social groups (who will be provided separately for in the remaining 50 per cent) will work daily in the common fields of legislation, administration, defence and social service, side by side with the "national" or unsectarian 50 per cent, the two groups will tend to fuse together, they will learn in the political workshop by practical daily work, to give and take, and their angularities and extreme opinions will be thus rubbed off more effectively than by sermons or pamphlets.

This is how we start. Then, as the first set of members in time come to know each other correctly, they will draw closer together, and—unless India is to have no future—some 15 or 20 years from the start all right-thinking men will feel that co-operation on national (as contrasted with sectarian) lines can pay rich dividends in the shape of the actual improvement of the lot of the people and increase of the national strength *vis a vis* of its foreign enemies and economic rivals, and then they will themselves ask for the expansion of the 50 per cent unsectarian core to 75 per cent and a corresponding reduction of the reserved sectarian preserves, in their own interests.

This principle has two natural corollaries: (a) Half the public service, including the legislature, should be thrown open to pure merit, irrespective of creed, rank or wealth, while the other half will be reserved for separate "communities." In the first half the recruitment should be on an all-India basis without any provincial quota at the centre. Let the public servants chosen by these two rival methods be passed in review by a High Commission from outside twenty years hence, and then the effect of these two methods of recruitment on the efficiency of the administration and the happiness of the people will become manifest; and then none will be able to cavil at the decision to extend or contract the 50:50 ratio. After the initial recruitment by these two methods, promotion must be solely by merit without any political interference, as has been openly denounced by the Rowlands Committee in Bengal.

Choose our public servants by the standard of the *highest qualification* available at the time and not by the recently popular test of the "*minimum qualification*" for the post. Thus only can we harness the highest brain power and the best character of the nation to the people's work. The quality of the actual administration and the welfare of the people ultimately depend upon this factor.

(b) There must be a Public Services Commission with full power and very extended range. But in order to keep it absolutely above local suspicions, the majority of its members must be foreigners, preferably men without past Indian administrative connections. This is an unpleasant pill to swallow, but it is unescapable at the first stage of our evolution. We can drop the foreign element when our nationalist or non-sectarian nucleus has grown from 50 to 75 per cent by mutual consent.

Such a nationalist or non-sectarian core, even as low as 25 per cent at the legislature, with a temporary but gradually alterable balance of seats to be reserved for minorities, was exactly the scheme which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald put before the (Second?) Round Table Conference at the Chequers, but it was rejected by Messrs. Gandhi, Jinnah and others with results that even the blind can see today.

It is the very negation of democracy to have sectarian electorates, as distinct from functional or economic groups—like the Universities and Commerce—but not *Marwari* Chambers of Commerce, *Muslim* Chamber of Commerce. When shall we have a *Momin* Chamber of Commerce separately electing M.L.A.'s? When separate electorates for the Muslims were granted in 1909, their father John Morley himself admitted harmful effects and he quoted the Irish example—what an ominous name and how very prophetic of the failure of British statesmanship in Burke's biographer and admirer!—saying that a Catholic elected on the joint votes of Protestants and Catholics in that troubled island was suspected by the bigoted members of his creed as a *shoin* Catholic, which may be translated as a *cutcha* Catholic,—or a *nim Musalman* in India! But the disciple of John Stuart Mill here forgot Mill's warning that a representative government cannot work smoothly or usefully, if its legislature is composed of the *extreme* members of the different parties in the country, but only if the *moderate* representatives of every party are brought together round the same legislative table, and that makes a joint electorate the one thing needed. *Do not be for ever emphasising the separatist tendencies that exist in every country. Rather stimulate in all the life activities of the nation the unifying nationalist tendencies and interests and thus gradually eliminate the special or dividing forces.*

If India is ever to be a nation, this joint electorate is its inescapable basis even for filling the temporarily-reserved seats for the minorities.

Coming down to details, a unitary legislature (and consequently ministry) in the provinces and at the Centre, elected *solely* by a general constituency proportioned to the population, is theoretically possible in India, but it will do more harm than good if set up before Nineteen-hundred and *ninety-five* A.D., because of the opposition it will create at the very start which would imperil the smooth working of the more necessary unifying and evolutionary *national* half of my scheme. Let us have at the beginning 50 per cent of our M.L.A.'s elected on the general ticket; it will enable an Abbas Tyabji or a C. F. Andrews to be elected by the Hindus (the only people who can elect them); it will make it possible for us to utilise for our law-making and administrative work many Indian Christians of outstanding merit that I have met with but whose talent is lost to their native land because of their small number or unsuitable location. As for the remaining 50 per cent of seats, why not let the Muslims/Hindus have 25 per cent, the Sikhs 10 per cent, and the Europeans and all other groups not included above 15 per cent?

What of the *scheduled castes*, you ask. That is a most hateful and humiliating title, like the name *Natives* in the mouths of Kipling and other imperialists. My own experience during a long and observant life has been that when any of these people makes money, the first thing that he does is to slip out of the

schedule cattle-pen, and merge himself in the *general* Hindu society by changing his tell-tale caste-name (like blacksmith, barber, etc.). This is a legitimate and honourable ambition and it is the root of social progress. Thanks to the direct and indirect influence of the Arya Samaj, Hindu Society, after a little preliminary "looking askance" or even petty skirmish, has absorbed the new entrant into its bosom. The reformed marriage law of the Hindus will make this process easier and widespread, for this sort of social synthesis is the very essence of Hinduism, which European scholars have recognised as a social arrangement and not a definable religion founded on a revealed book.

So much for the legislature. But how am I going to write my Theogony? How am I going to fill the thrones of the celestial beings (blazing in red and gold embroidery) who doze under the deodars beneath the shadow of Mount Jacko? Well, the Viceroy's Executive Council (or Ministers responsible to the Central Legislature) may start with having 25 per cent Hindus *qua* Hindus, 25 per cent Muslims *qua* Muslims and at least one Sikh Member, one European and one Indian Christian, and the remainder regardless of their sectarian mark.

My scheme, like every other scheme, requires good will and political honesty for its success. It will be the test of India's fitness for self-rule whether such good will and honesty are forthcoming or not.

Stop, stop, old man of matted hair and patched overcoat (—not due to the present cloth-famine, but to the rules of the *faqir* caste), thou hast been liberally appointing the gods of Simla and New Delhi, but what about our Rajahs and Nawabs? Well, my honest belief is that they require half a century more of hammering by outside forces and the internal stresses and almost universal disunity between their people and princes (*cum* a privileged irresponsible official class), before they can be fitted into a *modern* civilised unified State. We must wait till then.

The impatient reader—if any has had the patience to read so many pages—will now ask, "O *faqir*! thou hast brought the horse to the water—the water of national life, *ab-i-hayat*,—but can you make it drink?" My masters! the horse will certainly drink if those who are grasping its reins and turning its head (away) will get off its back.* And they are destined to get off,—in time, Lord Salisbury, was Beaconsfield's lieutenant at the Congress of Berlin (1878), where England succeeded in thwarting the Balkan Christians' cry for independence and union and thus buttressed up Turkish misrule and prolonged Balkanization. That very Marquis of Salisbury lived to mourn, "We put our money on the wrong horse there." That history will certainly repeat itself—in India; the only question is after how long an interval and at the expense of how much more than Irish embitterment of Indian patriotism?

* On 1st October 1906, when the Aga Khan's Muslim deputation met the Viceroy, Lady Minto received a letter from an official stating,—"I must send Your Excellency a line to say that a very big thing has happened to-day, a work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many years (—it is now 1945, and it still "goes and goes strong"! It is nothing less than the pulling back of 62 millions of people from joining the ranks of seditious opposition." (Lady Minto's Indian diary). Yes, Cokhale was seditious, all the Hindus, Parsis and Indian Christians were seditious. The 62 millions (now 67 millions) must be very happy and prosperous now. Let us study their present condition in Bengal in the Rowlands Report.

LONDON LETTER

FROM MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

Good Friday, 30th March, 1945

ALL Europe is moving out of war and before this reaches India Germany may have thrown up the sponge, the San Francisco Conference be postponed because of the situation immediately arising, the promised General Election in England voted inopportune for similar reasons. In fact anything may happen and yet, with events crowding up on every minute, I have to try to write something that will still be news—and that though it may not appear in print for anything from three weeks to three months after it has been written.

To-day in London all flags on public buildings are flying at half-mast in farewell to Lloyd George whose funeral takes place in Wales this afternoon. Had this not been Good Friday the flag would be flying at half-mast over the Abbey, and I should be listening now to its famous muffled peals—first a full chime, then a muffled one—first an image of life, then an image of death—that inspired monotonous iteration in which, as some genius long ago discovered, is a perfect reminder of man's mortality.

When King George V died it was remarked how particularly his death affected the War Generation, the people who had been young in 1914. The War had been the central fact of his reign, as it was of their lives, and his death evoked a host of buried memories. Those four war years came surging back before receding into history. (After the time of George V the Armistice ceremony meant less and less as the years went by until there were those who advocated giving it up altogether.) But the death of Lloyd George is a very different thing. He had become an institution: for fifty years he had been on the parliamentary scene and no one can think of Parliament without him. What kind of a memorial will they set up to him in Westminster Abbey? Meditating on this I sought out the tablet Parliament devised to his "dearest partner in greatness", Herbert Henry Asquith. Though it tells nothing of what he did, only of what he was, it is a triumph in the appropriate. It opens with a string of disdainful negatives: *Unmatched, unshaken, unseduced, unterrified* (How they recall that Roman nose!). True we are told in the next line, *His Loyalty he kept, his Love, his Zeal*. But these are all given capital letters and maintain a purely declamatory effect. Then back come the negatives: *Nor number, nor example, with him wrought To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind*. To read that stony epitaph is to wonder how Asquith and Lloyd George could ever have pulled together.

Nor number with him wrought. . . But numbers were the breath of life to Lloyd George. Principles were not his trade, but people. One who knew him well wrote that 'he loved crowds and caught the feeling of crowds with unerring intuition.' Behind the measures that he introduced he could always feel the pressure of the common people. To-day national insurance, with its collaterals of housing, education, security of employment and so on, is become the obsession of politics. So much so that we are apt to forget how recent a thing this is. But until the advent of Lloyd George all this lay in the future. And therein lies his title to fame.

To adapt Coleridge, he was the first that ever burst into that far from silent House of Commons with what then seemed to them to be catastrophic proposals. And his chiefest charm is that he thoroughly enjoyed fighting the battle of the common man. Never did he feel it a cursed spite that ever he was born to set it right. To quote his friend again, 'he would look with calm satisfaction on the riot he had provoked.' . . . Lloyd George's ebullience, in fact, is something that we have been missing for some time. It is said that his speeches will not live. Since he needed an audience and took spark as he played on them, he did not prepare speeches in advance. They lack therefore the forms and proportions which make a speech most readable. But there is not the slightest doubt that his phrases will live. Could anything for instance excell in humour and mordancy the following: 'He sat on the fence until the iron entered into his soul.' (Oh that I knew who is the politician he has impaled for ever on that fence!)

There is just one other thing to be said about Lloyd George. When his Will is published, there are sure to be reflections about the Liberal Money Chest and the much-alleged trafficking in honours. (He knighted so many shop-keepers in Cardiff that some wit dubbed it 'The City of Dreadful Knights'.) But if he trafficked in honours, he did not traffick in honour. At the end of the last war Mr. Bonar Law invited him to part company with Liberalism and become the leader of the Conservative Party—and he refused. Years afterwards, when he was asked if he had any regrets he answered: 'No . . . I was born a Radical and I shall die a Radical.' Clearly there was no flunkeyism in Lloyd George. He could never, like a successor of his, have gone over to the enemy and then, when the final election results showed how completely he had undone his former friends, have remarked with complacency: 'Every Duchess in the country will want to kiss me.'

Perhaps we are on the eve of a General Election, but I very much hope that it may be postponed. There is something to be said for carrying over into the Peace an existing Coalition: nothing whatever for asking the country to give a mandate for a new one. It will only obscure the issues, allow the Conservatives to cash in on Mr. Winston Churchill's popularity—the same Mr. Churchill whom they, the Conservatives, kept out of office because he unswervingly opposed their policy of Appeasing Nazi Germany—and return to Westminster yet another completely unrepresentative Government. For it must always be remembered that of the six successive General Elections held between the years 1922 and 1935, there was only one in which the Conservatives polled as much as half the total votes cast. It will be said of course that the country must speak with one voice in the matter of foreign policy. But that is assured already, if it means that the Labour and Liberal Parties will give support to the policies of Mr. Eden—the same Mr. Eden who also went into the wilderness because he would not support the Conservatives in Appeasing. . . Unfortunately however, at least when he addressed the Conservative Party Conference, Mr.

Churchill seemed to incline towards a revival of so-called National Government after the pattern of Baldwin-Macdonald-Chamberlain days; that is a 'National' Government from which the accepted leaders of the Labour and Liberal Parties are absent. For, said he, he would be willing to work with men of any party or of none. Well the men of no party (really) are lining up. He is assured of the support of the present National Labour M.P.s.—there will be three of them—and of the present National Liberals—they number twenty-seven. And of course there might be a spate of new candidates called 'National' or old candidates, especially in a shaky division, turned 'National'. Mr. Churchill's prestige could virtually give us another Coupon Election. But can he really want that? The vast majority of men and women entering the Forces to-day, said a welfare worker recently, are *politically illiterate*. Will he be assisting their political education by inviting them to vote not for a programme but for himself—who is not outside the arena of Party Politics since he has accepted leadership of the Conservative Party. He must know more than anyone that one good reason for this political illiteracy, which is not confined to men and women entering the Forces, is that we have had years and years of so-called National Government. Voting 'National' makes a person feel *ipso facto* patriotic and at the same time relieves them of any necessity to think, since they tend to believe that they have thereby entrusted the fate of the nation to a Ministry of All the Talents! However, what would be a much better thing, the present Government—which really is National in composition—might be prolonged a little farther and into the days of Peace. Major Gwilym Lloyd George has announced that he will follow Mr. Churchill. He is the first Minister to break away from his Party. Perhaps others will follow suit and this may convince the Party Leaders that it might be wiser to prolong the life of the present Government any way for another year.

Since writing the foregoing it is definitely stated that the San Francisco Conference may be postponed. Germany is dissolving before our eyes and it is clear that the Allied leaders should stay on the spot in Europe. It is not a bad thing though that representatives from the Dominions should be gathering in London this week-end to take part in the conversations which were to be the preliminary to the Conference. Because one thing is certain: the British Commonwealth must have a very real and important share in deciding the make-up and the character which the post-war world is to take. At the moment of course, as for weeks past, Germany has been trying to make as prominent as possible all the grounds for differences of opinion that exist between the principal Allies. Especially is she concerned to show that Russia is playing nobody's hand but her own. That she is in fact—at any rate in the Slav countries—trying to present the Conference with a Communist *fait accompli* in Europe. But Germany is mistaken if she imagines we are not alive to all the conflicting currents rising or suppressed in Europe. And our strength is that we are not afraid of any of them.

There is another legend which also stems from Germany and which is said to be having some success in Europe. It is that it is not we but America and Russia who have won the war. The story runs that in 1940, 'when she stood alone', England was very great. But since then all the heat and burden of the fighting

have been borne by America and Russia. Of course it requires very little reflection to swallow back that lie. To take first the special mention of 1940. This refers of course to the events following on Dunkirk, to the Battle for Britain and especially to the Battle for London. But no special merit attaches to that time. Indeed, as a Scottish visitor to London recently pointed out, the Battle against the Flying Bomb, which for security reasons received far less publicity, was just as important as the first Battle for London. For in the fifth year of war the Germans set all their hopes on breaking the spirit of London, on compelling Londoners to make an approach to their Government, and that great city never made a murmur. The next point to note is that England never did stand alone. From the very beginning, save for the solitary exception of Eire, the whole British Commonwealth has stood beside her. In the fighting, it is pointed out, as many decorations have been won by Dominion troops—perhaps especially by Indian troops—as have been won by men from these islands. The only important difference between our part in this War and the parts taken by America and Russia is in the *manner of our entry*. And what was in actual fact the manner? Russia entered the War because Germany entered Russia; America entered the War because Japan attacked Pearl Harbour; but we entered the War in fulfilment of our pledges to a nation which had been made the subject of a brutal aggression by Germany. And therein lies our strength.

I shall not here go into the intricacies of the proposed new security arrangements mooted at Yalta and to take definite shape at San Francisco. Everyone is tired of debating that rule that voting must be unanimous amongst the Great Powers before action can be taken against an aggressor; tired of enlarging on its dangers and nullities since it is mostly a Great Power, directly or indirectly, who ever is an aggressor. We all know that (on paper at least) there will be nothing in future to prevent a Great Power doing exactly what it can. And that as a result of this since there is to be no hue and cry—no rallying of all the Powers big and small to the assistance of anyone big or small who is the victim of aggression—the small Powers will, on paper at least, have to become vassal States of one or other of the Great Powers. Anyone who chooses to take the pessimistic view can point to the case of Czechoslovakia. Is she becoming a vassal of Russia so that she can manoeuvre with better success against Poland? The representative of the Czech farmers in the Czechoslovak State Council has just resigned and says this of Dr. Benes's conduct of foreign affairs. 'At the end of twenty years we were sure of the fact that his policy had led us to Munich. . . . Now, after Dr. Benes has been functioning for a further six years, I see quite clearly that he is leading the Czech nation from a Protectorate of the Nazis to a Protectorate of the Communists.' But there is probably very little use in instancing what does or may happen amongst the smaller European States in the *immediate* future.

Years ago John Stuart Mill remarked that one of the essential conditions of stability in any society was that there must be something that was settled and not to be called in question. If this is true, what is there in the coming post-war society that will be settled and not to be called in question? Two important things come to mind, one intangible and one tangible. In the first place and as regards the new security agreements, whatever the rules about voting *discussion* is to be

absolutely free. And secondly and perhaps most significant of all, this country is committed to a twenty-year Alliance with Russia. If that Alliance is to be of any good to Russia or to ourselves or to the world, it is for us to say what we think. . . .

I suppose in India, in spite of the numbers of Indian troops who are fighting overseas, the war in Burma looms largest. Indians must be familiar with the sight of streams of refugees from Burma. But the return of these refugees to their homes, devastated as many of them may be, is as nothing compared with the magnitude of the problem that faces Europe. It is estimated that no less than fifteen millions men, women and children, will have to be repatriated. And this figure does not of course include the numbers of Poles who may be moved from the Eastern to the Western side of the Curzon Line, nor the Germans who may be moved out of East Prussia to make room for the new Poland. And all these people will have to be fed and housed and clothed. How is it ever to be done, how is enough to be done in time before next winter? It was said in the House of Commons the other day that we will of course do what we can to feed our enemies; but that naturally our friends, who have suffered so terribly at the hands of our enemies, must be fed first. And it has been estimated that about five millions of people in Germany may die of starvation.

When we consider all these practical problems, how irrelevant to present miseries seem hopes and fears of political line-ups. Europe for some time surely will be

full of relief missions bringing all succour possible from the more fortunate Powers, from the United States and from the Dominions of the British Empire. In such circumstances it is very unlikely that, as German propaganda would have us believe, Europe will become a Tom Tiddler's ground in which Russia and Britain strive for spheres of influence. It is obvious that with the relief missions will go in journalists and with the journalists will return the healing habits of free comment and criticism. I do not know if at the present time Russia has any journalists operating in the territories liberated by British and American and other Allied arms. At present our journalists are not allowed into countries that she has liberated, into Poland and Jugoslavia and, I think, Roumania.

There are so many nomads in Europe, so many *de facto* governments present and to come, what security is there for a poor blundering individual to appeal to? And speaking of frontiers the other night, it was very pertinently remarked that frontiers are not so important as is being master in your own house. Arising out of all of which, it was suggested that the time has come for mankind to see that an International Bill of Rights forms part of any new security agreements. In the past the Navy League or the League of Nations Union used to offer prizes for the best essay on the value of their particular point of view. It would be a very good thing for the world if we all tried to discover just what are the absolutely minimum rights of man . . .

Westminster, London.

"LOOKING BACK"—I

The Causes of the Famine of 1943

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

THE miseries of the people of Bengal are still so various and vast that it is too early to say that we are "looking back" when we discuss the events that led to the disaster of 1943. It is but one part of the story narrated serially, the story attaining its climax in a particular period when people died not in hundreds and thousands but in millions. The problem of want of food in 1943 was overtaken, even when it had not exhausted its fury, by that of serious epidemics taking almost an incredible toll of human lives. This was the picture in 1944 and in 1945 when the report of the death of destitutes is a regular feature in the daily newspapers and epidemics are still stalking the land though in a less aggravated form, we have been experiencing an acute shortage or famine of cloth which is not only not sufficient for healthy living but is absolutely insufficient for covering our nakedness or serving as a shroud for the dead.

Bengal has become a land of chronic poverty. In fact, the people of the rural areas are half fed, verging on starvation. The Report of the Famine Commission, 1944, better known as the "Woodhead Commission", attributes high mortality in the famine of 1943 to poverty and malnutrition amongst the masses of the people. The Report says:

"A considerable proportion of the rural population lives on the margin of subsistence, with few or no reserves of grain, money or other assets" (p. 67).

In the conditions of 1943:

"Poverty and malnutrition left a section of the population with few reserves, material or physical, to meet superimposed calamity. For them there was no 'margin of safety' and little possibility of 'tightening the belt'" (p. 7).

The Commissioners repeated the sentiment in the following language:

"A considerable section of the population was living on the margin of subsistence and was incapable of standing any severe economic stress. Parallel conditions prevailed in the health sphere; standards of nutrition were low and the epidemic diseases which caused high mortality during the famine were prevalent in normal times. There was no 'margin of safety' as regards either health or wealth. These underlying conditions, common indeed to many other parts of India, were favourable to the occurrence of famine accompanied by high mortality" (p. 103).

With this background we shall proceed with the discussion of the immediate causes of the famine as described in the Report.

The mind of the Commissioners was not completely free as to the factors that resulted in, and the agencies that caused the famine. They say:

"The causes of the Bengal famine, and the measures taken to relieve it, have given rise to much bitter controversy, centering round the question . . .

whether responsibility for the calamity should be ascribed to God or man."

With a view to give satisfactory answer :

"We had had to unravel a complicated story, to give due weight to a multiplicity of causes and apportion blame where blame is due."

And we are satisfied that they have succeeded in a considerable degree. The only cause that is attributed to God is the failure of (*aman*) crop aggravated by Midnapore cyclone and crop pests. According to the Report :

"Shortage in the supply of rice in 1943 was one of the basic causes of the famine. The main reason for this was the low yield of the *aman* crop reaped at the close of 1942. Another reason was that the stocks carried over from the previous year (1942) were also short."

The Commissioners have absolved God from sharing in the responsibility of causing death to "between one and two million people" who "died as a result of the famine and the outbreaks of epidemic diseases associated with it" (p. 1). This is what they say :

"The primary element . . . was the failure of the *aman* crop. This, however, was not necessarily in itself an unmanageable problem" (p. 35).

Again,

"This rise in prices" which was mainly due to Governmental bungling, "continued unchecked and converted a shortage of supply into a famine" (p. 80).

They were more emphatic in their remark when they said :

"We do not wish to imply that famine, in the form in which it finally appeared, had become inevitable" (p. 85).

Then the rest is the work of man. Government officials high and low, "a large section of the community, including producers, traders, and consumers, contributed in varying degrees to the tragic outcome" (pp. 83-4).

Says the Report :

"The remarkable feature of the Bengal famine was that the rise in the price of rice was one of the principal causes of the famine" (p. 96).

And again,

"The rise of prices, which we hold to be the second basic cause of the famine was something more than the natural result of the shortage of supply which had occurred" (p. 80).

and discussing the reasons for such unusual rise, amongst many other causes subsequently dealt with, the Report says in this connection :

"It was the result of the belief of the producers, traders and consumers in Bengal at the end of 1942 and the beginning of 1943 that an ever-increasing rise in prices was inevitable and could not be prevented. This belief had been created, not only by the failure of the *aman* crop but by the entire course of events during 1942" (p. 80).

The result of the high price of foodstuffs was :

"Men, women and children died, as much because they could not pay for the food they needed, as because food was not available" (p. 76).

And

"Prices rose fantastically placing food above the reach of large numbers of people and rendering the usual form of relief largely ineffective" (p. 78).

Amongst the many causes of the famine export has been given a very high place in the list. "Unusual exports", to places outside India and to other provinces in India, "were the original cause of the trouble." As a result of exports, while the imports had been dwindling gradually, there was a deficit balance against India. Says the Report :

"... while imports during the first seven months of 1942 were less than during the corresponding period of 1941 by nearly 300,000 tons, exports during the same period increased from 136,000 tons in 1941 to 319,000 tons in 1942. The result of this decrease in imports and increase in exports was that a net import figure of 296,000 tons in 1941 was changed into a net export figure of 185,000 tons in 1942" (p. 28).

According to the Commissioners, this "affords a clue to the increase in the price of rice which took place in Bengal in April-June, 1942" (p. 29). There was also a regular export to the other provinces of India, affected by the cessation of imports from Burma.

"There was a scramble for supplies which occurred simultaneously in many parts of the country. Unusual quantities were being purchased at unusual prices and being moved out of areas which needed them." (p. 17).

There was an attempt to create barrier to inter-provincial exports and to introduce control of price in this connection which failed miserably.

The Denial Policy i.e. the removal of rice and control of boats (and cycles) from the coastal area as a measure against future enemy action, proved disastrous. As regards rice, says the Report :

"The purchases synchronised with a sharp upward movement in the price level and a general disturbance in market conditions which was occurring at about the same time in other parts of India : . . . on the other hand, they brought home to the people in the most emphatic manner the danger of invasion; they increased local nervousness and probably encouraged cultivators to hold on to their grain as an insurance against invasion and isolation." (p. 26).

The "Boat Denial" policy produced graver results. Though

"it was always recognised that the removal of a large number of boats from the delta . . . could cause considerable hardship and inconvenience . . ." (*Ibid.*)

only 20.4 thousand boats out of 66.6 thousand were allowed to remain in the areas the rest being destroyed, sunk, taken to "reception" stations, etc. About the result the Report says :

"The measures were necessarily unpopular. . . . Obviously, the removal of so large a number of boats . . . must have had a considerable restricting effect on the movements of foodgrains from the denial area. The Bengal Government have informed us that it was not a practical proposition to maintain in repair the thousands of boats brought to the reception stations" (p. 27).

To which the Commissioners give an emphatic denial :

"We are not convinced that it was not possible to make better arrangements."

In the area where boats form the chief means of communication these should have been "maintained in a serviceable condition" and in such a case "they would have been available for the movement of foodgrains from the denial area during the difficult times of 1943."

Considerable areas were requisitioned for military purposes in which 30,000 families (a gross underestimate) were involved. In reply to the contention that compensation was paid to them and there can be no grievance on this score, the Report says, "there is little doubt that the members of many of these families became famine victims in 1943."

Another matter of great moment undertaken lightly and pursued doggedly without any thought of its consequence has rightly been castigated by the Commissioners. This is the propaganda of "no shortage" even when the destitutes had been dying in the streets, in the huts and hovels and where not. The Commissioners say :

"We consider that this propaganda of sufficiency was quite ill-advised (p. 88) . . . the propaganda policy followed during April and May 1943 by the Bengal Government . . . was misguided (p. 98) . . . the unfortunate propaganda policy of "No Shortage" . . . was unjustified" (p. 105), when "the famine was plainly apparent."

They ought to have warned the people fully of the danger of famine. The Report says, in the face of the fumbling defence of the Government of Bengal that they persisted in it to keep up the morale of the people and to prevent spread of the news to the enemy countries :

"We are not impressed by these arguments. The emergency was such . . . that it could not be hidden, and in the circumstances it was essential that the people should be truthfully informed about the real position." (p. 88).

The Government of Bengal failed to take notice of the signs of the impending crisis and "during the early months of 1943, there were reports of distress from various parts in Bengal and apprehension on the part of the District Officers that famine was imminent" (p. 1) but no adequate steps were taken in proper time. True, there was difficulty of importing rice from other provinces but there was ample time to meet the deficit by importation of wheat from the Punjab and elsewhere and the Commissioners attribute,

"the delay in the establishment of a system of planned movement of supplies from surplus provinces and states to deficit provinces and states" (p. 77),

as one of the chief causes of the famine.

In the sphere of 'control' and 'procurement' the Government proved as hopelessly inefficient as in other matters affecting the life and wellbeing of the population in their charge. Their vacillating policy disclosed the working of their mind. Steps once taken were reversed overnight leaving the wandering public to suffer and to draw their own conclusions. In June 1942, the Government of Bengal issued orders fixing the maximum price of rice and paddy and on the 11th March next they abrogated all vestiges of price control. About the Central Government and their policy of price control the Report says :

"Earlier in the year (1943), the Central Government made a similar decision as regards the control of wheat prices . . . at the end of January 1943, the statutory maximum prices for wheat which had been

imposed in December 1941, were withdrawn. At this time the Government of India were of the opinion that prices should not be regulated by statutory control but by other methods" (p. 39).

The remarks of the Commissioners are very significant on this point :

"Statutory price control was a failure. At the time the Order was issued Government had no control over supplies and the only means of enforcing the Order was through the ordinary staff employed for the maintenance of law and order . . . There was little information about the stocks held by traders, for the Foodgrains Control Order was not brought into force till December. In these circumstances, an attempt to control prices by the prescription of statutory maxima aggravated the situation by driving stocks underground. The subsequent decision not to enforce the Order, while alleviating the difficulties which the Order created, advertized the inability of Government to control the markets" (p. 81).

Proofs of greater indecision on the part of the Government were yet to come. The position was still very serious when the "de-control" scheme was adopted by the Government of Bengal and

"the Government of India decided that an emergency mobilization of supplies should be made from the areas adjoining Bengal in the Eastern Region" so that the rise in prices may be checked.

It was decided in March 1943 to give to Bengal 60,000 tons of rice within a period of from three weeks to a month. It was proposed to get this quantity from Orissa, Bihar, Assam and Eastern States in equal proportions. The plan failed because, with the exception of supplies from Orissa, the quotas were not forthcoming. More so because it evoked hostility to Bengal in the Eastern Region. By the beginning of April the Bengal Government thought that this plan, called the Basic Plan, could not help them and they informed the Central Government that "the attempt to treat the provinces of Assam, Bengal, and Orissa as separate units for the procurement of, and movement of, trade in, rice and paddy was fast leading to disaster." Towards the end of April the Central Government also became doubtful about the success of the plan; and the emergency arrangements made in March completely failed. The next question was whether there should be unrestricted free trade or "modified free trade." Under the latter, the "Basic Plan" was to continue under the supervision of a Central Government official, instead of provincial authorities, for controlling inter-provincial movement of grains. On the 6th May the Government of India communicated to the Provincial Governments of the Eastern Region their decision to introduce "modified free trade." The scheme never came into effect due to divergence of opinion amongst the representatives of the respective governments of Eastern Region. On the insistence of Bengal, the Government of India modified their plan and allowed some sort of free trade. According to the Bihar authorities :

"The new policy resulted in large-scale incursion of speculators, agents, big business, hoarders and small buyers from Bengal into all the markets. . . . Prices flared up almost immediately."

Free trade led to serious disputes between the Bengal Government, their agents, and other Bengal traders on the one hand and the Government of Bihar on the other. The conflict with the Orissa Government was not so acute. The success, which was very limited in

extent, led the Central Government "to introduce with effect from the 15th June free trade throughout India with the exception of the region comprising the Punjab, Sind and certain other areas in North-West India." The conference which met on the 7th July emphatically rejected free trade which view was accepted by the Central Government, and from the 16th of August next free trade came to an end. The Commissioners say :

"It is clear to us that the decision to introduce free trade into the Eastern Region was a mistake. It could only result, not in the solution of food problem in Bengal, but in the creation of similar conditions in other areas of the Eastern Region" (p. 93).

The Report discloses a bias for 'modified free trade' and says :

"... the advantages were so obvious that we consider it unfortunate that the Government of India gave up their initial preference for it or the insistence of the Bengal Government... which failed to realize the importance of securing control of all the supplies brought into Bengal from outside the province. 'Modified free trade' would have enabled such control to be exercised, for all purchases would have been made under permits granted by an officer of the Central Government."

Under this system control could be exercised over the places where the supplies were sent together with the price at which they were to be sold. The licensed dealers could be allotted different areas for operation thus avoiding competitive buying. There were other minor advantages which were overlooked. There were on the part of the dealers an attempt to extract the maximum amount of rice in the shortest possible time and serious charges of corruption, of suppression of the quantity purchased, private sale and prevalence of a 'feeling that it was not the Bengal Government or the people in need who reaped the benefit, but the traders themselves."

The Commissioners regret that there had been no procurement organization of the Government until very late. If there had been one by the end of 1942, the situation "would not have taken such a grave form." In this matter very valuable time was lost in solving the nicety whether procurement scheme was a Central or Provincial subject. Further, instead of entrusting private firms or individuals with the procurement of grains the Government ought to have their own organisation. "Under the conditions prevailing in India the procurement of foodgrains on behalf of the Government should be carried out by responsible officers in the public service and not by firms chosen from the trade."

The Report laments that rationing was not introduced in Bengal earlier. The Bengal Government's lack

of confidence in their ability to carry on rationing with the existing stock, it was contended, had stood in the way. But the Commissioners are of the opinion that "provided this action was taken we do not think that a relatively small deficiency in the rice supply would have caused a catastrophe in Calcutta." About the scheme of distribution and staff to undertake the task, the Report says that the original idea of excluding all private retail shops from the operation would have delayed introduction of rationing almost indefinitely. It was, according to the Report, unfortunate to delay recruitment of staff on communal grounds. There has been "avoidable delay" in the matter.

The Central Government had carried too long to come to a decision for feeding Greater Calcutta.

"We think that the correct course in March (1943) was for the Government of India to have announced that they would provide, month by month, first, the full quantity of wheat required by Greater Calcutta and secondly, a certain quantity of rice."

It was necessary because a very heavy burden had been placed on Greater Calcutta due to the exigencies of the war.

The Famine Code was not applied and the people were deprived of the benefits that are available to them under the Code. It would have more readily attracted public sympathy which was rather late in coming. Financial considerations hampered relief. Moreover, it was undertaken rather very late. The Government allowed the needs of the rural areas to be outweighed by those of Calcutta and particularly its big interests and it is no wonder that

"Those who found themselves unable to buy food reacted to the situation in various ways. Some remained in their villages and starved there. Many men left home in search of work, particularly on military projects, leaving their families behind. As things worsened, many thousands of people left the homes and wandered across the countryside in the direction of towns or cities where they hoped to obtain food." (p. 68).

The Report blames the Government of Bengal as well as the public in Bengal, "or at least certain sections of it who have also their share of blame... Enormous profits were made out of the calamity, and in the circumstances, profits for some meant death for others... Corruption was widespread throughout the province and many classes of society... A million and a half of the poor of Bengal fell victim to circumstances for which they themselves were not responsible. Society, together with its organs, failed to protect its weaker members. Indeed there was a moral and social breakdown, as well as an administrative breakdown."

INDIA'S FUTURE MONETARY STANDARD

By PROF. P. C. THOMAS, M.A.

DURING the present war the currencies of most countries have been very rudely battered. All belligerents and nearly all neutrals have seen their warts of account alling, some very heavily. And it cannot yet be said with any certainty that the time has come when the all will be arrested. The war has taken the turn from the military point of view, we are told on authority,

but the economic reconstruction of the war-ravaged countries of Europe and Asia, following victory, may sustain the expansion of currency for some time more. In the liberated countries of Europe financial reconstruction has commenced. About Greece, Mr. Winston Churchill told the House of Commons on October 27th as follows :

"We are going to do our best to assist in stabilising Greek currency which has been a special mark of sabotage by the Germans, and highly competent officials from the Treasury are already on their way to Athens where the Foreign Secretary is at the present time and is remaining, according to my latest information, until he can confer with them and with the Greek Government on this subject. We are doing our best in every way to bring this country back to normal."

Belgium has already taken measures to stabilize her writ of account in terms of the sterling, and so has France. Some of the Latin Republics of South America have stabilized their currencies and brought them up into a definite link with the United States dollar.

As far as the United Kingdom is concerned, some definite steps have already been taken. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir John Anderson, and the Governor of the Bank of England, Lord Cato, have expressed definite views about the future of British pound. The decisions of the Bretton-Woods Conference, though do not affect the internal administration of the currencies of the conferring countries as much as their inter-relationship and their relations to a common world currency, are already before the Treasury. Britain has decided not to return to gold standard. On 10th May, 1944, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said in the House of Commons that "the British Government did not intend going back to the gold standard."

There is a strong opposition in Britain to the introduction of the old orthodox form of gold standard, nor are the Bretton-Woods Conference resolutions themselves entirely unopposed. Regarding the latter, as late as September 25th, 1944, Mr. Robert Rootsby, M.P., and Chairman of the Monetary Parliamentary Policy Committee, told a conference, called by the Liberator Council to co-ordinate opposition to any return by Britain to gold standard, that their immediate object was to stop the Bretton-Woods "racket". He also mentioned that Mr. Churchill had assured him that no final decision would be taken until the House of Commons had an opportunity of full discussion. Regarding gold standard, again, Sir Charles Morgan Webb, whom India has reason to remember, said that

"If Britain went back to gold standard, while the U.S. had 34 per cent of the gold of the world, Britain would become a vassal of the U.S.A."

He further aired in a rather ugly way a more distressing feeling:

"America is going to use her wealth and position and her large accumulation of gold to reduce Britain to a position of subservency. The only object of the Bretton-Woods proposal was to put Britain on gold standard. The most impudent thing is that it makes dollar supreme international currency. The Bretton-Woods Conference would take from Britain the freedom to manage its own currency."

What is Britain going to do? It is likely that Lord Keynes will continue to occupy the key position in British currency affairs. He led the British delegation to Bretton-Woods, and he has no love for the old orthodox gold standard. Whatever the immediate influence of Bretton-Woods on British financial policy, there is hardly any likelihood of Britain returning to gold in the near future.

The question of India's sterling balances apart, there have not been many official pronouncements on India's future monetary policy. A significant one was recently made at Bombay by the Finance Member, when he said that there is no intention of revising India's ratio in the rupee-sterling rate of exchange.

For purposes of this article, the immediate concern is more about India's future monetary standard than her exchange rate with sterling. I shall also examine the position and purpose of gold and sterling among the currency reserve of the Reserve Bank of India.

India never had the orthodox gold standard except for a very short period at the end of the 19th century. This was a very short-lived experiment. From 1835 to 1893 she was on silver standard. But for most part of her currency history in modern times she was on an Exchange standard, gold or sterling. And so long as Britain stood on gold standard, it did not matter on which India really was. In the beginning of the twentieth century, till the World War I was well on its way, India was on the Exchange standard and because till August 1914, Britain was on gold standard, this standard of India was as good as gold exchange standard. This particular form of currency standard, the product of circumstantial developments rather than of deliberate legislative enactment, has given a foundation to India's monetary system, for since then, India never reverted to the full-fledged silver or gold standards, but remained on some kind of exchange standard or other. While there have been many variations in the actual rate of exchange with the United Kingdom, this principle of exchange standard remained unaltered.

From 1925 to 1931, during which period Britain reverted to gold, annulling the suspension of gold standard in force during the war and immediate post-war period, this standard of India again became virtually gold standard, and in 1927 the rupee was linked to sterling at the rate of 1s. 6d. In September, 1931, the Indian standard again became sterling exchange standard and in 1934 when the Reserve Bank of India Act was passed, the Central Bank was charged with the responsibility of maintaining the standard at the then existing rate of 1s. 6d. To maintain the exchange rate is one of the prime responsibilities of the Reserve Bank. The monetary provisions envisaged by the Reserve Bank of India Act are based on the "existing monetary system." And the chief feature of the existing monetary system is that it is a sterling exchange standard. Sections 40 and 41 of the Reserve Bank of India Act make it obligatory on the Bank to maintain the standard.

"The Bank shall sell, to any person who makes a demand in that behalf at its office in Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras or Rangoon and pays the purchase price in legal tender currency, sterling for immediate delivery in London, at a rate not below one shilling and five pence, and forty-nine sixty-fourths of a penny for a rupee."

Provided that no person shall be entitled to demand to buy an amount of sterling less than £10,000.

Preamble to the Reserve Bank of India Act 1934.

The Bank shall buy, from any person who makes a demand in that behalf at its office in Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras or Rangoon, sterling for immediate delivery in London, at a rate not higher than one shilling and six pence and three-sixteenth of a penny for a rupee:

Provided that no person shall be entitled to demand to sell an amount of sterling less than £10,000"

What was the purpose in introducing this exchange standard? An exchange standard denotes economic association with, if not subservience to another country, or alternatively it shows the desire to attach one's currency to another, regarded stronger, in international transactions. The list of countries:—Holland, India, the Philippines, Mexico, Panama, Thailand, Indo-China, the Straits Settlement, China, Greece, Austria, Russia, Argentina—which for long or shorter periods were on one kind of Exchange standard or another is not very helpful to dispel the notion that it is a subordinate standard. When Exchange standard was introduced in India, attempts were made, without much success, one should say, to convince public opinion that its introduction did not smack of economic dependence.

The one purpose Exchange standard served in India was giving the rupee a fixed value in terms of sterling, thus facilitating India's international trade payments, in and through sterling. This fixed relationship was of advantage to India only in so far as the sterling was stronger than the rupee, which is more assumed than proven, if only because there was no opportunity for proving it. During the major part of India's currency history, especially in the latter period, the link was there. And because of the link it was not possible to measure how the currencies would have reacted without the link. This fact has been forgotten in most of our currency history. India's position in the British Empire and the working of the Ottawa Trade Agreement, by which trade was specially diverted through Empire channel, an Exchange standard might have had its advantages. This fact is reinforced by the Dominions also adopting Exchange standard in the general scheme of reintroduction of gold standard in the countries of the British Empire in or about 1925.

The inclusion of sterling in the Central Bank currency reserves of all the Dominions also points to the same fact. South Africa, which possessed a Central Bank since 1921, Australia since 1924, New Zealand since 1934, Canada since 1935, and Irish Free State (now Eire) since 1942, and India since 1935—all keep certain, though varying proportion of their Central Bank reserves in sterling exchange. This proportion was larger than even gold.

The following table gives the proportion:—

Table showing the sterling reserves of the Central Bank of the Dominions and India.

	South Africa (March 31st)	Australia (June)	Canada (End of)	New Zealand (March 31st)	India (Annual average)
	p.c.	p.c.	p.c.	p.c.	p.c.
1935	15.6	28.1	1.4	80.8	32.4
1936	11.0	28.3	2.5	83.8	34.6
1937	12.7	27.3	3.8	59.5	37.0
1938	14.7	27.1	7.0	60.7	31.4
1939	16.5	27.7	12.2	15.1	34.0
1940	14.2		6.1	31.9	47.6
1941	3.3		23.8	89.6	60.7

N.B. In the case of Australia, New Zealand and India the figures are for sterling exchange; in the case of South Africa, the figures are for Foreign Ex-

change, but there is reason to believe that a substantial part of it is sterling exchange; in the case of Canada, however, the figures are jointly for sterling and dollar exchanges.

The Indian figures, on detailed examination show the following relationship with gold. The Statutory provisions regarding gold and sterling are:—

"The assets of the Issue Department shall consist of gold coin, gold bullion, sterling securities, rupee coin and rupee securities to such aggregate amount as is not less than the total of the liabilities of the Issue Department as hereinafter defined."

"Of the total amount of the assets, not less than two-fifths shall consist of gold coin, gold bullion or sterling securities:—"

"Provided that the amount of gold coin and gold bullion shall not at any time be less than forty crores of rupees in value . . ."

The provisions regarding gold are two-fold: (1) that it should not be less than Rs. 40 crores in value; (2) that not less than seventeen-twentieths shall be held in British India. The provision regarding sterling securities is that these plus gold shall not at any time fall below two-fifths of the assets.

Barring the extraordinary provisions for lowering the reserve ratio with the previous consent of the Governor-General in Council, and on payment of tax, the above may be taken as the ordinary provisions, and the Reserve Bank, so far, in its working in the last ten years, has not sought relief under the extraordinary provisions.

The table below illustrates the position of gold and sterling securities in the currency reserves of the Reserve Bank during 1935-1944:—

(In crores of Rupees)

Year	Gold	Sterling securities
1935-36	44.4	62.1
1936-37	44.4	69.9
1937-38	44.4	79.9
1938-39	44.4	68.8
1939-40	44.4	78.3
1940-41	44.4	129.9
1941-42	44.4	165.4
1942-43	44.4	319.1

Gold in the currency reserves has remained stationary during the entire period, while sterling securities fluctuated, and since 1940 have increased rapidly. The increase has continued in 1944, though it is not shown in the above table.

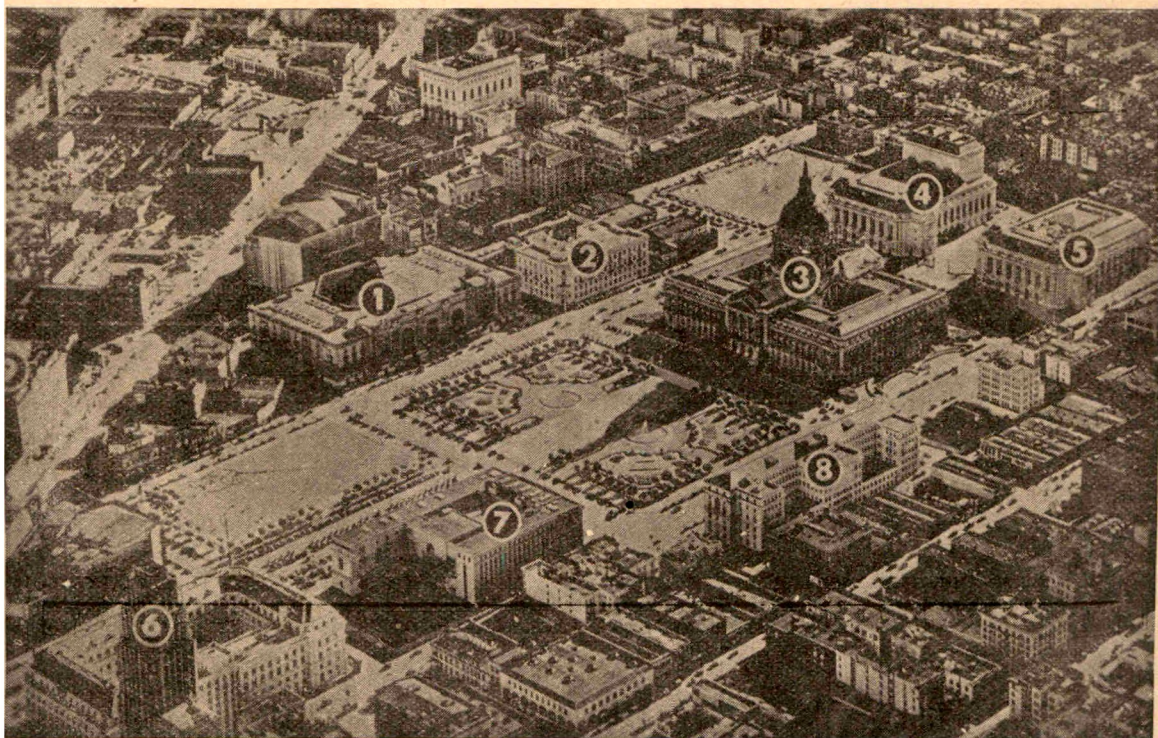
The entire expression of the Indian currency has been backed by a corresponding increase in sterling securities and rupee securities of the Government of India in the currency reserves of the Reserve Bank. Gold, as the previous table indicates, remained stationary, and rupee coin, as the table below shows, declined:—

1. Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934, Section 33.

2. Section 33, sub-section 5. At present all gold is held in British India.



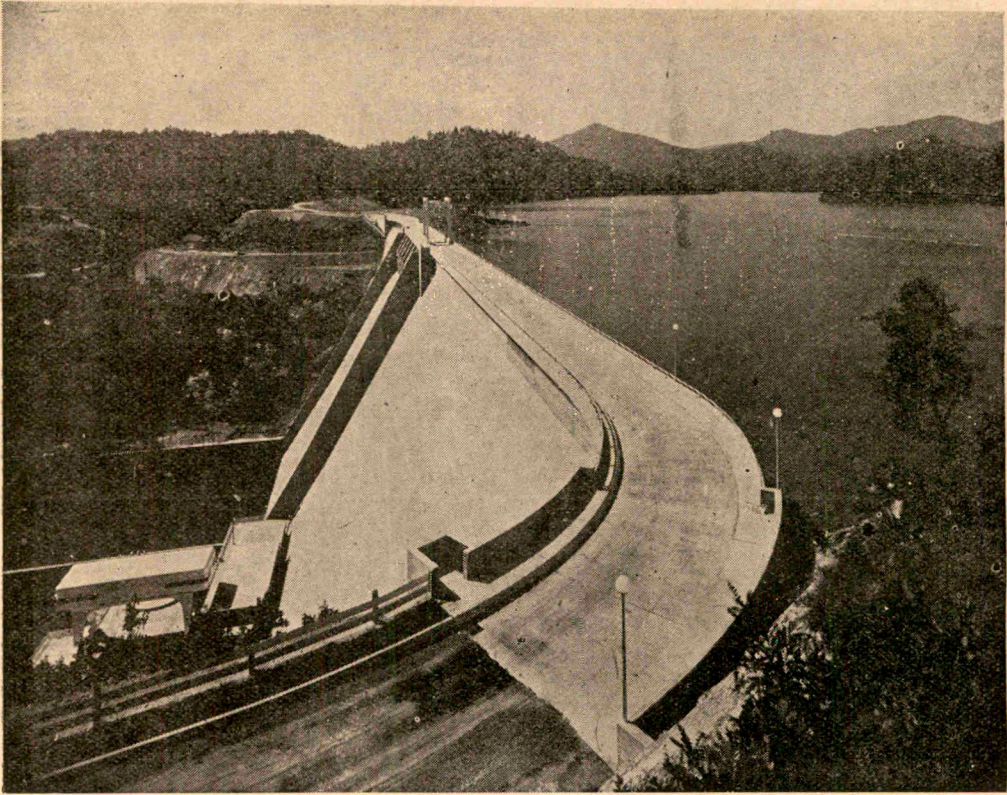
U. S. airborne troops land east of the Rhine to take part in the invasion of Germany



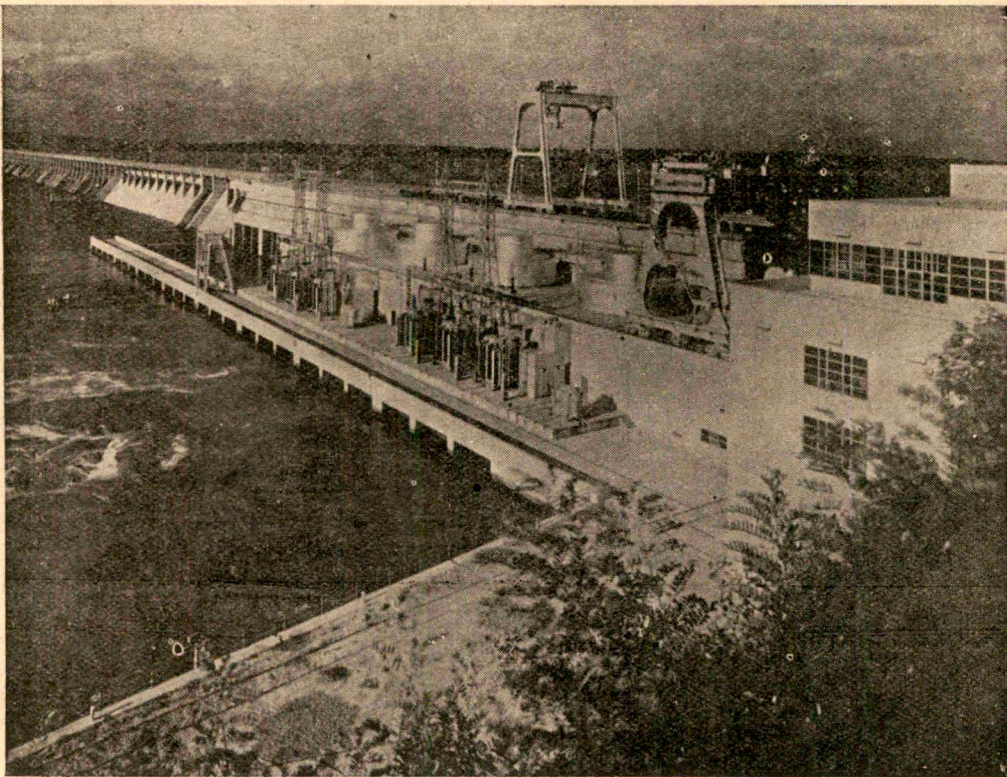
San Francisco Civic Centre. Site of United Nations Conference which opened on 25th April

Courtesy : USOWI

THE TENNESSEE VALLEY



Hiwassee Dam, 1287 ft. long and 307 ft. high



Wheeler Dam, 1 mile and 1020 ft. long, and 72 ft. high

Courtesy: USOWI

(In crores of rupees)

Year	Rupee coin	Rupee securities
1935-36	55.1	29.5
1936-37	64.0	23.6
1937-38	60.2	27.2
1938-39	67.1	32.1
1939-40	67.5	37.4
1940-41	35.8	48.5
1941-42	35.2	75.5
1942-43	22.3	139.3

Of the four items in the currency reserves, one having remained stationary and the other decreased, the entire burden of expansion, in fact, more than that, fell on the remaining two. Of the two latter items the greater proportion was borne by sterling securities.

The pressure and the continuance of such a large volume of sterling in the currency reserves cannot be contemplated apart from the future position of sterling among the currencies of the world. A large part of this base on which the extra issue has been built up would, of course, be liquidated in the post deflationary drive. While experts are not unanimous on the best means of deflating, and while some of the devices suggested are not only unorthodox but extremely unpractical, the fact that deflation will come in the wake of peace, if not earlier, cannot be doubted. It is not possible to forecast where our currency level will stand, say, 12 months after the signing of the peace, but it is extremely unlikely that it will go back to the pre-war level, and consequently, it is equally unlikely, that the sterling securities and rupee securities will go back to their former levels. If not, what should be the relation between the two? Should they be maintained in their former proportions? I would answer with a definite no.

The *raison d'être* of foreign currency in the Central Bank reserves of any country is, as already mentioned, (1) the belief that foreign currency is stronger than the domestic currency, and (2) the facilities of international trade payments.

In the post-war India, unless it is shown that the trade with Britain will remain at pre-war level relative to other countries, and that the payment for Indian trade is better made in sterling, whichever be the countries India trades with, liquidation of some part of the sterling can only be an advantage. It can be converted either with gold or into rupee securities, or alternatively into dollar, which may turn out to be the strongest currency of the three. Conversion in gold at the moment may be a disadvantage on account of the high price of gold. But as England has announced her decision not to go back to gold standard for some time, the sterling and gold can hardly equal till that event. So, if the principle of conversion is accepted, the time of conversion is one depending only on the market prices. Conversion into dollar will require an amendment of the Reserve Bank of India Act. It may be pointed out in this connection that the Canadian Central Bank has the statutory provisions for keeping part of the currency assets in dollars. Conversion into rupee securities also requires, as the figures stand at present, a modification of the Act. But the Reserve Bank of India Act has already been amended thrice; and if necessary, further amendments, can be made. The resolutions of the Bretton-Woods Conference—they have not been ratified by all the countries concerned—do not stand in the way.

Assuming for a moment the conversion into gold is accepted in principle, the question might be asked, why there should not be larger quantities of gold in the currency reserves of the Reserve Bank? The suggestion is made with a view to support the ultimate introduction of gold standard in India.

THE STORY OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY

By KAMALESH RAY

'TVA' has now come to stand as the symbol for ideal organisation for the regional development of a country. TVA is the abbreviation for the Tennessee Valley Authority, an autonomous body under the Congress, created by the U. S. Government in 1933, to develop the country's natural resources over a region 41,000 sq. miles in area in the south-east part of the U.S.A.

The creation of the TVA was a clear policy under President Roosevelt's New Deal to cope with the miserable economic depression of the period. The fundamental principle of the scheme lies in increasing the national wealth by the planned development of the natural and industrial resources of the country and finding employment for the people in the productive work.

In his message President Roosevelt explained the need of river planning and the development of hydro-electric power as the basis of the Nation's economic welfare. The President then suggested "legislation to create a Tennessee Valley Authority—a corporation clothed with the power of government but possessed of the flexibility and initiative of a private enterprise.

It should be charged with the broadest duty of planning for the proper use, conservation, and development of the natural resources of the Tennessee River drainage basin and its adjoining territory for the general social and economic welfare of the Nation. This authority should also be clothed with the necessary power to carry these plans into effect."

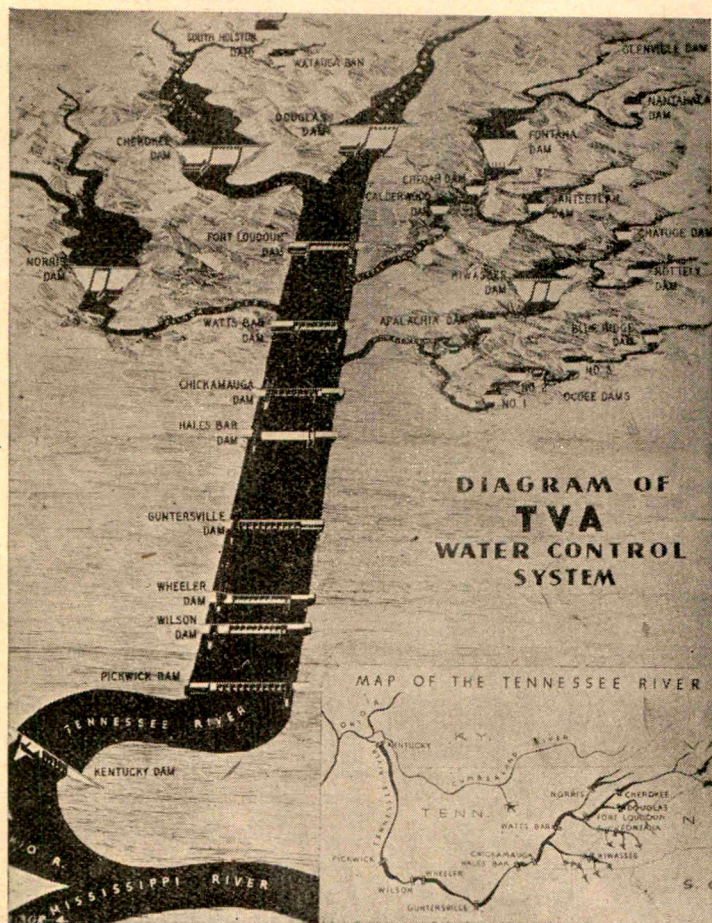
Under the directions from the President, the Congress created the TVA with the objectives "to improve the navigability, to provide for the flood control of the Tennessee River, to provide for reforestation and the proper use of marginal lands in the Tennessee Valley; to provide for agricultural and industrial development of the said valley . . ." The Act became effective on 18th May, 1933.

The creation of a body like the TVA had to face great opposition. The Tennessee River flows through seven States: Tennessee, Mississippi, Kentucky, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina and Virginia. The implication of the great idea was not, at the beginning, felt by the local authorities and they suspected that the creation of TVA would mean intrusion into their

jurisdictions and rights. There were also other interested parties, who opposed the idea. For example, the coal miners thought that the development of water-power would lessen the sale of coal although it actually proved just the otherwise.

In order, therefore, to avert an irreparable disaster to a region which is as large as half the size of Bengal, a way round the Constitution had to be found, and to secure a charter for its work of economic reconstruction the TVA had to express its object somewhat indirectly. There are certain subjects of Federal jurisdiction, and others of the individual States. "In contrast with land

Tennessee river was, the President perceived, not to be achieved by any piecemeal work and would be possible only by holding off the monsoon downpours in a number of large reservoir dams and releasing them with regulated flow throughout the year. To do this, again, the need for land management, control of soil erosion, etc. cannot escape consideration. Thus the entire problem of the river basin was brought within the jurisdiction of the TVA. And the scope and jurisdiction of the Authority to develop the valley has been greatly enlarged by the State Policy and suitable legislations.



A series of dams controlling the Tennessee River and its tributaries

reclamation on State territory, river and flood-control, the benefits from which are not limited by State boundaries, are matters in which the Federal authority can intervene. The TVA was therefore able to obtain a charter to develop the Tennessee River for navigation (a Federal item), but not to stop the erosion which was eating into the vitals of the whole Tennessee Valley. The principal function of the TVA is to maintain a permanent navigable channel nine feet deep in the Tennessee River under all conditions of flow."

A flashy river like the Tennessee would overtop the banks every year to flood the lands and towns only to leave them in drought for the major part of the year. 'To maintain a permanent navigable channel' in the

Under this new policy, the opportunity of creating wealth for the people from the resources of this valley was to be faced as a single problem. "To integrate the many parts of that problem into a unified whole was to be the responsibility of one agency. The Tennessee Valley's resources were not to be dissected into separate bits that would fit into the jurisdictional pigeon-holes into which the institutionalities of government had by custom become divided."

In the case of the TVA, Congress and the President determined that for the development of resources the regionalism should be based upon natural units; this region is described in the language of the 1933 enactment as "the Tennessee River drainage basin and . . . such adjoining territory as may be related to or materially affected by the development consequent to this Act . . ." According to Mr. Lillenthal, Chairman of the TVA, the jurisdiction may be extended, on more recent ideas, as far as the TVA hydro-electric power can be made available. Proposal has also been made in the Congress to include the Cumberland River basin under the responsibility of the TVA, when the war is over.

The TVA venture was a great national experiment. Its success has not only been an achievement in itself, but has come to represent the workable ideal of regional planning to which the attention of all responsible governments of the world has been focussed.

This sort of regionalism would strengthen, not divide, the nation. "In many matters of detail, the TVA demonstrates the contrast between selfish sectionalism and national regionalism."

THE ACHIEVEMENTS IN TWELVE YEARS

The 41,000 sq. miles of the Tennessee River drainage basin was, before the creation of the TVA, an unproductive tract,—bare, denuded and barren, which remained under the constant threat of catastrophic floods and systematic drought (Readers would recall our Damodar River which is a smaller replica of the Tennessee River). People of the valley were poorer and their life more strenuous compared with the average

American people. The subsoil contained vast mineral resources but were not excavated properly.

In course of these twelve years of TVA's work to develop the resources of the valley, the per capita income of the valley's people has increased 73 per cent over the level of 1933, while the general level of the country as a whole has increased only 56 per cent.

The twenty-one dams which have been put across the main river and its tributaries have created colossal chains of artificial lakes which control the annual floods and generate electricity. Of these, sixteen new dams have been designed and constructed during these years, and five others which were already constructed by the Government and private agencies have been improved upon. Some of the TVA dams are among the largest in the world.

The saving from the recurring flood damage in the valley is estimated at more than a million dollars a year.

The TVA developed 700 million units of hydro-electricity in 1938 but the production increased to 3,600 million units in 1940, and now it is generating 12,000 million units of electricity a year. The direct return from the sale of the hydro-electricity in the fiscal year 1942-43 was more than 31,500,000 dollars, of which over 13,000,000 dollars was the surplus revenue over the operating expenses, tax payment and depreciation. The cheap electricity has evolved new industries and increased home comforts. Even the operation of the second grade minerals have become economically profitable due to the cheap electricity. The maintenance of year-round navigation has increased easy transportation of commodities at reduced freights. This has greatly facilitated trade and commerce of the region. Thus the congestion and monopoly of railways have been brought down to a minimum. The storage waters have aided water supply in the towns, have greatly improved fishery and provided beautiful recreation centres on and around the artificial lakes.

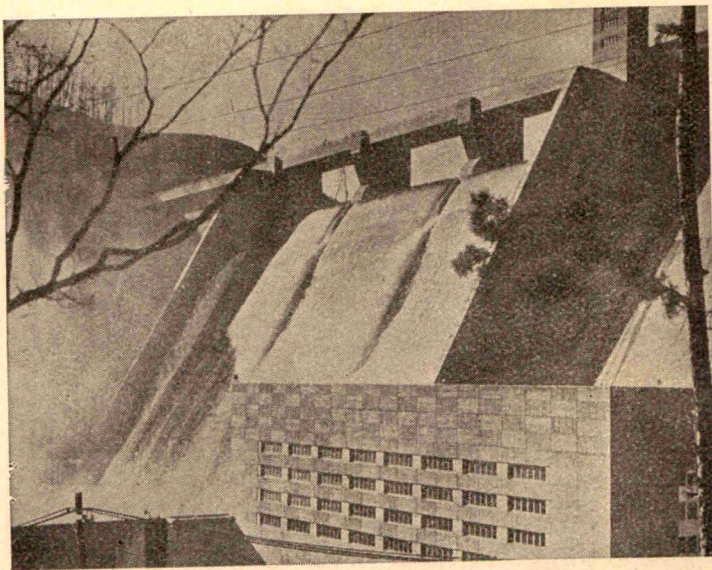
Lands have been protected from erosion through reforestation and application of other engineering methods. Extensive use has been made of the phosphate fertilisers manufactured by the use of the cheap electricity. Demonstration farms have been lavishly set up to train up the people in scientific agriculture.

CORE OF THE WORK AND THE ORGANISATION

The core of the entire work of the TVA lies in the conservation and management of the water resources of the river basin. Man has only recently caught the idea of utilising the Nature's great water cycle—which flows through river that runs down to the sea, then rises up into clouds and returns again to the river. The cycle is eternal, the potentialities are enormous.

The conservation of water resources is an essential step towards flood control, electrification for industries, irrigation, water supply for general and industrial uses, navigation for trade and commerce and enhancement of fisheries.

From the nature of the duty which the TVA has to discharge to the Congress, it is easy to see that the organisation is essentially of a wide technical character. The major divisions consist of groups of structural engineers, geologists, power engineers, agriculturists, soil experts, chemical engineers, statisticians, medical authorities, educationists and so forth. The planners



Norris Dam, 1860 ft. long and 265 ft. high creating beautiful lakes covering more than 60 sq. miles of hillside

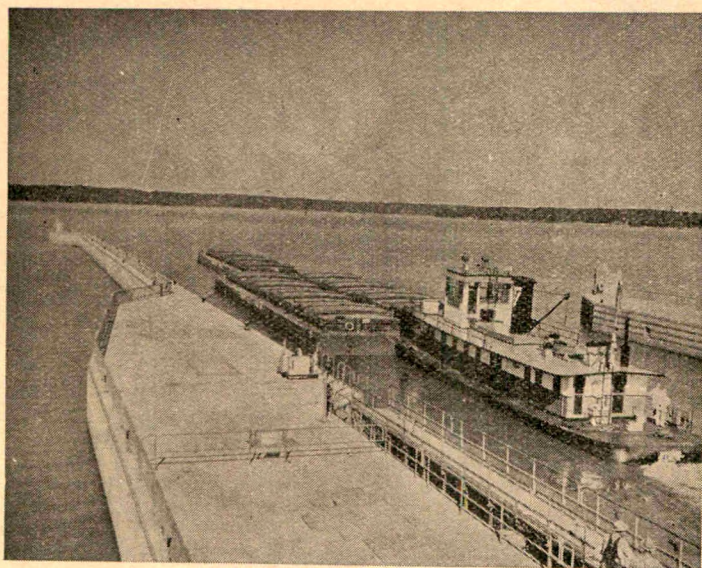
must have the widest outlook, greatest foresight, noblest ideals so that the big project does not reduce to a usual profiteering concern of the vested interests.

According to its Annual Report of 1941, the TVA organisation consists of 19 departments which are combined into five functionally related programme groups, viz., (1) the Management Service Council, (2) Water Control in the River Channel, (3) Water Control on the Land, (4) Power, and (5) Regional Planning Council. The nineteen departments under the five councils are as follows: (1) The Management Service Council has under it six departments viz., Personnel Department, Finance, Legal Department, Materials Dept., Land Acquisition, and Office Service Dept., (2) Under the council of Water Control in the River Channel have the three departments—Water Control Planning, Design, and Construction Departments, (3) Under the Power Council have three departments of Power Utilization, Power Engineering and Construction, and the Power Operations Dept., (4) For the Council of the Water Control on the Land the three departments are those of Agricultural Relations, Forestry Relation and Chemical Engineering, (5) Then under the Regional Planning Council they have the four departments of Regional Studies, Health and Safety, Commerce and the Reservoir Property Management.

TVA represents a large group of technically trained personnel (numbering some 40,000 in 1942), and the selections are based not on provincial, political or religious basis but on technical skill and efficiency. Politics is not allowed to enter into the organisation. Dr. Lilienthal narrates that by an unusual provision Congress expressly excluded political consideration in all

such appointments: "No political test or consideration," the Congress declared, "shall be permitted or given consideration but all such appointments and promotions shall be given and made on the basis of merit and efficiency."

The organisation is fully authorised on a democratic basis to develop the country's resources for the common good of the people. It encourages private enterprise and initiative consistent with the common purpose. Within the limits and objectives set by the Act and the policies of the Board, every department is both a planning and an action unit. To encourage initiative, technicians, professional people and administrators are allowed maximum latitude of original expression."



Navigation lock to take boats and steamers from one reservoir to another across a dam

THE GREAT NATIONAL INVESTMENT AND THE RETURN

TVA is a great plan, and has it come out of air? It is the outcome of a great national investment—investment in finance, investment in experts, investment in ideals.

Till the fiscal year ending on June 30, 1943, TVA had investments totalling 475 million dollars or 169 crores of rupees, averaging about 16 crores of rupees a year. By the end of 1944, the total expenditure has been in the neighbourhood of 700 million dollars.

Of the above amount approximately 65 per cent or 450 million dollars represents the investment on electric power generation and distribution, 15 per cent on navigation and 20 per cent on flood control. "By combining these three functions in single structures that serve all three purposes, so that cost common to all three may be shared, great economies were produced."

At the beginning, from 1933 to 1937, the TVA was not a going power concern. But since then the power sale has been well established and till June 1944 the total net income from the power since the beginning of the TVA in 1933, has been well over 40 million

dollars. In the year 1942-43 alone the net surplus revenue out of the power sale was over 13 million dollars or nearly 4½ crores of rupees. The production of electricity is not only an industry in itself but is a parent industry to many others. Further, "it was largely because of power from this river that in 1943 America was able to build huge fleets of bombers to send over Europe and South Pacific."

The out-turn from the power investment is direct and obtained in dollars. But the returns from other investments, such as flood control, navigation, forestry, demonstration farms, mapping, industrial research, etc. cannot be shown up on the 'balance sheet'. "The cost of such development work appears on TVA's books as a net expense; but the benefits appear on the balance

sheet of the region and the nation. . . . Such expenditures would be repaid to the tax-payers not directly in dollars but indirectly in benefits."

In spite of the 'indirectness' we can estimate the savings from annual flood damage as over a million dollars, and the direct stimulus that this channel and flood protection have provided to the growth of private business has been very great. The river transports have increased to 161 million ton-miles in 1942, compared with 32 million ton-miles in 1933. The value of the benefits justifies the investment allocable to navigation and flood control, which will be about 250 million dollars and an annual operating cost, including depreciation, of about 3 million dollars.

The net cost of land restoration till 1943 was 3,344,000 dollars including the costs of production of fertilisers and establishment of demonstration farms in the Tennessee Valley and in twenty-one other States. TVA produced 5,144,484 tons of phosphate fertilisers in 1942, which may be

compared with 2,984,549 tons produced by private industries in 1934.

The number of personnel engaged in the TVA organisation was about 14,000 in 1940, 22,500 in 1941 and 40,000 in 1942. They include technical men and administrators—a colossal team of workers, working harmoniously for the common purpose of the people and the nation.

To see the return out of these huge investments we must not only look at the balance sheet but must also "look at the valley, appraise what the expenditure of these funds has done in increasing the productivity of the region and the nation. You must look at the effect of the growing strength and new vitality of the valley on the total strength of the whole country in war and peace. One has to consider what it is worth to the country to provide opportunity to thousands of men and women in the valley—farmers, businessmen engaged in new enterprises, workers in new factories. Whether the overall results in this region are worth what they have cost is something the citizen must answer for himself as a matter not of arithmetic but of the highest public policy."

THE TVA-SPIRIT

The 'TVA' slogan is spreading widely : it is a good sign. But people must realise the true spirit of the TVA, and it would be well for the organisers, thinkers and planners to take special note of Mr. Lilienthal's warning that "references to TVA in connection with such (planning) proposals are inaccurate and misleading unless they do in fact adopt the TVA idea in its essentials,

- a federal autonomous agency, with authority to make its decision in the region
- responsibility to deal with resources, as a unified whole, clearly fixed in the regional agency, not divided among several centralised federal agencies
- a policy, fixed by law, that the federal regional agency work co-operatively with and through local and state agencies.

The entire TVA experiment makes it clear that no proposal for regional resources development may be described as a kind of "TVA" unless it embodies these fundamentals, which are clearly written into the TVA Act and have been very heart and spirit of ten years of transforming that into action." (*TVA-Democracy on the March*, David E. Lilienthal).

The whole planning is a human planning and that in a democratic way. "Effective planners must understand and believe in people. The average man is constantly in the mind of the effective planning expert. Planners, whether they are technicians or administrators, must recognise that they are not dealing with philosophical abstractions, or mere statistics or engineering data or legal principles, and that planning is not an end in itself."

Again, who are these effective planners in TVA? They are not any sort of chosen people, nor do the plans drop from some higher levels. The planners are experts in their respective fields and "every department of the TVA is both a planning and an action unit." Planning and execution go hand in hand. They are inseparable, they are lively and dynamic. They mould and modify according to experience and ideas. There can have no 'perfect plan' to start with : it should only be started with a clear policy and certain fundamental equipments. Once started on a genuine

policy and the fundamentals there is nothing to prevent the success.

The other reason for TVA's success in such a short period is due to its freedom from bureaucracy and red-tapism. The organisation is not only given the responsibility but has also been equipped with necessary power to deal with its own affairs straightway,—with the basic policy and objectives in vision. An English tourist, experienced in public affairs, remarked, "The TVA Directors have done all they can to delegate responsibility right down through the staff, and to cut out Civil Service red tape and the spirit of bureaucracy. The whole staff is encouraged to take responsibility, and not to worry if they make mistakes. The Directors have managed, I think, to get a spirit of constructive initiative throughout the staff as good as anything in the best private businesses."



(Left to right) : David E. Lilienthal, Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority; Frank Coan of the U. S. State Department; and the Indian scientists, Sir Jnan Chandra Ghosh; Dr. S. K. Mitra; Dr. J. N. Mukherji; Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar; and Dr. Meghnad Saha.

TVA has engaged the attention of many thinkers and governments all over the world. In fact the TVA has now become a training ground for a large number of foreign technicians and planners. But one must remember that to accept the true TVA model one should be prepared to shake off many long-standing and deep-rooted false ideas that are no longer tenable, as proved by the TVA.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NALANDA—NOW AND THEN

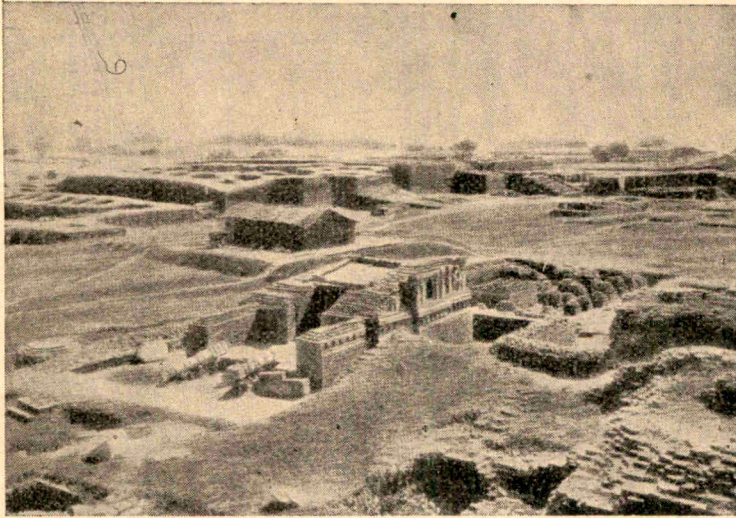
By AVINASH K. SRIVASTAVA

AMIDST the bustle and din of the Railway station the Dehra Express steamed in as usual. A party of thirteen post-graduate students of Lucknow, headed by their professor Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, boarded the train, and left the city of gardens for isolated places like Sarnath, Nalanda and Rajgir, where, amidst the mule grandeur of the place, history is excavated afresh and

every bit of stone or stucco, mud or metal recounts the tale of yore.

After visiting Sarnath and Patna we left for Nalanda which lies close to the village of Bargaon, 55 miles south-east of Patna and 7 miles north of Rajgir. The site of this ancient Buddhist establishment is at a distance of about two miles from the Nalanda station on

the Bakhtiarpur-Bihar Light Railway. When we arrived there the paler shadow had strewn its mantle over the ancient ruins and "the twilight grey had in her sober livery all things clad." After dumping down our luggage hurriedly in the tents and getting a hasty wash, we, like Strabo, went to the exact site where the *almu* relic was assigned its original name. According to the



General view of Monasteries, Nalanda

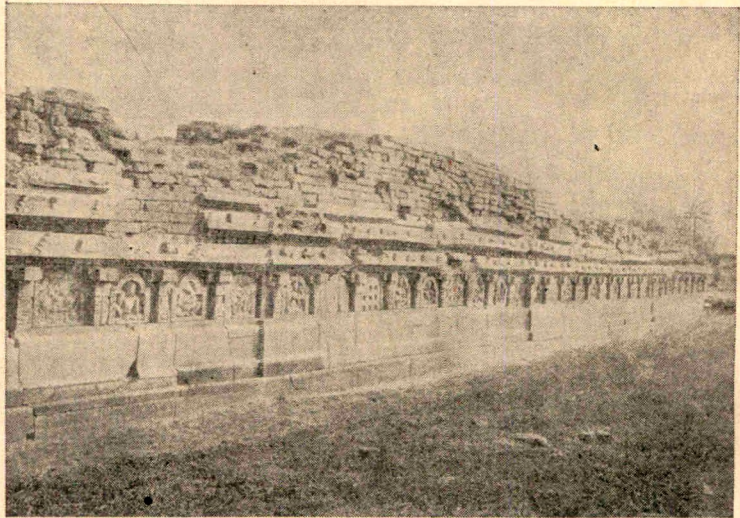
Courtesy : The Archaeological Survey of India

mater of oriental scholars, such as Nagarjuna, Dignaga, Silabhadra and Yuan Chwang, once so magnificently stood. Our curiosity was at once aroused. We recalled the account of the first days of Schliemann's discoveries when his new light on Troy and Mycenae had taken even Gladstone's mind from his most pressing public cares. Archaeology appeared before us in her newest garb. 'Man is always curious about man,' and we felt as if we had 'ransacked and standardized' the whole world and now it was just by ressurecting the past that we were rebuilding nations and learning about peoples different from us.

Once Nalanda was an enchanted place whose beauty baffled the visitors. With their curious architecture, quaint devices and rich tracery the *Chaityas*, the towering turrets and the *Viharas* of Nalanda looked simply grand. But now there is nothing save a faint shadow of its past glory and splendour. Now it is a forlorn place full of heaps and mounds, haunted by beasts and birds; then it was a seat of learning and culture, known far and wide. The present site is amidst long stretches of fields interspersed with mango trees. It is also punctuated with massive mounds which look like tiny hills and stand in splendid isolation.

It was these mounds which first attracted General

Cunningham's attention in 1861. He carried on some superficial excavations and identified the site with Nalanda. Later, in the year 1915, regular work of excavating the site was undertaken and with the help of Yuan Chwang's account every monastery, temple or relic was assigned its original name. According to the Archaeological Survey of India Report, the site extends some 1,600 feet north-south by some 800 feet east-west and comprises a long range of monasteries on the east side, and a corresponding range of *Stupas* on the west, with a couple of monasteries to bound the area on the south. Between the ranges of monasteries and *Stupas* runs the central approach avenue from the north. Yet the Medieval Nalanda, when it was at the zenith of its prosperity and popularity, extended far beyond the limits of the site so far acquired for excavation. The ruins excavated here are of various kinds. Besides monasteries and shrines, there are other unusual remains which make a very interesting and instructive study. These include sculptures, inscriptions, images, clay seals, terracottas, pottery, metal objects, votive tablets, inscribed bricks



Stone Temple, Site No. 2, Nalanda

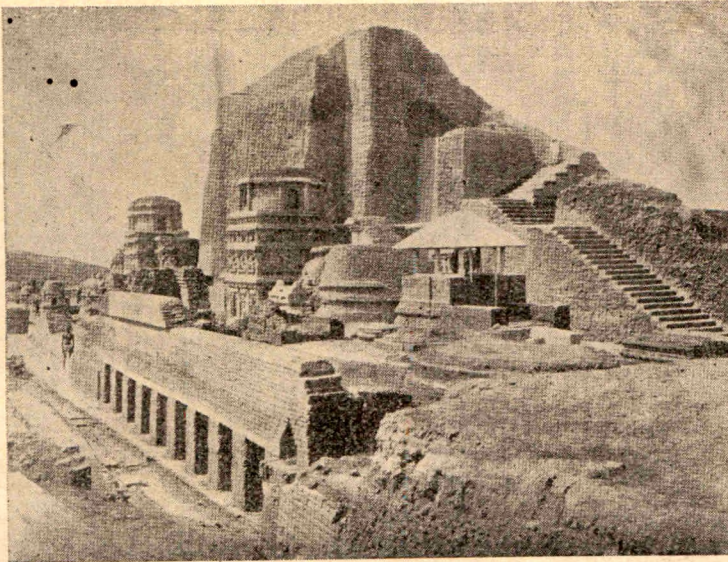
Courtesy : The Archaeological Survey of India

and architectural specimens, such as niches, thick and thickly plastered walls, drains, staircases, wells, furnaces and ovens.

As far as buildings (called monasteries) are concerned precisely 11 have been excavated, where almost 9 successive levels are visible. A brick paving was found on the 9th level, a wall on the 8th, a raised platform on the 7th and quadrangles on the other 4

levels. Practically nothing has been revealed which may suggest the occupation of the site before the Guptas. The remains mostly overlap one another and it appears that each time the buildings were constructed,

the three remaining walls. The pilasters intervening between the panels are decorated with pot-and-foilage design and are surmounted with arches, some of them being pointed.' An interesting variety of scenes are



General view of Main Stupa, Site No. 3, Nalanda

Courtesy : The Archaeological Survey of India

instead of on fresh foundations, they were built over the debris of those of the previous period when they had fallen down. The most important and outstanding structural constructions excavated are the Main Stupa Site No. 1, Stone Temple Site No. 2, and the Monastery Sites No. 1, 1A and 6.

The Main Stupa standing on the southern extremity of the row of temples is at once the largest and the most imposing structure. It stands in the middle of a courtyard surrounded by many small votive Stupas built twice or even thrice over the other on the same spot. The present mound is the result of seven successive accumulations. Its chief characteristics are three different staircases leading to the topmost level and giving a beautiful view of the ancient lakes and the village Bargaon, and the votive stupas decorated with rows of niches containing beautifully modelled stucco figures of the Buddha, Avalokitesvara, etc., and sometimes having corner towers and bricks inscribed with sacred Buddhist texts.

To the north-east of monastery Site No. 7 is the ruined Stone Temple specially interesting for its dado of 211 sculptured panels over the moulded plinth. 'These panels are symmetrically arranged, 20 appearing on each side of the main entrance, and 57 in each of

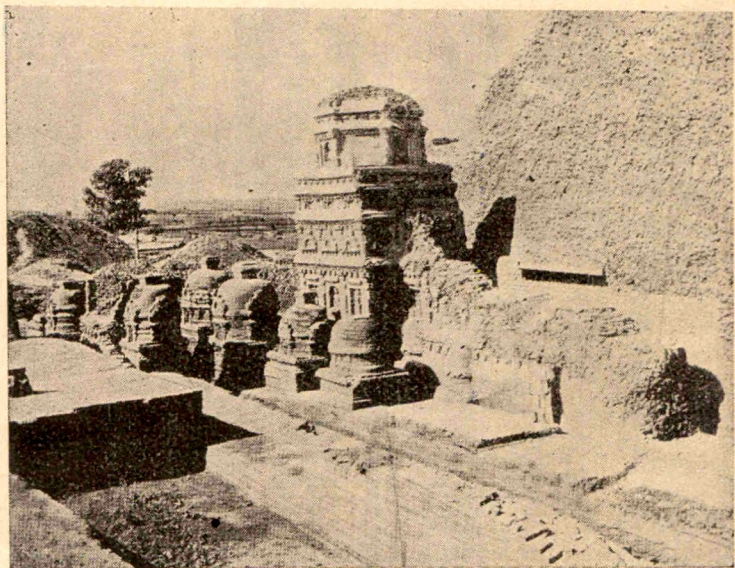
and the Buddha. The former met Gṛhā here and spent as many as 14 rainy seasons (Chau-masas). The latter also stayed here with his favourite disciple Ananda at the Pavarika mango grove.

Yuan Chwang has mentioned two theories as to the

depicted on them, such as, some Brahminical deities. *Jataka* scenes, *Kinnaras* and human beings in various attitudes. "Many are occupied," says Dr. Spooner of these panels, "with merely decorative devices some of which are of extreme beauty and fascination."

As regards monasteries they are chiefly important inasmuch as they attest to the great ability of the engineers of those days. These huge buildings are scientific in their construction, symmetrical in form and almost modern in design. Besides, various kinds of historical finds were also found in them.

Such massive constructions together with the historical finds at Nalanda suggest the greatness of the place. It has a very remote history no doubt, but in the pre-Christian era, before the rise of the Mahayana, it was necessarily a monastic establishment and not an educational one. It is occasionally mentioned in the Pali texts. Nalanda is imbued with the holy memories of Mahavira



Corner Tower and Votive Stupas attached to the Main Stupa, Nalanda

Courtesy : The Archaeological Survey of India

origin of its name. But one of them is merely legendary or traditional and the other mythical or fanciful. The probable explanation of the origin of its name is, as given by Dr. Hirananda Shastri, that the place abounds (even now) with lotuses (*Nala* in Sanskrit means lotus-stalk) and it might have been named so because it yielded lotus flowers.

The main sources of the history of Nalanda are the accounts left by the Chinese travellers Yuan Chwang and I-Tsing, and by the Tibetan Taranath, and such historical finds as Nalanda Stone Inscription of the Reign of Yasovarmadeva, copper-plate of Devapala, Kumargupta's coin found at Nalanda, etc.



Bust of female figure (Stone, Mediaeval)
Nalanda

Courtesy : The Archaeological Survey of India

The real founder of Nalanda Vihara proper was Asoka who erected a temple here and gave offerings to the *Chaitya* of Sariputra who had attained *nirvana* here with 80,000 *arhats*. Later Suvishnu, a Brahman contemporary of Nagarjuna, also established 108 temples here so that the Abhidharma of the Mahayana might not decline. The great Nalanda University had its inception in these *viharas*. In the 2nd and the 3rd centuries of the Christian era a reformation, in the shape of *Sunyavada* (Nihilism) and the like, sprang up in the Buddhist religious and philosophical doctrines, and the pursuit of secular knowledge, which was so repugnant to the spirit of Buddhism, became an ideal of the monasteries. Keay's emphatic remark on this point is significant. He says: "Buddhist institutions did become to some extent places of general learning." I-Tsing also corroborates it when he distinguishes between the two kinds of persons residing at the monasteries, one called 'children' (*manavaka*) and the other 'students' (*Brahmacharin*). In this way by the on-coming wave of reforms

the Buddhist monasteries, as also Nalanda, were transformed, like the monasteries of Medieval Europe, into Temples of Learning. Besides this general fact, Nalanda had some other advantages as well which made it flourish and prosper as a great seat of learning. These are, its vicinity to the Magadhan capital and the royal patronage that it received almost in succession for a long time.

Nagarjuna, the famous Mahayana philosopher and chemist, and Aryadeva, a philosopher of the Madhyamika school of Buddhism (c. 100 A.D.), were the forerunners among those who took educational interest at Nalanda. They studied and took part in many discussions at this place.

After this, Fa-hien who visited India during 405-411 A.D. makes practically no mention of Nalanda and we are in the dark about its history during the intervening period. After Fa-hien a continuous history of the place and the University is available till it was destroyed by Mahomedan invaders.

Kumargupta I (A.D. 415-455) of the Imperial Guptas (mentioned as Sakraditya by Yuan Chwang and I-Tsing) selected 'by augury a lucky spot' and built here a *Sangharama*, meaning a 'monastic school,' almost similar to those found in Bologna and Paris in the Medieval Europe. This was the foundation of the Nalanda University which in successive generations came to be patronised by Budhagupta, Tathagatagupta, Baladityaraja and Vajra, identified with the later Guptas, the successors of Kumargupta I.

After the Guptas Harshavardhana of Kanauj (A.D. 606-647) patronised the Nalanda University and besides conferring on it other great benefits he built round the edifices an encasing of high wall with one gate.

Lastly, besides the Stone Inscription of Yasovarmadeva, copper-plate of Devapala and Ghosrawa Buddhist Inscription, there is ample literary and epigraphic evidence to show that the Varmanas and the Palas too greatly helped and strongly upheld its cause in and outside India.

The Nalanda was a University in the real sense of the term. It fully satisfied the definition of a University given by Newman. First of all it was a residential University consisting of 6 colleges (*Sangharamas*) in the time of Yuan Chwang and 8 in the time of I-Tsing, which had as many as 300 rooms. All these buildings were encircled by a huge wall having only one gate. The colleges were built in parallel rows many of which had four storeys. According to the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang, the richly adorned towers and the fairy-like turrets of these buildings were congregated together like the pointed hill tops. The upper rooms towered high in the sky and the observatories seemed to be lost in the vapour of the morning.

All the colleges conformed to a common pattern. They formed a rectangle in a plane bounded by an outer range of cells, with an open verandah, running round their inner face and enclosing a quadrangular court. 'Sometimes, the verandah is a colonnaded structure, and in other instances, partakes of the form of a terrace open to the sky.'

The priests' or teachers' chambers were all in the outside courts and of four stages. "The stages have dragon projections and coloured eaves, the pearl-red pillars carved and ornamented, the richly adorned balustrades, and the roofs covered with tiles that reflect the light in a thousand shades."

The students lived in the cells or cubicles which were particularly small and generally provided one or two bedrecesses, one string for hanging clothes, and one or two niches for keeping manuscripts, etc., or things of worship. The light was obtained only through the main door-opening and as stated, in front of it was a long terrace.

Some of the buildings had also wells and shrine chambers. Lectures were held in the open court and the University, according to Tibetan accounts, had a grand library, called Dharmaganja (Piety Mart). It consisted of three sectional buildings called Ratnasagar, Ratnabodhi and Ratnaranjaka respectively. In the second one, which was nine-storeyed, many sacred scripts and Tantric works were preserved.



Official clay seal of the
Nalanda University

Courtesy : The Archaeological Survey of India

The administration of the University was highly efficient. In the Buddhist *Sangha*, with its president and assembly, there was something like a "Republican Church Government." But at the Nalanda University, in the 5th century A.D., there was the office of an abbot or principal with various assistants, called *Acharyas*, under him. When Yuan Chwang stayed at Nalanda Silabhadra was such an abbot. He was the head of the institution. The efficiency of the University at Nalanda can be guessed by the official clay seals of the University found there. These seals bore an insignia of *Dharmachakra* and two deers (signifying the diffusion of knowledge) with an inscription below it, namely, 'Of the Community of Venerable Monks of the Great Monastery at Nalanda.' In place of modern seals these were tied to letters or documents by means of thick strings.

There was a very highly learned staff maintained at the Nalanda University. Among its famous scholars may be mentioned Dignaga, Dharmapala, Silabhadra, Santarakshita, Padmasambhava, etc. These were world-renowned scholars, known for their learning and knowledge, honoured by kings and emperors. Dignaga, the father of the medieval school of Logic, had a firm hold on the scholars of China and Japan. He is studied even today in and outside India. The Western system of Logic has only been recently introduced. Santarakshita, the Philosopher, Logician and Tantric, was officially invited to Tibet by King Khri-sron-deu-tsan, and he lived there till his death in 762. Padmasambhava, the Professor of Tantras at Nalanda, also visited Tibet and acquired great fame as the founder of the institution of Lamaism which continues even to this day. The former had also visited Nepal.

Fergusson compared Nalanda with Monte Cassino, the great interprovincial University of Medieval

Europe, but it was something much greater than that, it was an International University, where races and peoples of different climates and speaking different languages studied and lived in amity and harmony.

There is enough literary and epigraphic evidence to show that there were students not only from Kashmir, Peshawar, Conjeeveram and Samatata, but also from places like China, Japan, Tibet, Korea, Java and Sumatra. In the interval that followed between the visits of Yuan Chwang (629 A.D.) and I-Tsing (671 A.D.) there were about 57 students at Nalanda who belonged to China, Japan or Korea. I-Tsing has given a list of their names and details. Some of them came by sea *via* Java, Sumatra, the Straits of Malacca, the coast of Burma, Arakan and Tamralipti; and some came by land route *via* Mongolia, Turkestan and Tibet.

The curriculum of the University was very exhaustive and embraced many of the subjects of the pre-Nalanda period. It included the *Vedas*, *Upanishads*, works of different systems—*Samkhya*, *Vaisesika*, *Nyaya* and all the works of Mahayana and Hinayana Buddhism. Students did not study all the subjects; some of them were 'compulsory' and some 'optional'. For example, Theology was a compulsory subject for all the students while Tantra was optional. Logic, which goes together with Theology and Philosophy, was not compulsory but the students usually took it because of the exigencies of time, when debates and discussions were very common. Tantrism opened a new field of Art and Iconography, and at Nalanda flourished a new school of art known as the Pala or the Nalanda Art.



The party of students visiting Nalanda, headed
by Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji

Courtesy : S. N. Saxena

According to the Chinese pilgrims, the number of students at Nalanda was approximately 3,000 to 5,000. They were admitted only when they had passed a very strict and thorough examination held usually at the entrance of the University. The University imparted specialised and technical knowledge only. The students had to severely follow the rules of *vinaya*, and to live a strictly regulated life. Along with free lodging their food was also supplied to them free by the University administration, which held much landed property in its name received from kings and ruling chiefs for this purpose.

Mr. Sankalia in his famous book and Dr. Mookerji in one of his articles have, on the basis of the account of the Chinese travellers, very minutely discussed the students' life at Nalanda and the problem of their daily meals.

Thus Nalanda was the 'premier and pioneer National University of India', not only because it was

residential, international and modern in its character, but also because it was universally recognised to be the only University of its kind. The copper-plate of Devapala (c. 815-854 A.D.) reveals that Maharaja Balaputradeva of Suvarnadvipa (Sumatra) had, in its recognition, granted through Devapala 5 villages in the district of Rajagriha for its upkeep and maintenance.

PROFESSOR COUPLAND AND ECONOMIC REGIONING

By CHUNI LAL RAY

SUGGESTIONS for division of India into regions on economic grounds have not received that amount of attention that they deserve, having been practically eclipsed by controversy relating to Pakistan, the division of India on purely communal grounds. There was very little notice in the Nationalist Press of the third volume of Professor Coupland's Report on the Constitutional Problem in India published late in 1943, and it got less than a page and a half in the Reviews of Books section of the *Journal of the Indian Institute of International Affairs* for January, 1945; Dr. G. S. Mahajani, M.L.C.'s advocacy of Regionalism at the Poona Hindu Sabha on 11th January last was merely mentioned in the papers without any comment.

Earlier suggestions about Regionalism, e.g., that from Sir Muhammad Iqbal in the League Session of 1930 or from Sir Sikander Hyat Khan between 1939 and 1941, laid but little stress on economic considerations. Sir Iqbal's theme was culture chiefly, and it was only incidentally that he spoke also of "identity of economic interests"; Sir Sikander Hyat Khan's scheme was, in Professor Coupland's words, "mainly inspired by political convenience", "paying scant attention to economic factors" based "not on cultural principle nor on the physical character of the country", "not on any other principle than that of geographical contiguity, and even contiguity is not always observed."

"Yet", proceeds Professor Coupland, (pages 117, 118), "ought not the economic factors to be the dominant factors? Has not the subordination of economics and politics been one of the main causes of the trouble in which the world now finds itself? Is it not now a commonplace that the primary sanction of all political organisation must be its economical validity?" . . . "A most impressive example of what can be achieved by large-scale economic organisation has recently been afforded by the operation of the Tennessee Valley Authority in the United States. . . . Ten years ago, the Tennessee basin was notoriously backward. There was little industrial development; and the predominantly agricultural community with energy often sapped by malaria, hookworm and vitamin-deficiency diseases and making no effort to improve their primitive methods of farming, found themselves perilously near the margin of subsistence." "The conditions of life in this vast area, and still more its prospects for the future, have already been transformed by the T. V. A. (p. 119). . . . In many parts of India conditions are closely akin to those of the Tennessee basin before the T.V.A. began its survey work. High birthrate, backward husbandry, pressure on the means of subsistence, varied climate, heavy rainfall, threat to the soil (by erosion)

all this teaches in India the lesson it has taught in the United States. Clearly India needs a scientific long-term plan for the proper use, conservation and development of her natural resources for the general, social and economic wealth of the nation. . . . Regional division by river-basins corresponds with economic needs. Most of present-day India lives on its rivers, many millions of its people depend directly, and many more indirectly, on irrigation; and the possibilities of economic welfare for the India of the future largely depend upon the proper use of its vast water-power. . . . The full utilisation of the rivers demands a long range plan which cannot be carried out within the separate areas or with the separate resources of Provinces. The area of the Plan, like that of the T.V.A. must correspond roughly with the area of the river-basin."

On the basis of the above arguments and considerations, Professor Coupland then proceeds to suggest 4 Regions in India, viz. (1) Indus Valley, (2) Ganges Valley, (3) Delta and (4) Deccan.

Dr. Mahajani has no independent Regional scheme of his own; his observations that "the suggestion (of Regional Grouping) is fully worked out by Coupland in his *Future of India*" and that "three chapters in that book viz., The Case for Partition, The Case for a United India and Regionalism, are very well-written" make it clear that he endorses Professor Coupland's scheme in its entirety and that his Brahmaputra Valley is the same as what Prof. Coupland describes as the Delta Area.

"A permanent cure of India's constitutional ills which should resolve the present political deadlock consists," in the opinion of Dr. Mahajani, "in the introduction of Regionalism and in the adoption of the principle of Coalition of the Swiss pattern in the provinces." Prof. Coupland also speaks highly of the Swiss Constitution as a model for India. Curiously enough both Professor Coupland and Professor Mahajani drop out (without however referring to this) what appears to be one of the essential elements of the Swiss Constitution, viz., representation to the National Council on the "basis of one member for each 22,000 of the total population"; they contemplate, in the words of the reviewer in the *Journal of the Indian Institute of International Affairs*, that "each region will be equally represented in the Central Legislature and the Central Executive. The Muslims need not fear such a Centre for they shall be the equals of the Hindus." Neither Professor Coupland nor Principal Mahajani cares to mention that on population basis, similar to that in Switzerland (with only one lakh substituted for 22 thousand), the Deccan area should be entitled to 137 representatives, the Ganges area to 116, the Delta area

to 74, and the Indus area to 61. All that Dr. Mahajani does is to dilate upon the advantage of "fifty-fifty" representation from the two Hindu-majority regions of the Ganges and the Deccan and from the two Muslim-majority regions of the Indus and Brahmaputra valleys as "answering the sense of honour of the Moslems." Professor Coupland, comparing his division with that which had been contemplated by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, observes :

"Only two of Sir Sikander's regions would have a Moslem majority, and this disproportion would not be affected by giving the Moslems weightage at the Centre; from the Moslem standpoint, it would, instead of improving, worsen the interprovincial balance which at present is 7 (Hindus) to 4 (Moslems). That consideration would alone be sufficient reason for trying to devise a different plan of Regional demarcation. If the proportion of Hindu majority to Moslem majority regions were 3 to 2, it would palpably be more favourable to the Moslems. It would still be better if the economic principle of the river basin were adopted as the basis of demarcation; for the result of that, as has been seen, would be a proportion of 2 to 2."

Any one going through this portion (page 134) of Prof. Coupland's book would probably be excused if he were to conclude that the so-called "economic considerations," also the condemnation, (in previous pages) of Pakistan partition are only cloak for automatically securing for Mohammedans 50 per cent representation at the Centre, without being accused of communal favouritism, that it furnishes yet one more proof of what Dr. Ambedkar writes about "his experience being that the British have been inclined to give Moslems more than what the Moslems had themselves asked" (p. 262, *Thoughts on Pakistan*).

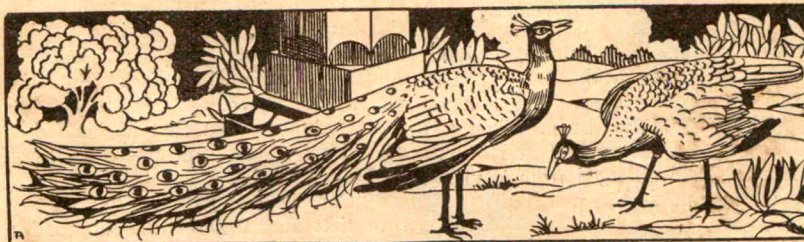
It is, of course, unfair to draw a sweeping conclusion of this kind from one page only of a book read away from its context; and it is necessary, therefore, to examine the details of the composition of the regions contemplated by Professor Coupland. The first thing that makes the Bengalee wonder is that, on a scheme attaching so great importance to water-power, irrigation and the courses of rivers, he could have been oblivious to the disastrous effects of the Damodar floods on efforts to fight the Bengal famine of 1943 and could have cut off the Bengal Delta area from the headwaters of the Damodar and the Rupnarayan. And the Oriya will equally wonder that his connection with Mayurbhanj would be permanently cut off, and that the observation on p. 121 that "the control of the Mahanadi is a vital matter for the plains of Orissa," and that on the next page that "the Mahanadi links Orissa with the Central Provinces"

should have been immediately followed by the suggestion that "Orissa could best be attached to the Ganges Region" (with which region it has no economic concern whatever). Orissa, with headwaters of the Mahanadi in the C.P. and of the Brahmin-Baitarani in Chhota Nagpur may be "far too small to constitute a region by themselves"; but would not expansion of Orissa by including very small portions of jungle areas in C.P. (for Mahanadi) and Madras (for the Dum-Duma project) into a fair-sized province in the Delta region, to which should also go that portion of the Chhota Nagpur Division that sends water down to Bengal through the Damodar and the Rupnarayan, be the really sound proposition?

If the Delta area has been cut off much too abruptly, the Indus area, on the other hand, gets extremely generous accretions. Excuse is offered (pages 83, 84) for attaching to this Region the Ambala division in the Punjab although economically it "belongs to the Ganges, not the Indus basin: it is watered by the Ganges's great tributary the Jumna" (p. 122); without any excuse whatever are taken in Jodhpur and Sirohi States which are watered by the Luni, absolutely unconnected with the Indus; and in further defiance of all geography (and of economic considerations as well) the Indus waters are made to overtop the great natural watershed of the Aravali hills and to engulf the States of Jaipur, Mewar, Alwar, Tonk, Jhalawar, Kishangarh, Partabgarh, Shahpura, Kushalgarh and Lawa in one great sweep. In respect of Mewar at least, what Alauddin Khilji and some of the greatest Moghuls had failed to achieve, one stroke of Coupland's pen may suffice to secure and this with full approval from Dr. Mahajani from the Hindu-fold.

It is now for the public to investigate how far this defiance of geography is prompted by economic considerations, how far it will be conducive to the improvement of irrigation facilities and to development of hydro-electric power, in addition to securing advantages in the political field on which chiefly stress is laid by Mr. Sundar Lal Poplai, the reviewer in the *Journal of the Indian Association of International Affairs* and which may be summed up in his own words as follows :

"The Muslims need not fear, for they shall be the equals of the Hindus. . . . The head of the Government will alternately be a Hindu and a Muslim. The Princes will have little to fear if the integrity of their territories and the immutability of their rights are guaranteed. . . . The legislatures will not be subject to dissolution; the executive will have life co-terminous with that of the legislatures . . . and will not be responsible to the legislature for day-to-day administration."



A REVIVALIST

Our Debt to the Swami Shradhananda

PART IV*

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

XL

IN June, 1910, I was in Lahore, staying for a brief few days at Nedou's Hotel there. I had returned not long before from my (first, as it proved to be) globe-girdling. Having spent the best part of five years in cold latitudes, I found the mid-summer heat in the Punjab plains very trying. The mercury was around 118 degrees in the shade.

I must have dozed off while writing, at which I persisted, despite the wise example set by my wife, who, fresh to the country, had retired for a siesta. A thump on my back startled me out of that uneasy sleep. Before I was fully awake, I heard some one asking: "Recognise me?"



The Acharya Rama Deva, whose untimely death was a great loss to the Gurukula movement

I did, even in that state. The somewhat buri figure towering over me as I sat in the armless chair at my small typewriter (the "portables" had not yet been put into the market) could not be mistaken. It belonged to Rama Deva of Bijwara Shareef in Hoshiarpore District, who, like me, had emerged from boyhood into manhood, since we last met.

* For Parts I, II and III, the reader is referred to the March, April and May issues of *The Modern Review*.

He was, I immediately found, just as impulsive as ever. Without preamble, he announced:

"I am now at Gurukul, Kangri. It is near Hardwar, if you do not know it. I have come here to take you there."

"Indeed," I exclaimed, in no small wonder. "It is just like you to make up my mind—for me. You may have hair upon your upper lip, but, at least in that matter, you have not altered a bit."

Gifted with a keen sense of humour that served as a brake upon his enthusiasms, he burst out in a fit of laughter, ever a thing of pure joy to his friends and, I fear, unbearably provoking to persons engaged in continuous argument with him—a matter of daily, almost hourly occurrence with him. That hearty, silvery peal gave me the opportunity of reminding him that there may be previous engagements to be considered.

Rama Deva's view was that no engagements could compete with the one that he, without even asking me, had made for me with the Gurukula. Apart from the joy that I would derive through being with him, there was the institution that was sure to interest me. "There is material in Kangri for many articles," he declared with that note of finality which a public speaker finds hypnotic in effect.

I was not, however, in the mood to be mesmerised. My commitments left me really no choice but to say "no" to him.

Rama Deva was not the "no"-taking kind. "We shall see to this," he shouted. Grabbing hold of my Royal Typewriter (the original "midget," I think, officially styled, No. 1) and, if I remember aright, a work of reference or two, he made for the staircase. "When you are ready for them," he bawled, "you will find them—at the Gurukul." Descending a step or two, he added: "They will be there—for you—whenever you care to collect them—personally."

My wife, long since awake, sat, with eyes widened and mouth agape. These proceedings were to her strange—as yet.

"He will come back in a little while," I assured her. "We can, in the meantime, let the 'boy' bring us our tea. When Rama Deva brings the things, he can join us."

It happened just as I predicted. Putting back the typewriter and the books, he said:

"Since you will not go, I have been to my house and brought you these."

"These" were pamphlets and cuttings relating to the Gurukula. I thanked him for his kindly thought.

"Here is something else," he said, a seraphic smile spread over his whole face. "Something that, I know, you would appreciate." The "photos" (he never troubled to say photographs) that he handed me brought to me something of the atmosphere of the "forest university" of Modern India.

"Can we print these?" asked my wife, now quite sure that Rama Deva was no mad man. "It is quite certain that Saintji will write something about an institution started by Uncle Munshi Ram, especially

since you, his old, old friend, are connected with it. These would make excellent illustrations."

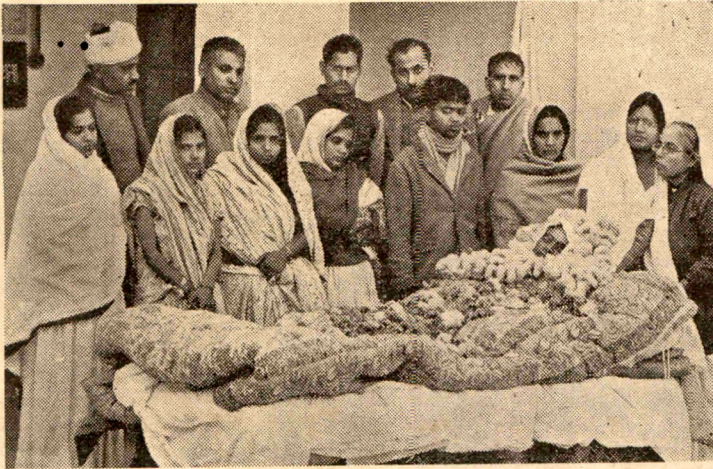
"Surely" he responded, happy beyond measure. "That is precisely why I brought the photos."

He made himself comfortable in an easy chair provided by the Hotel and began enlarging upon the

such persons, taught only to chant *mantras*? True, said these detractors, Munshi Ram had succeeded in turning the hands of the clock of time backwards—backwards thousands of years; but the clock that he had manipulated was only a puny one. The clocks outside his bit of jungle—jungle, mind you, not forest—was beyond his reach. Fortunately for the world, it was beyond his handling.

I also came across persons, who were satisfied that the experiment had gone off very well. They, indeed, took the view that the Gurukula had already passed the experimentation stage. It was an institution—an established and successful institution.

Boys were removed from the lanes and bazars before the filth with which the lanes and bazars were filled—filth moral as well as physical—had soaked into their little beings. Their bodies had benefited from the surroundings in which they lived. The food that they ate was *satvic*, designed to nourish the body without stimulating their passional nature. No meat, eggs or fish were permitted within the precincts. Even the pulses and vegetables were cooked with the minimum of condiments—only a *soupcon* of salt, black papper and tur-



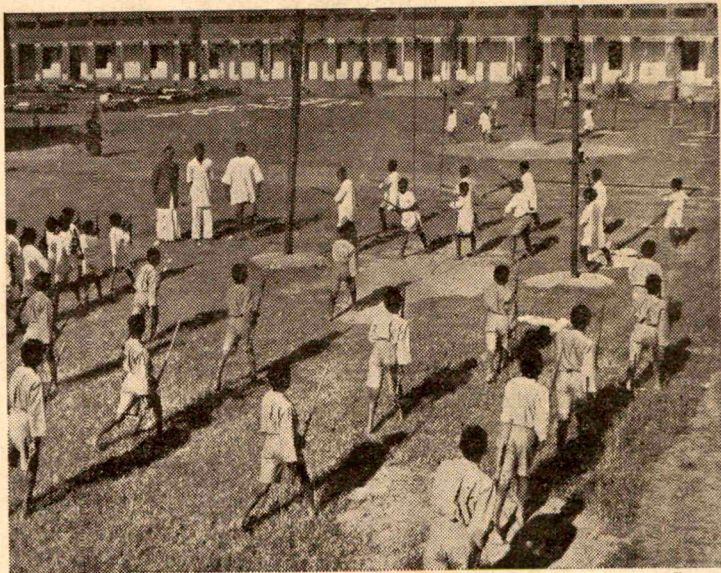
Rama Deva sleeping "the sleep that knows no awaking," after his soul has winged its way to Yama's realm

theme that engaged his heart. When, late in the evening, he managed to tear himself away from us, I felt that there was nothing of any great value that I did not know about the Gurukula.

I have set out these proceedings as they occurred, for a very good reason. Rama Deva was No. 2 at that institution at that time. Some 7 years later he became No. 1 there. Of his stepping into the place vacated by Munshi Ram, I shall speak later, in the right place. In the meantime, I ask the reader to form a mental picture of a man, who played no small part in helping to revive an ancient mode of education and making a success of it.

XLI

During the 11 months I spent in India at that juncture, I heard much about the Gurukula. Even critics testified to Munshi Ram's enthusiasm, energy, driving power and pertinacity. He had, they admitted, made "things go." To what purpose, however, they asked. What good would be the Gurukula *sanataks* (graduates) to themselves, to their families and to society, when they return to the world from which they, in infancy, were withdrawn? They would have no real knowledge of it. They would not know how to behave. They would be at the mercy of anybody who took it into his head to cheat them—to victimise them. What was the good of filling the Punjab—filling India—with



Sword-stick drill at the Gurukula Visvavidyalaya, Kangri, Hardwar. Much attention is paid to keeping the bodies of the *brahmacharis* in a healthy condition

meric. Milk and milk products were given them in abundance.

Mental growth was stimulated by the peace and quiet. Lack of distraction made for concentration upon studies. Pursued, as their studies were, through the most natural of media—their mother-tongue—they progressed in the arts and sciences at a rate unbelievable by persons who had seen our boys only at schools and

colleges where all instruction was imparted through an alien tongue. With their senses sharpened by sights and sounds provided by Nature herself and their intelligence developed through carefully graduated courses, while they resided in perfect *brahmacharya* (continence), they would have the perceptions and will power to deal with any temptations that they may encounter—with any snares that may mischievously be placed in their ways—when they emerged from the Gurukula into the world.

XLII

Sometime after I had returned to London journalism, in the summer of 1911, I received witness to Munshi Ram's good work from a wholly unexpected quarter. Among the Britons I had met during my earlier sojourn in that capital was a labourite politician—J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P. In character he did not approach, in my judgment, Keir Hardie, another Scot and as

flowing past the Gurukula. Many of the impressions he gave me upon return to his native heath have stuck in my memory.

Why had Munshi Ram, he asked, segregated the boys and kept them, for years, screened away from the world in which they had been born and to which they must perforce return?

"You do not know," the Guru had replied, "the filth that is constantly belched forth in the bazars. There the boys play—inevitably play, there being for them no other playground. Through them they must pass on their way to and from school.

"I could not bear to see my son being thus polluted. For his sake, as much as for that of the sons of my friends and co-workers, I established the Gurukula.

"Here they remain uncontaminated during the most impressionable years of their life. We aim at developing in them self-control. The discipline we give them will, we think, steady them when they, at the end of their novitiate, must leave this forest that to them has been a haven."

XLIII

If this acute European observer had seen that there was a side to the institution that was not so idyllic, he refrained from saying so. Though not heir to the wisdom that found expression in

"Do give utterance to truth
(But thy) utterance must be pleasant,"

his native Scot shrewdness may have placed certain reticences upon him.

There, nevertheless, was another side to it. The malaria-bearing mosquito thrived there. After the rains had ceased, every puddle was its breeding ground. Despite all care, pupils and teachers were subject to fever.

During the months when Ganga Mai's breast heaved with water rushing down the Himalaya's sides carrying away with it all that stood in its way the site was isolated. Food and other necessities then provided the Gurukula authorities with a problem that almost defied solution.

When the rain-god was in a generous mood, water, moreover, overflowed the eastern bank of the Ganges. The floods were no respecters of the good work that was being done at Kangri.

There were persons, even within the pale, who used these troubles to urge the shifting of the institution across the sacred stream. The cry was caught up by outsiders. The further the air bore it, the noisier it became, defying all physical laws.

It was readily taken up by numerous men within the fold and more so by their women-folks. They had never become reconciled to a system that kept young boys segregated in a "jungle swamp" from the seventh to presumably the twenty-fifth year.

The real trouble-makers were not the men who did not share the Mahatma's vision and openly said so. No. The truly potent cause of mischief were they who supported him in public but cavilled at him in private. These worthies did not align their practice with their profession, or, if they did, they sapped and mined the



Work in the garden and fields at the Gurukula Kangri, Hardwar, not only provides the *brahmacharis* with the physical exercise they need to keep their bodies fit, but also is a valuable addition to the food supplies necessary to keep such a large institution going

sincere a friend as India ever had. In intellect, however, MacDonald was far more acute. Particularly so was the case in respect of using intellect to manipulate men's minds, though I felt that in respect of emotional appeal—heart action, Hardie could not be beat by MacDonald or any other Labourite.

It so happened that in 1912 I took a house near the Belsize Park Underground ("Tube") station in Hampstead. In the next Road, almost behind this house, MacDonald bought a semi-detached "villa." Thither he shifted his children, but recently bereaved of their mother—a gentle, cultured soul, with remarkable gifts of intuition and sympathy. The fortune that she—Margaret MacDonald—had brought from her parents had played no mean part in advancing, educationally and politically, the man upon whom she bestowed her hand and heart, who until then had been more or less of a struggling newspaperman.

Morley thought well of MacDonald, gave him a place upon a Commission set up under the Royal Sign Manual to enquire into the "Indian" Public Services Commission. While out in our Motherland, he got away from his fellows from Delhi for a week end; journeyed to Hardwar by rail (motors were as yet not used for "longish" journeys in India except by motor-maniacs) and was carted across Ganga Mai, then but a trickle

alignment. If, perchance, some of them had managed to hoist themselves into positions of power, their underground sabotage fairly rocked the institution.

XLIV

Then, too, the Mahatma had found, as prophets and revivalists before him had done, that reverence wears thin under the constant rubbing of the transaction of day-to-day business. If nothing is done to reverse or at least to slacken the process a moment arrives—often arrives suddenly and unexpectedly—when it splits and even splinters.

that he made at the time or subsequently do not, I am sure, give us the requisite gauge.

Just as well, perhaps. Retirement from the Gurukula did not lead him towards inanition but towards another form of activity.

XLV

Entrance into the sixties provided him with the momentum to take another turning in his life. He could, in our ancient parlance, become a *vanaprasthi*—emerge from the world of care.

This he did formally. His initiation into *sanyasa*



St. Nihal Singh (at Rama Deva's right) with the staff of the Gurukula and the graduating *brahmacharis*, at the conclusion of the Convocation address delivered by St. Nihal Singh, April 21, 1935

His principal assistant—Rama Deva—and he were temperamentally ill-suited to be partners. The second-in-command, moreover, looked upon himself as a specialist in education, while he regarded the “governor” as a rank amateur—if, at times, not a bungler. Variance was inevitable.

Munshi Ram played the man, however. He discerned, before the second decade of this century had closed, that he, by himself, would not be able to keep the Gurukula functioning along the lines he deemed essential. Or, if mayhap, he might, he would have to sacrifice that minimum of discipline and tranquillity without which no academy can be conducted with any conspicuous success.

No child that his wife had borne him was to him anywhere near so dear as this offspring of his mind and spirit. It took him time, many essays and failures, to decide to part company with it.

What the execution of that decision must have cost him in anguish, no one can say. The statements

(the realm of renunciation) took place in 1917. He was re-named Shradhananda—he was to be called (the) Swami Shradhananda.

Could, however, a man of his temperament, mental habits and, even at that age, alertness and physical vigour, really quit the world, no matter what ceremonies he had performed? He had flitted from the world of the flesh a quarter of a century earlier. His life had been lived for others. In this circumstance he could only give it a new direction.

Events did so. In August, 1914, Britain—and in consequence India—had been sucked into the maelstrom that soon after came to be known as the Great War. Turkey was dragged into it a little later. The Empire with the largest number of Muslims and the land of the star and crescent found themselves ranged against each other.

Indian Muslims had looked towards Qustantiniya (Constantinople)—their religious centre and the Sultan who ruled from there as the head of their church—

Khalifa-i-Islam (the Caliph of Islam). Politically they, with other Indians, were bound with Britain. In the operations she launched in Mesopotamia (now Iraq) and later across the Sinai desert in Transjordan and Palestine, Indian soldiers found themselves fighting against fellow-Muslims and ousting them from places sacred to all followers of the Prophet.

During these trying times, Indian Muslims found non-Muslim Indians sympathetic. That fellow-feeling made for political concord. With emotion at flood-tide

it was thought that unity had been achieved and with the two largest sections of the community pulling together, freedom from British leading strings could soon be secured.

Even Swami Shradhananda was carried away by this flood. I shall deal with this and other episodes in the final section of this article.

[Photographs : Copyright by St. Nihal Singh] .

(To be continued)

IS THE NAZIMUDDIN MINISTRY STILL IN OFFICE ?

The Opinion of the Law Officers to the Government of Bengal Criticised

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THE law officers to the Government of Bengal are reported to have given some opinions with regard to the Nazimuddin Ministry, now out of office, and it is the duty of every constitutional lawyer to examine the validity thereof.

The law officers, it is alleged, stated that the Nazimuddin Ministry is still in office, but in a state of suspension. This proposition is atrociously unconstitutional, for either the Ministry exists or it does not. If the Ministry exists, the declaration of Sec. 93 by the Governor was unconstitutional. The moment the Governor of Bengal had recourse to Sec. 93, the Ministry must be deemed to have been, in the eye of law and the constitution, non-existent, and the Ministers rendered *functus officio*. The mere fact that the Ministers did not choose to resign or were not dismissed by the Governor prior to the application of Sec. 93 to the Province of Bengal does not change in the smallest way the fact that the Ministry has been wiped out of existence. The Governor's proclamation makes it abundantly clear that it was not a partial breakdown but a complete breakdown of the constitutional machinery, as the Governor has assumed to himself all the powers vested in and exercisable by the Ministry. Paragraph 109 of the J.P.C. report, which runs as follows:

"In the event of a breakdown of the constitutional machinery, the Governor is not bound to take over the whole Government of the Province and administer it himself on his own undivided responsibility. The intention is to provide also for the possibility of a partial breakdown and to enable the Governor to take over part only of the machinery of Government, leaving the remainder to function according to the ordinary law . . ."

is not applicable as the Governor's proclamation sets out clearly that the failure of constitutional machinery

is not partial, but complete. The only logical conclusion is that the Nazimuddin Ministry has been blotted out of existence.

Can there be an automatic revival of the said Ministry on the revocation of Section 93? The law officers to the Government of Bengal hold that it would. But in my considered judgment since the Nazimuddin Ministry is dead, it cannot revive on the revocation of Section 93.

The next question is, "Is the Ministry in suspension?" An emphatic answer in the negative must be given. It is an unheard-of proposition in constitutional law and an inroad upon the constitution to hold otherwise. A Ministry is either in office or out of it, and the moment it goes out of office, it is *non esse* in the eye of the constitution. A ministry cannot remain in a state of suspended animation. Sir Nazimuddin and his colleagues are reported to have notified to the proper authorities that they would not draw any salary or remuneration since March 31. If they had drawn any salary or remuneration, they would have done something illegal. They need not have notified any authorities with an end in view, as they are not so entitled. Their notification was quite superfluous.

The last point is, "Did the Speaker usurp the function or functions of the Governor by his action which amounted to ending the Ministry?" My considered judgment is that the Speaker acted quite constitutionally and has created a very wholesome precedent in constitutional law which will have a healthy bearing upon the development of the constitution in our country. The Speaker is the custodian of the privileges, dignity, honour and respect of the members and he is synonym for impartiality and honesty. The action which he took was quite constitutional keeping the letter and spirit of the constitution.



BEHIND THE GOLD SALE

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THE enthusiasm which the Indian Government showed in committing a series of monetary blunders and confusion in the early period of the war, resulting thereby in a total upheaval and topsyturvydom of our whole economic structure with the consequent results of inflation, privation and famine, is now being followed, though very late, by an over-enthusiasm on their part to rectify the evil consequences of their past unwise actions. But it is an irony of fate that we are not satisfied even now with the Government's monetary policy, although our demands are being met one after another. We raised a vehement cry of protest against our present system of war finance¹ and demanded gold from England and America for their purchases in India, and now the Reserve Bank of India has been selling it on their behalf for the last sixteen months, no matter whatever may be the enhanced prices. Moreover, the sale of gold again "ranks as an anti-inflationary measure," as the Finance Member declared during the Budget debate on the 7th March last. But unfortunately, in spite of the so many blessings which the present gold sale offers, we still protest against this policy and protest it vehemently.

THE MYSTERY OF GOLD SALES

From August 17, 1943, the Reserve Bank of India has been selling heavy quantities of gold daily and up to the end of February last, according to the estimate of the London *Economist*, some 3½ million tolas, amounting to £20 millions in value have been sold out. But although such big things were going on in the Indian money market, the public was kept in utter ignorance of the sources of the gold supply and the people were in dark about the purpose and policy behind such sales. Our anxiety was at last allayed a little when in the second week of February we heard from the Finance Member that those sales were made on behalf of His Majesty's Government and also U. S. Government, both of whom provided this gold from their own resources and that they had utilized the sale-proceeds in meeting their own war expenditure in India. His eyes were suddenly opened to the anti-inflationary value of gold and in keeping with his abnormal anti-inflationary zeal which he has developed since the middle of 1943, the Finance Member, in his last Budget speech, appreciated the gold sale, as "it has", according to him, "materially supplemented other anti-inflationary measures". He also held that the policy of gold sale would mop up the surplus purchasing power of the upcountry peasant.²

THE MYSTERY UNVEILED

Why then do we resent such a beneficial policy? We demanded during those hectic days of inflation that we should not be paid in sterling but in gold. Well,

1. For an elaborate study see my article, "Increase in Railway Fares and the Problem of Inflation", *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Allahabad Edition), March 5, 1944.

2. See my article, "A Study in Inflation and its Remedy", *Calcutta Review*, July, 1943.

3. For a study of this agricultural prosperity muddle, a reference may be made to my article, "The Agricultural Income-Tax", *The Modern Review*, March, 1944.

that demand is now being partially acceded to. Previously there was not an iota of gold in our transactions with the U.S.A. and the U.K. About the present system, Mr. C. E. Jones, the Finance Secretary, said on the 15th of March last in the Council of States that the U.S.A. Government obtained rupees partly by selling gold in India through the agency of the Reserve Bank and partly by selling dollars to the Reserve and Imperial Banks. Purchases in India on behalf of His Majesty's Government were paid for partly from the proceeds of gold sales in India and partly in sterling. All these show that gold is now at least playing some part in our transactions both with the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom. Why then do we still protest against such a policy of gold sale which kills two birds at one stroke? There are, however, reasons for it and quite serious are they.

The mystery of this gold supply, which was for months cloaked in secrecy, has recently been unveiled in the course of a discussion in the United Parliament, Capetown. It is learnt that the gold is being supplied by South Africa at a lower price, whereas the United States and the United Kingdom are selling it in India through the Reserve Bank at a very high price, thus making substantial profits. In 1940, South Africa entered into an agreement with England to sell all their gold to the Bank of England at £8-8 an ounce for the duration of the war. Now that gold is being sold in India at anything up to sixteen pounds per ounce by the Allies, a profit of almost hundred per cent, is made. Recently, some more startling news has been reported from Capetown. It was further revealed in the course of the discussion on the taxation proposal in the House of Assembly on the 17th April last that the Bank of England was still paying 171 shillings per fine ounce and was selling to America at 174 shillings—a profit of three shillings per fine ounce. The Bank of England was also selling South African gold to India at 320 shillings per fine ounce and not in the black market as has been suggested but in the legal open market. A news startling indeed!

Not that no protest has come from the South African people. Field Marshal Smuts has tried to console them with moral advice. In the opinion of this British Empire's elder statesman, 'the free gold market in India is a black market and therefore, the Union of South Africa did not wish to participate in it.' We then learn even this much that Britain and the United States are not only indulging in profiteering but also playing their fullest part quite openly in the black market for gold in India.

POLICY BEHIND GOLD SALES

There cannot be anything better than to pay in gold for their purchases in India on the part of England and America and this condition is being at least partially fulfilled now through the gold sales. But the policy and motive behind this action are as tactful as they are injurious to India. By putting restrictions on the free and private import of gold, the Government

4. See my article, "Problem of India's Dollar Balance", *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Allahabad Edition), March 5, 1944.

have severed the link between the internal and international prices of gold, with the result that the prices in India are moving independently of the world prices and the external lower prices are not being reflected in this country. Thus by keeping artificially the price of gold at a higher level in India, the Government were giving facilities to the foreigners to sell their gold at an enhanced price, and that is again being done through our own Reserve Bank. Take the case of America first. She bought up our gold at the rate of Rs. 30-35 during the depression. Now she is selling it to India at Rs. 70-80 and makes a profit of 150 per cent. Thus America meets a part of her huge war expenses in India through the device of a speculative gain and thus she incurs nothing from her own pocket. This grand scheme of paying off one's own debt with the help of the creditor's money cannot be ignored by any intelligent community.

Then comes England. She is, of course, almost bankrupt in her gold possession; but she is purchasing gold from South Africa at 71 shillings per fine ounce according to an earlier agreement and selling it to India at 320 shillings. A clear profit of 350 per cent. To-day the price of gold in England is something between 42 to 45 rupees per tola. Even if she sells the gold of her own country, she makes a profit of almost 70 per cent. With the help of this huge margin of profit she also like America meets a great part of her war expenditure in India.

There seems to be another motive lurking behind the present gold sales in India. England to-day is overburdened with the sterling debt. If, therefore, she can now avoid further sterling liabilities by paying us henceforth from our own money, i.e., from her profit on gold sales, there is nothing surprising in it.

This is not all. To-day both England and America are gaining by selling their cheap gold at a higher price in India. After the war when gold prices will fall, they will again be in a position to buy up, through some timely device, these very gold they are selling at present. In the transaction they earn a huge profit through the speculative selling and buying and meet a part of their war expenditure in India.

FINANCE MEMBER'S APOLOGIA

The correct method for the Reserve Bank would have been to buy up the gold at the market prices prevailing in those countries and sell it at a profit in India. When the question of these gold sales was raised in the Legislative Assembly on the 27th March last, our Finance Member, overwhelmed with the sentiments of universal brotherhood, bluntly, replied, "India's financial obligations were those of an ally and not of a 'bania'."

Well and good. But may we with apology ask, "Who are really being guided by this 'bania' mentality to-day—India or the British Government?" We are also one of the allies. Why should then the other parties gain at our cost? Further, where were these liberal views just a few years back when England was buying silver from India at the price that was then prevailing in this country, although the prices of the metal that were prevailing in their own country were far

higher? There is no reason why the method that was followed in 1940-42 in the case of silver purchase will not be followed now in the case of gold sale. But the authority, silence is always golden and, therefore they have adopted this maxim in this respect too.

Of course, recently the Finance Member has given a reply in support of the gold sales; but unfortunately that again proves to be a thoroughly hollow one. He says that even the controlled prices of the commodities in India at which both the U.S. and British Governments are purchasing their war materials to-day have increased more than the prices at which they are selling gold at present.

However pleasant this apologia of Sir Jeremy may appear, underlying it there is a great fallacy. Prices are of least consideration in such cases. When America sells gold at a profit of 70 per cent it is her net profit. But when India sells her commodities even at a cent per cent higher prices than the pre-war one, it does not follow that she is making a net profit of 100 per cent as the cost of production of those commodities has also increased to a great extent.

Further, when the Allied countries are purchasing their requirements in this country at controlled prices why not instead of allowing them to follow the market rate, a similar controlled rate should be fixed for selling gold?

CORRECT POLICY

(a) *To remove restrictions on free import of gold*—When the free import of gold will be allowed, this by increasing the supply, will also bring down the price of gold in this country to the world level. Thus the Allied nations will not get an opportunity to sell their gold at such a high price in India and be profiteers thereby.

(b) *Devaluation of the Rupee*—Inflation in this country has brought about a great depreciation of our rupee. At 1s. 6d. our rupee is now an over-valued currency. In a recent pamphlet of mine⁵, I have calculated and also discussed the present rate of exchange for the rupee and come to the conclusion that it should be 10d. At this rate the rupee prices in India and the sterling prices in England are at parity. The quantity of gold which is available at 10d. in England is roughly valued at rupee one in India. Therefore, if the rate of exchange is fixed at 10d. England will gain nothing by selling her own gold in India, for she will only receive just the same price as prevailing in her own country when the proceeds of these sales in rupees are exchanged for sterling.

(c) *Silver Sales*—The India Government acquire some 500 tons of silver from Iran and we all expected that it would be sold in the open market. But contrary to our expectation that has not yet been realised, we now learn that the above-mentioned silver will be used for currency purposes and not be sold in the market. It is no doubt necessary that the Reserve Bank should strengthen the position of its silver reserve which has fallen very low. At the same time it should acquire sufficient quantity of silver and resume selling it to the public. This will lessen the pressure of demand on gold and bring down its price.

(d) *The Government's Gold Purchase*—Instead of allowing the U.S. and U.K. Governments to sell gold

5. The Reserve Bank has suddenly chosen to follow an active policy of selling gold at lower prices and in the third week of October last, the limit for gold selling was some time lowered to Rs. 61-8 per tola.

6. *The Ten Pence Rupee* (Students' Friends, Allahabad, Price 3 annas.)

in the open market, the Government of India should, henceforth, buy the entire metal at a controlled rate. The buying price for the Government or the Reserve Bank may come to something like Rs. 50 per tola, when, say, 10 per cent, profit is allowed to the selling countries. This gold the India Government may sell to the Indian people at the rate of, say, Rs. 55 or Rs. 60 per tola and earmark the profit for some nation-building services in the post-war years.

With a part of this gold the Reserve Bank may strengthen its gold holdings which have fallen these days to an insignificant level. This will restore the confidence over our falling rupee.

After the war we shall require enough fund to meet the demands of our various development schemes. The recent Plan of Economic Development for India also envisages to raise Rs. 300 crores from the hoarded gold of the country. But while making a critical estimate of the financial aspect of this Plan, I have tried to show how it is impossible to realise so much gold from the people. It is, therefore necessary that the Government should itself pay attention to increase its own gold holdings from now, in order to make them readily available for our post-war developments.

America should also consider for her own interest that if she wants to make her own post-war currency plan a success, which requires other countries to contribute substantial amount of gold into the international currency pool, she should, henceforth, allow a redistribution of world's gold supply. Therefore, she should

7. See my article "Finance for the 15-year Economic Plan",... *Commerce*, July 1, 1944.

instead of selling gold in the open market in India should sell it at a reasonable price to the Government of India, so that the latter may not find any difficulty in joining the U.S.A. currency plan (popularly known as the White Plan) after the war.⁸

A WARNING

After the War when the inflationary condition will cease to exist and also when there will take place an increase in the supply of consumer goods, the price of gold along with the prices of other things, is sure to come down from the present level. I, of course, do not deny the fact that during the war, so long as our present system of war finances with its consequent effect on inflation, is not totally changed, India like China⁹ may be threatened with further rise in the price of gold. But ultimately, after the War a crack in gold prices is sure to take place and it will then adopt a falling course. This is a timely warning to the hoarders and profiteers of the day, who being guided by a false apprehension and short-sighted policy are now busy with their ugly games. There will be no end to their repentance when they will one day find that the value of their savings and hoarded wealth has dwindled down!

November 30, 1944

8. Both the Keynes and White Plans have, however, been abandoned and a new plan out of these two has been evolved in the International Monetary Conference held at Bretton Woods in July 1944. Gold still plays an important part in the new scheme.

9. Reuter's special correspondent informed on the 21st May last that in Chungking "the Government is freely selling gold at Rs. 3,250 per ounce"....reported in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, May 22, 1944.

BIOLOGY IN EVERY DAY LIFE

The Fight Against Disease

By P. MAHESHWARI, D.Sc, F.N.I.

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PRIMITIVE man seems to have thrived on a dietary of roots, berries and meat and on clothing made of leaves, bark and hides, and had little else to worry about.

The Rishis of old resolved to seek happiness by limiting their desires rather than by attempting to satisfy them. But in these days of science, invention and advertising, our needs have multiplied like the seed of Abraham, and although some of them may be superfluous or even harmful, many can be ethically justified on the score of self-preservation and self-development in the kind of world in which we now live.

No more are we content to exist, with food and shelter as our only wants. We long for many other commodities and raw materials that can be converted into the numerous little articles which contribute to the enjoyment of life. Wood, paper, rubber, coal, petroleum, tanning materials, perfumes, dyestuffs, oils, resins, gums, honey and drugs are but a few of the things that come to one's mind. The majority of these are derived from plants and animals and it is well that we realise the debt that we owe to Biology in our every day life.

Taking in particular, the fight against disease and ill-health, herbal remedies have been utilised from the earliest times to alleviate the sufferings of humanity.

India once took the lead in this—the science of Ayurveda—as it was then called. The ancient treatises dealing with the eight main divisions of Ayurveda have for the most part disappeared but they were followed by two other important works, viz., the *Susruta* and the *Charaka Samhitas*, which deal with therapeutics as well as surgery. Even anaesthetics of some kind seem to have been known, for there are repeated references to a substance called "Sammohini." Unfortunately, however, during the disturbed times that followed those days of Indian glory, a good deal of this literature was mutilated or lost and degeneration became evident everywhere. The science of medicine passed into the hands of priests and mendicants and drugs and herbs gave place to charms and amulets. While India continued to decline, the West went up and once again accurate observation, correct diagnosis and application of carefully tested remedies took the place of mystery and superstition. The modern doctor uses many kinds of vaccines and injections, takes liberties with the heart and the abdomen; can make mad men sane by operating on their brains; can handle and repair many of our organs almost as perfectly as an instrument maker can repair a piano, and can revive a

dying man by injecting into him the blood of another. These seem strange things and yet they are now being done every day, both in the battle-field and behind it.

How have these miracles been achieved? The discoveries which have led to them were made by steady and silent work sometimes done with the crudest of equipment and in dingy and ill-ventilated rooms. Among the foremost of these discoverers was Louis Pasteur, the son of a French tanner, who always seemed to be busy with his microscope poring over the tiniest forms of life, now known as Bacteria. "What can be the earthly good of studying those microbes", some of his friends would ask in ridicule. All doubts were however set at rest when the results were made public, and Pasteur was loudly acclaimed as one of the greatest benefactors of mankind. He wiped away chicken cholera; he showed how a fearful disease like anthrax could be almost wholly eradicated, he found the way to cure the effect of bites from rabid dogs and to prevent dogs from going rabid. More than all this, his work and that of the German bacteriologist, Koch, paved the way for antiseptic surgery. They showed the relation of microbes to suppuration and proved that these germs could not arise spontaneously but must get introduced into the body from outside. This idea was seized upon by the British surgeon Lister who demonstrated in 1867 how the intelligent use of antiseptics could prevent suppuration in wounds.

Lister observed that serious injuries sustained by the body could be cured so long as the skin was not broken or cut; but if this happened there followed that terrible corruption of flesh which was the cause of innumerable deaths in spite of the best care and attention. Lister argued that if suppuration and trouble were due to Bacteria, as shown by Pasteur and as his own observations also seemed to indicate, he could keep them off the wound and the patient would recover.

But how was this to be done? Air penetrates everywhere and in the air there are millions of microbes. He thought that the best way was to sterilise the wound by applying a strong disinfectant or antiseptic. He first used carbolic acid but later employed a spray in the atmosphere sterilising the air instead of the wound. Finally after many trials and experiments he found that the correct way was to sterilise every thing which came in contact with the wound—the instruments, the doctor's hands and clothes and all else in the operating chamber. Thus was born aseptic surgery—a magnificent discovery, marvellously simple as it seems now, but one which owes its origin entirely to the painstaking work done by Pasteur and Koch and the long hours they spent straining their eyes through the microscope. Through their efforts, and those of Lister, the hospitals which were once known as "houses of death" and which were reeking with blood and pus and were full of the shrieks and agonies of the patients, have now become transformed into "havens of safety." "Before Lister" and "after Lister" in the surgical calendar are the equivalents of the B.C. and A.D. of our common chronology.

No less have been the achievements of the microscopist in the realm of medicine. Prior to the last decade of the 19th century no eye had seen the bacillus of plague; fleas were thought mere unpleasant creatures even less scandalous than lice, and mosquitoes besported themselves unheeded singing merrily into our ears. War is highly spectacular, so are great and sudden catas-

trophes like earthquakes, but if figures are to be any criterion, there can be no doubt that their effects pale into insignificance when compared to the death, misery and disaster that these minute organisms have caused at certain periods during the history of the world.

Take kala-azar as an instance. During the 19th century this disease was the cause of hundreds of thousands of deaths in Bengal and Assam. Barely 2 per cent of those affected by it survived. Whole districts were wiped out and at times not a single member of the family remained to mourn the loss of his relatives. The allopaths gave their patients large doses of quinine, the homeopaths tried their pills, the Kavirajes and Hakims delved deep into the ancient wisdom of India and Greece, but to no avail. In despair, black magic and the services of planetary priests were invoked but even the gods appeared to have gone to sleep and a person affected with kala-azar was considered as good as lost. It was only in 1900 that Leishman discovered the causal organism in the spleen of a soldier who had died of this disease. Parasites similar to those of sleeping sickness were seen under the microscope and cultured and studied outside the body. It was further found that the disease was propagated by the bite of a sandfly. Injections of the sodium antimony tartarate were found to lower the death-rate considerably. Later Sir U. N. Brahmachari introduced the use of Urea stibamine which now stands pre-eminent in the treatment of kala-azar in India.

Yet another example may be cited. For the past five hundred years the footsteps of all armies, conquerors and conquered, have been dogged by typhus. It decimated Napoleon's troops in the invasion of Russia. In the war of 1914 to 1918 also, it appeared in an epidemic form on the Eastern front. During 1915-16 at least 150,000 people died of typhus in Serbia, and the Austrians held back from invading this country more from fear of catching the disease than of their enemy. But it was kept away from the Western front, in spite of the transfer of German troops from east to west. This German achievement was one of the greatest triumphs of war hygiene. It was possible only because of a scientific understanding of the mode of transmission of the disease, which is caused by certain micro-organisms carried over from one man to another through the agency of body-lice. Obviously therefore clean conditions and energetic delousing are the prophylactic remedies for keeping the disease in control.

Another important discovery made during the last war is the practice of blood transfusion as an immediately available life-saving measure. Sometime in 1942, Pope Innocent VIII, then of an advanced age, fell into a condition which made it impossible for those in attendance upon him to decide whether he was alive or dead. All medical treatment proved to be of no avail. Then a physician declared that he could heal and rejuvenate the old man if only the fresh blood of a youth was available. His proposal was at once accepted and three young men were bled to death but the Pope did not live. Others at different times tried similar experiments but generally speaking they proved to be extremely hazardous and such as should not be undertaken except in rare emergency. Yet, the idea was right. The two chief obstacles to this method were: firstly, the clotting of the blood obtained from the donor and its frequent incompatibility with that of the

patient leading to serious consequences. It was only during the last war that these difficulties were overcome and today we have banks of stored blood available for the immediate treatment of serious cases in the street, factory or field, or of severe bleeding in childbirth or, of haemorrhage of the stomach, kidneys or intestines. This advance has been due mainly to the work of the German scientist Landsteiner who found that there are four groups into which human blood falls and that transfusion could be done according to a definite plan governed by the rules of compatibility discovered by him. Today refrigerators with stocks of all four types of blood are kept in readiness near the battlefield. The telephone rings, the dispenser on duty takes out a jar of blood of the required group and in a few minutes' time the ambulance has delivered it at the place where it is needed. Often the jars are carried by air and should it not be possible for the plane to land, the blood is sent down by parachute.

A further advance has been the use of serum or plasma. While citrated blood can be kept for only 3 or 4 weeks, Serum has the advantage of keeping indefinitely if stored in a cool dark place and can be administered without the preliminary grouping of donor and receiver which is essential in the case of whole blood.

A branch of medical science which may almost be said to have owed its origin to the War of 1914 to 1918, is that of plastic surgery. In the terrible bombardments and close fighting of that war shells and bombs caused much greater mutilation than at any time in the past. Moreover, in trench warfare and with the wearing of metal helmets, the face was the only part left exposed and was therefore very frequently injured. Such injuries, if the patient survived and the wounds healed, produced such terrible caricatures of the human face and such revolting sights that attempts were made to devise methods of repair which would as far as possible, restore the parts to their original appearance. Thus arose the modern art of plastic surgery, in which patience, skill and ingenuity are more needed than in any other branch of this science. It would take one too long to speak of the marvellous and ingenious turns of technique called into play in the practice of this art, how skin is made to travel in caterpillar fashion from one part of the body to another and how bone and cartilage are borrowed from one place and grafted on to a different one.

Just think of the results that have been obtained. Ex-soldiers are able to face the world with rebuilt features and can return home without fear of exciting a feeling of horror or repulsion in their wives and children. A woman may be hauled out of a fire or a wreck with her cheeks, eye-brows, ears, lips and nose all disfigured or almost destroyed, yet after a time new skin will have been grafted, new lips built up, and perhaps even new eye-brows or eye-lashes will have been induced to grow. Formerly to have lost one's nose or to have broken one's jaw was to have done with it for ever. Now (although God may take away the nose He gave) the surgeon can give him another which may sometimes be better than the first one and large gaps in the jaw can be made good by bone transferred from

another place and grafted on to the broken part. The plastic surgeon sometimes receives as his patients even actresses and film stars, who although beautiful, do not quite fit in with the standardised mould. The surgeon is able to help them and these improved beauties are said to spend hours in front of the mirror admiring their new features.

The present war has now combined for about six years and has been more terrible than even the previous one. While we do not yet know enough about the discoveries made during these years, there are one or two things that deserve mention. As is well known, the bugbear of the surgeon is the streptococcus, deadly to his patients and so difficult to dislodge. A few years ago chemists discovered a group of drugs known as the sulphanilamides which were hailed with great enthusiasm by physicians as well as surgeons. During this war even more powerful bactericidal and bacteriostatic substances have been obtained from lower organisms. Penicillin, extracted from a mould, related to the ordinary bread mould, has already become famous and appears to be the most powerful aid that we have at present for dealing with infected wounds and other ailments of the body. It may however be rivalled by gramicidin, a substance prepared by American workers from certain types of soil bacteria and others which are under investigation.

In manipulative surgery also (really, a kind of biological engineering) some striking advances have been made. It has been found practicable for instance to take out the eyes of a dead man and transplant them into the forehead of one who is living but had lost his vision due to some accident in life. Some hospitals are proposing to run eye banks on the same principles as blood banks except that any healthy human eye will serve the purpose without regard to the blood type but eyes that have been kept for more than 72 hours are unusable. The assets of the eye bank must therefore be used more quickly than those of the blood bank.

War is an evil thing but one of its compensating factors is that it forces us to exert every effort to maintain life against overwhelming odds. There is no doubt that when the present war is over there will come to light many new healing devices in the development of which the biologist, the chemist and the physicist must have all played their part.

And what of the future? The science of medicine which has so far been limited for the most part to the study of disease must now concern itself with the study of health. By the joint efforts of the physicist and the chemist phenomenal success has been achieved in various directions. Aviation, wireless and television have become household words and many secret weapons like the magnetic mine and the pilotless bomber have also been invented. The one human desire still left unfulfilled is perpetual youth of body and mind. The fulfilment of this must lie in the hands of the biologist and difficult though the problem is its solution may not after all be impossible. The latest nutritional researches and a further knowledge of the ductless glands and their secretions may perhaps prove helpful in the achievement of this end.



SCARCITY OF MILK IN BENGAL

By RAMKRISHNA MUKHERJEA, M.Sc.

BENGAL has faced for some decades a real physical shortage of milk. In normal times the per capita availability of milk (including milk products) was 2·8 ozs.¹ per day, which is a very poor figure, when according to Indian standards the minimum requirements were 15 ozs. for adults, (as suggested by Dr. N. C. Wright in his report on the development of cattle and dairy industries of India 1937) and 20·25 ozs. for babies of six months to six years, (as suggested by the Indian Research Fund Association in "Feeding of children from six months to six years in Wartime").

Annual production of milk in Bengal (including the feudatory states) was estimated to be 429·39 lakh maunds² in normal times. Separate data for export and import in Bengal are not available but these may be considered negligible when in India as a whole both the export and import are in insignificant quantities (the net import being only 0·3%³ of the net marketable supply). The net import of milk in Bengal in the form of Ghee through inter-provincial movements also is very small.

If the total production was supplied only to the babies belonging to the age-group 0·5 (considering and neglecting half the population of the 0·1 age-group as breast-fed, that is, supplied to the total population of 76·91 lakhs according to the sample tables of the Census of 1941), then the per capita availability would practically serve the minimum requirement, it being 9·8 chhataks (20 ozs.) per day. But maldistribution has further accentuated the problem. Regarding consumption of milk in every Bengali home first preference is given to the babies and invalids and then to other members of the family. Therefore, consumption of milk by the older members of society at the cost of depriving the babies can only happen in families of different economic status where some families can buy sufficient quantity for the consumption of the entire family while others cannot buy even for their babies. In Calcutta, where the disparity in income is most marked, the average per capita consumption of fluid milk in normal times was only 3·8 ozs.⁴ per day, while in the middle class families earning Rs. 200 to Rs. 500 (a fairly well-to-do group in normal times), it was 11 ozs.⁵ Maldistribution of milk can also be ascertained from the fact that in Calcutta, Dacca, and Bengal as a whole 61, 63 and 40 per cents⁶ of the total milk consumed was as milk products, like sweetmeats, *rabri*, ice-cream, etc. But milk as any product and not as fluid milk is consumed in very little quantities by the babies, if consumed at all.

Scarcity of milk, which was present even in normal times due to both (i) the physical shortage, as well as (ii) maldistribution, has taken an alarming shape now when (i) the local production has further declined leading to greater physical shortage, and (ii) the maldistribution remains as it was if it has not become more

acute. Decline in production is mainly the result of (i) heavy cattle loss in 1943-44, and (ii) decline in the lactation period and yield of milk due to malnutrition of the surviving cattle. Accurate data on either of the phenomena are not available and so the actual decline cannot be estimated. But that these are real have already been noted by many sociologists like Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyay and others. It is a fact, of course, that the loss in human population has also been very heavy in 1943-44, but the loss of cattle has been in greater proportion. In order to safeguard their own survival the lower and the middle peasantry and other rural people of similar economic status were forced to cut down the expenses on cattle food, leading to heavy cattle mortality through starvation and the scourge of epidemic in their devitalised state. Also many of them sold their cattle, a large proportion of which was bought by the Army contractors for slaughter and this further aggravated the shortage. The import of milk powder and milk foods could not improve the situation as the proportion was negligible.

That the maldistribution, which was only due to disparity in income, is still there and has perhaps become acute can easily be realised when it is borne in mind that in the last two years a small number of persons have grown rich through wartime profiteering and blackmarketing, and so can easily pay four to five times the normal price of milk and milk products for any quantity, while the vast mass of people have been impoverished to such an extent that they can hardly buy sufficient quantity of rice at four to five times the normal price to keep their body and soul together, not to speak of milk for the babies. This is proved by the fact that in spite of further shortage in milk production, Calcutta⁷ and other principal urban areas abound with various milk products even now except where it is forbidden by law.

The result is that what was just one of the many serious wants of the average people in normal times has now become a life and death problem to the whole race. Milk is the only food which can sustain and nourish the babies, our next generation, and bring them back to health after the long period of malnutrition and starvation which was the experience of many of them in the last two years. But neither is there adequate supply nor enough money to buy milk at the exorbitant price, and even then the milk is not pure. The proportion of adulteration of milk had increased

1. Report on the marketing of milk in India and Burma (Second Edition)---Agricultural Marketing of India.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. Calcutta Diet Survey---Nutrition Research Laboratory---Coonoor.

6. Calculated from data supplied by Report on the Marketing of Milk in India and Burma.

7. The Publicity Department of the Calcutta Corporation has estimated that the daily import of 'Chhana' from suburbs is of the order of 450 maunds, which requires about 1800 maunds of fluid milk, and the leading confectioners of Calcutta locally convert about 500 maunds of fluid milk into various milk products daily. On the auspicious days marked for Hindu or Muslim ceremonies or festivals import of 'Chhana' from suburbs goes up to 800 maunds. That is, about 2,300 maunds of fluid milk are daily consumed as milk products in Calcutta which goes up to 3,700 maunds on the auspicious days. If five to six thousands maunds of milk per day be considered as the total quantity available in Calcutta through local production and import from suburbs (so considered by Dr. M. U. Ahmed, Health Officer of Calcutta Corporation in his talk---"Milk supply in Calcutta"---at the Rotary Club, Calcutta on 25-4-44) then the total quantity of milk converted into milk products is 38 to 46 per cent of the total milk supply daily. These figures, however, may be an underestimate since import of milk as 'Kbir' from suburbs and milk products of petty confectioners have not been taken into account.

from 41.3 per cent in 1934 to 52.8 per cent in 1938 on the basis of the samples of milk examined under the Food Adulteration Acts in Bengal. Latest figures are not available, except for 1942-43 for Calcutta where 65 per cent of the samples were found by the Calcutta Corporation to be adulterated. Considering the increase in the adulteration of most edible commodities it may be assumed that the proportion of adulterated milk has not gone down, if it is not still higher. The samples observed certainly support such a view. In consequence, not only the babies are receiving very little quantities, if any at all, but more than half of the total quantity received is unfit for consumption which instead of nourishing them may further affect their health.

To control this highly abnormal situation rationing of milk for babies and invalids, who must have the first preference, should be considered as the first step. The rationing of milk may first be implemented in the Calcutta rationing area where it is most needed but then it is to be extended to cover at least all the principal urban areas of Bengal within a short time. In an article "Milk Rationing in Calcutta" published in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, on 4-3-45, I have shown that rationing can immediately be implemented in Calcutta without any drastic change in supply and only through proper control and supervision. The necessary steps are: (i) forbidding the preparation of milk products and export of milk from the area whereby milk being a highly perishable commodity, which cannot be stored for future, blackmarketing will not be possible, (ii) fixation of the price at the maximum level of 8 as. per seer when the cost of production is 6 as. 6 p. per seer, (iii) opening feeding booths at a subsidised price (at least 50 per cent) along with the distributing centres of milk all over the area, where the families who cannot afford the price of even 8 as. per seer can bring down their babies and feed them then and there, so that, maldistribution and blackmarketing may be checked, and (iv) proper vigilance and control through the co-operation of public bodies like food committees to check adulteration, and for proper distribution. These conditions also apply to all the urban areas of Bengal. Milk rationed in other areas will also have to be similarly subsidised since the cost of production will not vary much all over Bengal and be practically the same as in Calcutta in present times.

The milk problem cannot be solved finally without the necessary planning to stop the further decline in production and to increase the production at a cheaper cost, so that, it becomes available to every one. Cattle slaughter all over the province must be banned immediately to stop further decline in production. Increase in production can be effected through (i) proper nourishment of the surviving cattle, and (ii) import of better quality cattle from other provinces, like the Punjab and Rajputana. It is interesting to note that in normal times Bengal possessed 20 per cent more cattle than the Punjab but produced only 30 per cent of the total yield of the latter province.⁹ Authorities are unanimous in their opinion that through proper feeding and management the milk yield of Indian cattle can be increased to a great extent as indicated by the fact that village cows when brought to the Government farms give on an average about 60 per cent more milk in subsequent lactation and their progeny shows a further

improvement of 10 to 15 per cent.⁹ The dry long periods are shortened considerably and this proportionately reduces the cost of production of milk. Data for Bengal show that the yield of home-bred cows (one-eighth cross-breed) has increased by 25 per cent within 1930-35 and the lactation period has also increased when kept in the Military Dairy Farm.¹⁰ Similar increment is also noticed for half and one-fourth cross-breeds.

Dr. W. Burns, Officer on Special Duty, Department of Education, Health and Lands, Government of India, in his recent memorandum 'on the technological possibilities of agricultural development in India' has shown that the production of milk can be increased by 75 per cent in India: (i) 30 per cent by feeding, (ii) 15 per cent by breeding, (iii) 15 per cent by management, and (iv) 15 per cent by control of diseases. According to one investigation,¹¹ the production and per capita consumption of carbohydrates (cereals to other food-grains) in India are more than necessary. Hence, if the surplus carbohydrate is used as cattle food it can be turned into considerable quantities of animal protein in the form of milk. Also the development of oilcrushing industry in India would result in large supplies of oilcake being available for cattle feeding which is valuable for milk production and subsequent growth of the young stock. Feeding of oilcake would also mean increasing the fertility of the soil through farmyard manure. European cows in pre-war days would receive 5 lbs. of oilcake per head per month; in India the amount was 7 lbs.¹² On the whole, yield of milk can be normally increased through proper care. The rehabilitation measures of Bengal to revive the normal economic life after the havoc of 1943-44 must therefore consider proper nourishment of the cattle through (i) reserved pasturage in the village, (ii) encouraging the production of necessary cattle fodders by financial help and guidance, and (iii) greater consumption of oilcakes and such necessities.

Bengal's annual requirement of milk, as estimated from the Census of 1941 at 20 ozs. for babies up to 5 years and 5 ozs. for the rest, is 2708.30 lakh maunds. Even if the normal production from the 87.82 lakh milch cattle, which were available in Bengal according to the Census of 1941 (88 per cent of which are cows), is increased by 75 per cent through the measures suggested, the total production will fall short of the demand by 1956.87 lakh maunds which is equivalent to the total number yield from 373 lakhs of cows of Bengal (at the average rate of yield of 420 lbs. a year¹³) and 108 lakh cows of the Punjab (at the average rate of yield of 1445 lbs. a year¹⁴). Hence, import of cattle from other provinces is necessary and should be carried on along with the steps to be taken to increase the local production. Milk co-operatives near the urban centres may be formed with these cattle and some of these may also be sold to the rural people at a subsidised rate, encouraging village co-operatives.

As noted earlier, to prevent maldistribution, the price of milk must be within easy reach of the ordinary people, so that, milk does not remain a luxury

8. Report on the Marketing of Milk in India.

9. Milk records of cattle in Approved Dairy farms in India—Imperial Council of Agricultural Research.

10. *Ibid.*

11. India's Food Problem, *Economist*, Dec. 26, 1936.

12. Report on the Marketing of Milk.

13. Report on the Marketing of Milk in India and Burma.

14. *Ibid.*

commodity as before. In London where the standard of living is much higher than in Calcutta the price of milk prepared under hygienic conditions was only 4 as. 8 p. in 1929 in equivalents of a seer,¹⁵ when the unpasteurised milk in Calcutta was sold in pre-war days at as. 4 to as. 5 per seer. Increase in the yield and the lactation period of the cattle will surely reduce the cost of production, but it can be lowered still more if prepared on a large scale. Co-operatives near urban centres to produce pasteurised milk under hygienic condition at a low cost should therefore be encouraged. It is to be noted that in normal times milk retained by the producers in Bengal was only 5 per cent of the total production, 1 per cent as fluid milk and 4 per cent as products.¹⁶ Therefore, the milk co-operatives near the urban centres will also solve the transport problem to a great extent. In rural areas, however, private supply of milk will have to be maintained and Bengal being chiefly an agrarian country it will be in

conformity with the system of privately owned holdings.

These are the main problems to be solved to go away with the scarcity of milk in Bengal. We must realise that the present milk crisis is just not an accident, but the result of a chronic neglect of the problem for a long time which has been markedly aggravated in the last two years due to the scourge of famine and epidemic. To prevent the crisis from deepening any further, cattle slaughter must immediately be forbidden by law and rationing of milk introduced in all the urban areas of Bengal. Simultaneously a scheme of ten or even twenty years is to be seriously taken up to increase the yield of local cattle and importing a good number of cattle every year from Rajputana, the Punjab and other provinces. Only then the scarcity of milk can be solved for good. It is the duty of every public man to see to it that the Government of this province takes up the issue seriously and takes necessary action.

I am indebted to Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyay for his kind suggestions freely incorporated in the article.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

ROSE-BUDS

By THE NAWAB BAHADUR OF MURSHIDABAD

Ye little buds how delightful are
In the moonlit night so gay
Greeted by many a twinkling star,
With you dew-drops come to stay.

Steadily sprouting up thus ye grow
Troubling not with worldly woes
Until your delicate build, we know,
Has bloomed into many a rose.

So bright do ye look each morn
Preserved always by heavenly care,
In a trice you may be gone
Which work of man can not repair.

Rich in colour, rich in perfume,
Wafted after by the blowing wind,
Imitation cannot your beauty assume,
Surpass nothing can of your kind.

Though here and there scattered seen
Placed in the grip of lonely desolation
Safe in shade of sun-beam's screen
Free from the hands of tribulation.

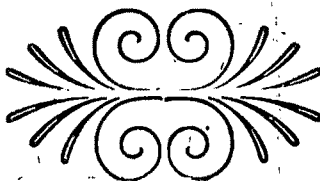
Exposed to weather foul or fair
In sleet frost or beating rain
Tho' entangled in cobweb snare
No single petal shows its stain.

Clothed in the darkness of night
From raging storm you steer,
Shrinking not from deadly fright
Thro' veil of mist you appear.

To and fro singing swallows fly
In praise of your tenderness,
Unmistakable does your shape testify
The mark of creation's slenderness.

The approaching breeze makes its way
Attracted by your enticing charm
Fanning from you the dust away,
Its gentle touch brings no harm.

Having nothing to lose or gain,
In solitude's peaceful clime
Unaffected you always remain
By the wrath of changing time.



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*is a very hard job—yet this
is wonderfully achieved*

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- HÆMO-LIVEREX not only purifies the blood corpuscles but also increases and maintains them.

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depends on the Salts lying
hidden in the soil :

Man's vitality, too, rests on
the Blood flowing in his veins.

While the earth's eaten-up salts may
be easily replaced by manures, man's
stock of depleted blood may be quickly
replenished

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EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

SOCIALISM RECONSIDERED: By M. R. Masani, author of "Our India". Published by the Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 55. Price Re. 1.

The author, one of the founder members of the Socialist Party, has written here a disturbing book in which he gives his impressions gathered during his visits to the U.S.S.R., in 1927 and 1935. As the result of what he saw in the last of the two visits, he concludes that it does not possess even one of the three essentials of a socialist society, being neither classless, nor democratic, nor international. Russia had changed into something which had converted a former enemy, Mr. Winston Churchill, into one of its admirers.

Mr. Masani contends that Russia to-day is neither a Capitalist nor a Socialist but a Managerial State in which all power is concentrated in the hands of the bureaucrats who run the administration and the managers who run the industry. And he has much to say in support of this view.

The answer of Mr. Masani as to whether socialism is a possibility in India is given in the last section. He maintains that experience has shown that what is required in a Socialist State is not nationalisation or State ownership but State control of property, along with individual liberty and political democracy. In India, these can be attained by the adoption of the Gandhian technique of non-violent mass civil resistance and decentralised economy. He envisages a period of transition from the existing position to a Socialist society during which the application of Gandhiji's principle of the trusteeship of property, the result of persuasion and State pressure, would come into operation. In that connection he states that he regards it as one of many other means for establishing on a more satisfactory basis the relationship of men to things.

That Mr. Masani is a sincere Socialist prepared to face unpleasant facts and to adapt the technique followed to the demands of changing times is patent. Equally clear is the fact that he is a logical thinker and possesses a remarkably convincing way of putting his point of view before his readers.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

HISTORY OF THE SIKHS—Vol. II: By Hari Ram Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. Minerva Book Shop, Lahore. 1944.

This volume deals with the history of the Cis-Sutlej Sikhs from 1769 to 1799. During this period the land between the Jumna and the Sutlej rivers was divided among a large number of Sikh chiefs who owed no common allegiance and followed no common policy. The Sikhs were by far the most daring, hardy and skilful soldiers of the age, and under able leadership, might have established themselves as the leading political power in North India. "The Mughal empire lay almost prostrate before them. The Rajputs, the Jats, the Rohillas and the Nawab of Oudh trembled before their

armies. The Mahrattas were a spent force and the British rule had not yet struck roots in this country." There was thus a splendid opportunity before the Sikhs. That astute statesman Mahadji Sindhia was one of the few politicians who grasped the reality of the situation and tried to enlist the support of the Sikhs in order to curb the rising power of the English, and maintain peace and order in Northern India which had been bleeding under free lances for nearly half a century. Sindhia failed because the Sikhs were "most intractable and least amenable to reason. Politically they were at a very immature stage of development and understood neither the value of statesmanship nor the tactics of diplomacy."

Instead of seizing the golden opportunity for doing lasting good to their community and country the Sikhs converted themselves into roving bands of marauders and free-booters. "They understood only the argument of physical force and on the basis of their bodily strength and the love of horsemanship, they made periodical incursions all over the neighbouring territory collecting money and cattle." The history of the Sikhs during the period under review is thus reduced almost to a story of annual plundering raids into the Doab and neighbouring regions, bringing untold misery and sufferings upon the innocent people, and this monotonous is only broken by occasional warfare among themselves or their struggle with the Mughals, the Marathas, and the Rohillas. Like the Chauth of the Marathas the Sikhs claimed an annual tax called *rakhi* from the people of the Doab and the brutal manner in which it was collected has left behind horrid recollections. The author has dealt in minute details with these predatory raids of the Sikhs and utilized all available documents for getting precise details. His industry in collecting materials and his critical insight into the spirit of the age and the mentality of the Sikhs deserve the highest praise. Although the book is mainly a collection of dry details of the unending series of raids and pillages of the Sikhs, the author has taken care to draw the obvious morals and lessons of history as will be seen from the passages of his book quoted above. He has clearly brought out the great change that came over the Sikhs. To quote his own words again:—

"Previously the Sikhs had followed the principles of universalism by subordinating the individual to the community. Now they pursued the policy of individualism by raising the individual above the will of the community."

"It is therefore not surprising to find how those very people who had shown themselves the protectors of the weak and the oppressed during the first three quarters of the eighteenth century, became the persecutors of the innocent and the defenceless."

This second volume of the History of the Sikhs has fully sustained the reputation which the author so deservedly earned by the preceding volume. The book is well documented and the style is lucid and attractive. It is a fine example of a scholarly work which combines

a minute study of details with a sound judgment and grasp of the essentials. We recommend the book to all lovers of Indian history:

R. C. MAJUMDAR

A HISTORY OF HINDU PUBLIC LIFE, Part I (Period of the Vedic Samhitas, the Brahmanas, and the older Upanishads): By U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B., Editor, "Journal of the Greater India Society", and formerly Professor of History, Presidency College, Calcutta. Published by Ramesh Ghoshal, 35, Badur Bagan Row, Calcutta (1945). Pages xii + 176. Price Rs. 6.

We are glad to find that Dr. Ghoshal, well-known to students of Indology as the author of a number of important monographs on Hindu Political theories and Hindu Revenue System and allied topics of Hindu history and culture, and as the scholar who has been ably editing the *Journal of the Greater India Society* for a number of years, is not resting on his oars after his retirement from Presidency College, Calcutta, but is continuing his study and researches as vigorously as before, adding, as the work under review amply demonstrates to our positive knowledge of some of the important aspects of the corporate cultural life of Ancient India centering round politics and public life and public institutions. In 1924 the late Mr. Kasi Prasad Jayaswal published his *Hindu Polity*, which gave a survey of ancient Indian political institutions basing his findings on authentic literary and other sources, and the publication of this work was quite an event in Indological studies, and much advance in our knowledge was registered in it; but a criticism was made from competent quarters that the warmth and enthusiasm of the author were at times too apparent in his treatment to make his book a repository of passionless objective information. Other books have since been placed before readers, and among them Dr. U. N. Ghoshal's *History of Hindu Political Theories*, and *Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System* hold a high place. The present work, as its full title makes clear its scope, embodies a consideration from the standpoint of history and the political science of all old texts giving statements as to the public life of the Aryan-speaking Hindus of North India from the earliest times down to about 800 B.C. We have thus a panoramic view, to be surveyed stage by stage, of political and other public institutions and usages, theories and customs, from the Rigveda age downwards. The view is all-inclusive, and the references and quotations are ample, and at every step (in the best style of authoritative works) the author's statements and interpretations can be chequed by the original texts. The gradual increase in complication in the public life of the land through Aryan expansion and advancement in civilisation cannot but fail to strike even the most cursory reader. I need not go into details, but we find in this work considerations on the basis of the ancient texts themselves of a number of important institutions and terms with which we are still familiar and which have been continued all through Hindu history and are even now being revived, after suitable modernisation, e.g., terms like *sabha*, *samiti*, *samgati*, *rajya*, *rastra*, *ksatra* and *brahma*, *svarat*, *samrat*, *senani*, *gramani*, etc. The book gives us a picture of Hindu public life in its formative stage and stage of early development, and it is pleasing to find that there was a considerable body of public opinion restraining absolutism, and that *Dharma* or Divine Law was looked upon as the grinding principle in kingship. The institution of caste, with its privileged classes (their duties and discipline notwithstanding), on the other hand, appears to have taken a turn towards the direction in which it progressed in later periods, and the inequalities in Hindu society due

to caste which are its greatest drawback became established even from the very early period. The work is a very dispassionate and objective survey, and will have a permanent place in the literature on the subject. We shall eagerly wait for the subsequent volumes which the author has in preparation and contemplation, and we can only wish more power to his elbow, to complete the survey and to publish it as quickly as possible.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

THE FUTURE OF THE RUPEE: By Messrs. C. N. Vakil and J. J. Anjaria. Popular Book Depot, Bombay 7. Pages 39. Price 1-4.

While sterling balances are accumulating in favour of India and there is a vast expansion of the rupee currency in the country, a book of this nature is welcome to all who are interested in the subject. It goes without saying that the country's interests are best served by maintaining stability, i.e., the internal and external or exchange value of the rupee. Unfortunately undue interest had been shown in the past for maintaining the exchange value of the rupee at the sacrifice of India's wellbeing.

The book is divided into five parts viz. (I) The Search for Stable Money, (II) The Rupee and the War, (III) The Future of the Rupee: immediate post-war problem, (IV) The Future of the Rupee: external influences and (V) The Future of the Rupee: guiding principles. In this short compass, the authors have discussed the entire subject from historic background to the present muddle and possibilities of the future. All the efforts to stabilise the rupee having failed in the past, it is proposed to aim at an autonomous rupee kept clear of its sterling mooring. The authors have tried to be rational even in most controversial parts of the subject discussed, leaving the readers to draw their own conclusions.

Students of Economics and particularly of Indian monetary problems will find this brochure interesting and thought-provoking.

A. B. DATTA

YOGA FOR SELF-CULTURE: By Pandit Murlidhar. Published by Amrit Book Co., Connaught Circus, New Delhi. Pp. 147. Cloth bound. Price Rs. 3.

The first book of the author on the Gita has been kindly received by the readers. His second book, which is under review, follows the footsteps of its forerunner in elucidating and popularising the ancient wisdom of our country. The object of the author in writing this book is "to expound the general teachings of yoga in such a simple and lucid language as may be easily grasped and the teachings be practised by any earnest aspirant." We are glad to say that the author has succeeded in simplifying the science of yoga in a way intelligible to one and all. The book is written in a conversational style as a dialogue between a yogi and his pupil and is divided into three chapters entitled cognition, natural elements and Patanjali's yoga.

Yoga, as a science of self-culture, is never meant for a chosen few. A good number of yogic practices may be safely applied by all individuals irrespective of sex, age, or capacity for bettering and brightening their personality physically, mentally and morally. For instance, some postures and breathing exercises are quite capable of curing the chronic troubles such as constipation, insomnia, indigestion etc. and preserving good health. That is why the author has described at the end of the book some simple yogic practices which everybody may follow without any fear of bad effect. But yogic science is extremely practical. The more one practises it, the more one is benefited and the better becomes one's psycho-physical apparatus. The book provides a general knowledge of yoga enough for mass-practice.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

SANSKRIT

JINARATNAKOSA : *An alphabetical register of Jain works and authors. Vol I. By Hari Damodar Velankar, M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, Wilson College, Bombay. Government Oriental Series, Class C, No. 4. Pages, Quarto i-xii + 1-466. Price Rs. 12-8 per copy, exclusive of postage. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1944.*

This is an alphabetical list of Sanskrit and Prakrit works (the titles of the latter are also given in their Sanskritised form) dealing with Jainism or written by Jain authors on different secular subjects. There are, however, a few anonymous works which appear to have little connection with Jainism. Most of the works still exist in manuscripts deposited in different manuscript libraries including a large number of Jain *bhandars* some of which are inaccessible to non-Jains and the contents of many unknown to the scholarly world. The learned author had had to work hard for a long time to trace Jain works in the published catalogues and notices of manuscripts as also to secure lists of similar works in *bhandars* unsacked by scholars hitherto. Numerous works not mentioned in the *Catalogus Catalogorum* have thus found place in the volume. But completeness, not to speak of perfection, is unattainable in a work of this type. Omissions are almost inevitable. A few may be noticed here. Copies of the *Bhaktamara-stotra* and the *Jnanarnava* belonging to the libraries of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad of Calcutta and already noticed in the pages of the journal of the Society or the Descriptive catalogues of the institutes are not mentioned here. But more important and rather unusual seems to be the absence of any reference to two works called *Prasastisamgraha* published at Ahmedabad and Arrah, one containing *prasastis* collected from 1500 manuscripts and the other giving descriptive accounts. The learned author does not tell us anything about the method followed in utilising the sources of information—particularly the extensive literature which gives descriptive accounts of manuscripts. It is noticed that there is no reference to the catalogues of the India Office Library, Madras Oriental Library, Tanjore Saraswati Mahal Library, to mention only the best-known of the numerous such libraries. It will be interesting to know definitely if collections, not referred to in the volume, do not contain any work by a Jain author. It may be hoped that definite information on this point will be available in the introduction to the forthcoming second volume which will contain a list of Jain authors.

We wish the author, god-speed in finishing the entire work and thus putting a land-mark in the field of the scientific study of Jainism and of the contributions of the Jains to the literature of India.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

SARVANSAHA : *By Sumatha Nath Ghosh. Published by Book Industries, Calcutta, 1944. Pages 190. Price Rs. 3.*

The main theme of this book is the antithesis between village and town as social patterns. The artificiality, ugliness, cruelties, moral decadence and social vices so characteristic of present-day urban society are pitted against the simplicity, moral ardour and social equilibrium of rural life, and all the miseries and humiliations of present-day Bengal are seen through the perspective of this conflict. The author undertakes a literary voyage through the vast open seas of Bengal's physical destitution and moral crisis as well as through the backwaters of her degradation and filth. Everywhere he comes across inexplicable paradoxes and paints them with a bold brush and unabashed realism. The hypocrisies and moral torments

of the middle classes as well as the frenzied modernity and blatant egoism of the wealthier sections of the community have been portrayed with unrelenting sarcasm. There is a touch of pathos in this remarkable analysis of the actual holocaust, and we know that most of it is true to actual life. It must, however, be noted that the narrative, though forceful as an essay, lacks the quality of fiction. The story shifts from scene to scene as in a news-reel, even though they are connected by a certain unity of design. Again, the millennium envisaged by the author as a panacea for all the social and moral evils of contemporary Bengal will certainly elicit protests from students of sociology. The answer to this old controversy is nothing so simple or categorical as the author imagines it to be. Even though this book might be considered not to have attained high literary merit as a novel, it will, I am sure, be read with great interest and profit by the mass of our readers for its bold realism, scathing banter and ruthless wit.

MONINERAMOHAN MOULIK

HINDI

SOVIET RUS KI NARIYAN : *By Prahalad Joshi and Satish Purohit. Jan-Prakashan-Griha, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4. Pp. 64. Price twelve annas.*

Few outside Russia are fully acquainted with the important fact that in her victorious struggle against the treacherous onslaught of the Nazi hordes, the contribution of Russia's women-folk has by no means been mean or ignoble. They did not shirk their responsibility and take the road to refuge. On the contrary they have not lagged behind their comrades in arms in winning laurels at the factories, fields and fronts and have paid for them in no smaller proportion of sweat and tears, blood and death. In many cases they have outshone their menfolk and thus literally proved to be their better-halves.

The book, under review, contains Hindi translation of 13 short stories and sketches by eminent Russian writers portraying the admirable part played by Russian women in different stages and spheres of the war. Here is some truth, which is really stranger than fiction. The translation is quite good and makes interesting reading. We commend this book especially to our women-readers.

M. S. SENGAR

GUJARATI

PADATHAR : *By Minu Desai. Printed at the Shashank Printing Press, Bombay. (1943). Thick card-board. Pp. 33. Price twelve annas.*

Minu Desai is a young Parsi poet, who has completely identified himself with the sentiments of his Hindu brothers, as well as their literary culture. In this small collection of nine short poems he has tried to illustrate six *rasas*—*shant*, *shringar*, *karun*, *hasya*, etc., and has succeeded in doing so. A very enlightened preface by another rising poet, Umashankar Joshi, has, in a very sympathetic way, pointed out the excellences and defects of the work, which deserves encouragement.

BRAHMA TATTWA ANE BHAKTINI SHRESH-TA : *By the late Vakil Girdharlal V. Mehta, Sihore, Kathiawad. Published by his son Mangaldas G. Mehta. (1943). Cloth-bound. Pp. 100. Price Re. 1-8.*

The late Vakil who has written what is published by his son, lived for eighty years and was very religious. He had deeply studied the Gita and other Vedantic treatises and has given the benefit of that study, both in prose and poetry, to those who care to read his observations.

K. M. J.

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My Pictures

We give below the concluding portion of the article, as published in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, on "My Pictures" by Rabindranath Tagore, written in London on July 2, 1930 :

It interests me deeply to watch how lines find their life and character, as their connection with each other develops in varied cadences, and how they begin to speak in gesticulations. I can imagine the universe to be a universe of lines which in their movements and combinations pass on their signals of existence along the interminable chain of moments. The rocks and clouds, the trees, the waterfalls, the dance of the fiery orbs, the endless procession of life send up across silent eternity and limitless space a symphony of gestures with which mingles the dumb wail of lines that are widowed gypsies roaming about for a chance union of fulfilment.

In the manuscript of creation there occur erring lines and erasures, solitary incongruities, standing against the world principle of beauty and balance, carrying perpetual condemnation. They offer problems and therefore material to the Visvakarma, the Great Artist, for they are the sinners whose obstreperous individualism has to be modulated into a new variation of universal concord.

And this was my experience with the casualties in my manuscripts, when the vagaries of the ostracized mistakes had their conversion into a rhythmic inter-relationship, giving birth to unique forms and characters. Some assumed the temperate exaggeration of a probable animal that had unaccountably missed its chance of existence, some a bird that only can soar in our dreams and find its nest in some hospitable lines that we may offer it in our canvas. Some lines showed anger, some placid benevolence, through some lines ran an essential laughter that refused to apply for its credential to the shape of a mouth which is a mere accident. These lines often expressed passions that were abstract, evolved characters that hung upon subtle suggestions. Though I did not know whether such unclassified apparitions of non-deliberate origin could claim their place in decent art, they gave me intense satisfaction and very often made me neglect my important works. In connection with this came to my mind the analogy of music's declaration of independence. There can be no question that originally melody accompanied words, giving interpretation to the sentiments contained in them. But music threw off this bond of subservience and represented moods abstracted from words, and characters that were indefinite. In fact, this liberated music does not acknowledge that feelings which can be expressed in words are essential for its purpose, though they may have their secondary place in musical structure. This right of independence has given music its greatness, and I suspect that evolution of pictorial and plastic art develops on this line, aiming to be freed from an absolute alliance with natural facts or incidents.

However, I need not formulate any doctrine of art but be contented by simply saying that in my case my pictures did not have their origin in trained discipline, in tradition and deliberate attempt at illustration, but in my instinct for rhythm, my pleasure in harmonious combination of lines and colours,

Racism and World Unity

The colour bar is one expression of racism. Ingrowing nationalism, exclusive creeds, caste barriers and rigid social or economic strata, all create and foster divisiveness; the world's urgent need is Unity. R. L. Megroz observes in *The Aryan Path* :

There is irony in the fact that the consensus of scientific knowledge strips the old conception of "races" of all reality. Sufficient is known to provide the fullest evidence in support of the belief that there is only one race, local variations being due to a more than average prevalence of certain marked characteristics. The significance of such local variations consists only in certain physical and mental traits due to environment and culture. Moreover, in any one group with such characteristics as, say, the people of Northern Europe, there are as wide differences between individuals among them as there are between them and the people of another group, let us say the people of Northern India. The scientific knowledge of the nature of human species, however, has not yet made much headway against old prejudices, nor, it is to be feared, has the realisation of the evil thing these can become when exploited by a fantasy-ridden people like the Germans, who biologically are almost as mixed as any nation on earth.



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NAGARJUN CHEMICAL WORKS
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This year (1944) two enlightened books by American authors have been published which reveal how serious the problem remains. *Race and Rumours of Race* by Dr. Howard W. Odum tells the lamentable story of the increase of racial tension during the war, especially between the Negroes and the Whites in the United States. *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race* by M. F. Ashley Montagu includes this theme and surveys the racial question over a wide field; and he stresses, as his title indicates, the known facts that rob the term "race" of its former meaning.

Biologists and anthropologists are beginning to study more carefully the results of "mixed" unions, such as between White and Brown or Black people, and the evidence so far flatly contradicts popular notions that the offspring of such unions are degenerate.

It is noteworthy that in Brazil there has been, over a prolonged period, a constant and big-scale mixture of white and coloured people without friction and without ill effects.

According to some "Intelligence Tests" the white races come out top. But as they were devised by and for white people and assume the background and mental habits of the white man, this result is not surprising.

It might be added also that there have been too many intellectually brilliant coloured scientists and artists for any such generalisation to hold water. The differences in level of development and direction of ability are entirely due to environment and training, to "culture" in fact and not to "race." Thus it is that the serious differences between peoples are more often to be found in the form of national cultures than in the physical characteristics, and where it is not so, as in the United States, it is because one group has a different economic status and culture, as different as a separate nation.

Now differences, as such, are all to the good, for world unity does not mean that we should seek uniformity in all things.

Mr. Ashley Montagu observes:

"It has often been argued that racial enmities between men will disappear only when all physical 'racial' differences between them have been obliterated. This is a fallacious argument for the simple reason that the real source of 'racial' hostilities is not physical but cultural."

Across the Rhine

The New Review observes:

The Allied armies were across the Rhine and the battle for the Nazi homeland had entered its last phase. The occasion was so dramatic that Churchill could not resist going there furtively. On his return he could hear the national joy in the Commons' applause, and read the popular feeling chalked on the poster-boards of newspaper-boys: 'Latest news: Churchill visits England.'

Within a week, General Eisenhower confidently announced: 'The German as a military force on the western front are a whipped enemy.' They had lost their largest arsenal, and were in full retreat without any major defence line on which to fall back.

Whilst General Dempsey made a dash for the north-east towards Bremen and Hamburg, and Canadians plodded on through Arnhem towards the north and north-west, the American Ninth outflanked the Ruhr basin on the north and the American First on the south. Their steel fingers lengthened day by day, and met at Lippstadt, closing on Field Marshal Model's Army Group B; they relentlessly squeezed the Ruhr pocket smaller and smaller every day of three weeks. When it was all over, they counted 317,000 prisoners. Prisoners and arsenals made the Ruhr the record prize of any single operation in this war.

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Once the encirclement was complete, Montgomery passed the Ninth American back to Bradley's command.

He started giving chase to Field Marshal Blawitz' Army Group H which pulled out of Holland at full speed and reached Bremen and Hamburg before the British Second. Montgomery sped on to Hanover, Brunswick and to the Elbe. As the Ruhr pocket was gradually reduced, Bradley's First pushed eastwards straight on beyond Kassel in the area which Patton had scoured first to protect the Ruhr encirclement, and shed a bridgehead across the Elbe. All along the moving front, planes gave unfailing support to the ground troops, and by the middle of April our airforces abandoned strategic bombing (German war production had by then dropped to little) and had been shifted to tactical battle-support; airborne troops flown in gliders or dropped by parachute here and there, and most air operations came off beautifully, as the Arnhem mistakes were never repeated.

In the south the American Seventh and the French First had also crossed the river and painstakingly made for Nurnberg and for Stuttgart. Patton himself could not be followed up. The day after crossing the Rhine, he had made for Darmstadt, entered Frankfurt, seized a bridge on the Main and reached Hannau ten miles east of Frankfurt. The names of the towns he entered or by-passed made a crazy pattern on Germany's map. Patton's tankmen kept to his chief battle-rule: fire and nobility. They moved on and on, without pausing, even when the President's death was radioed; when they met a road block, they did not dig in, but moved round the road-block and kept firing; they went ahead leaving to motorised infantry the task of cleaning up machine-gun nests. Occasionally they ran right off their tactical maps and had to wait for advanced maps to be parachuted along with fuel and ammunition.

Two of Patton's divisions crossed each other at angles during battle, and the Nazis were the only ones to get confused. Patton had remained a keen advocate of the Shermans against heavier tanks and now answer his critics with finality: 'Look where tanks are, and look where theirs are.'

Whilst Montgomery drove the enemy against the western sea-coast, Patton was to jab deep into central Germany and deny the enemy access to the south. He was partly successful; he cleaned up the area north of the Erz mountains and left it to the First Army's care; he pushed into Czechoslovakia, then suddenly turned south to join the Seventh American along the Elbe.

White Population Dwindling

The Indian Readers' Digest quotes from the *World Dominion*:

Quite a few people are quite 'seriously' afraid that the world is becoming over-populated.

And they're afraid because over-population—if it were to continue—might lead to war, poverty and unemployment.

The suggested "cure" is that the people should be spread out and the "surplus" directed to the "open spaces."

But actually, there is no danger of over-population. Because the world can produce enough food to support between 6,000,000,000 and 8,000,000,000 people.

And its population is now only 2,000,000,000—and is increasing only at the rate of 18,000,000 a year.

But, for all that, there is one very real population problem.

The white races of the world are on the decline.

If things go on as they are the birth-rate of the countries of Western civilisation will have fallen considerably in a generation's time.

On the other hand, the birth-rates of Japan and Asiatic Russia will have increased enormously.

Here is a table which shows you how the birth-rates of a few countries declined during the thirty-eight years from 1901 to 1939. The figures given show the number of children born to each thousand of the people.

		<i>Decline</i>
England and Wales	..	28.5 to 15.0—13.5
Scotland	..	29.5 to 17.6—11.9
France	..	22.0 to 14.9—7.1
Germany	..	35.7 to 19.3—16.4
Norway	..	29.6 to 15.2—14.4

And what of the United States? Well, there the population increased between 1921 and 1941 from 106,000,000 to 133,600,000.

But—there was a decline of 2,000,000 in the number of school children between 1930 and 1940.

You get the other side of the picture when you look at Japan's figures. Between 1901 and 1939, the birthrate declined only from 31.0 to 30.6. And during the last thirteen years it has increased from 24.3 to 30.6.

And in Asiatic Russia, the population increased from 29,000,000 to 42,000,000—an increase of 46 per cent.

Take another look at those figures, and you'll see quite clearly that, in the course of time, the yellow races might eventually swamp the whites.

So the white races can't be relied upon to people the sparsely populated areas of the world.

The way out would seem to be to turn to other groups such as the peoples of East and South Asia.

But then you come up against another difficulty—the superiority complex of the white man and the application of the colour bar, not only to Negroes, but also Indians and Chinese.

The failure to solve the Negro problem in North America does not offer a reassuring prospect for the coloured peoples in other parts of the world.

It is not beyond the range of the possibility that after the war, the non-white races may erect a colour bar of their own against the whites.

This kind of racial problem is bound to continue and it may get even worse in the post-war period. But it isn't a hopeless situation.

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A permanent international organisation—to study questions of population, emigration, agricultural and industrial development, together with racial relationships and problems—would render an immense service to the world.

In the Days of My Youth

Sir Shadi Lal writes in *The Hindustan Review* :

The first indelible record which life wrote on my memory was the death of my mother. It occurred when I was only five years of age. After that I was brought up by my father and my uncles. They were exceedingly orthodox, both from the religious and social points of view of a Hindu family.

This meant what, to-day, would be recorded as restrictions in the matter of diet and of social intercourse. My diet was strictly vegetarian and it remains so even today, for I have never changed. This involves the exclusion not only of flesh food, but even eggs. I was allowed animal products like milk and butter, which I still use, but although I may take cheese, I do not. Another restriction was with regard to travelling across the seas. The idea behind it was that anyone who went across the ocean was an outcast. That, however, was not the teaching of old Hinduism but of Brahmanism, and is being considerably modified at present.

I matriculated at the Punjab University in Lahore. There is no residential system in the Indian Universities, as there is at Oxford and Cambridge, but we have hostels in which the students live. They are not part of the University system, so that an undergraduate can live just as easily at home as he can in the hostel. As my home was three hundred miles from Lahore, I naturally kept my terms in a hostel.

I took my B.A. after four years, and my M.A., as the result of a separate examination, after five years' study. That was in 1895, when I was just 21. Before that I had been attending law lectures in the Law Institution of the Punjab University.

The Government of India awards scholarships, tenable at an English University, and I was offered one. I was faced with very strong opposition of my family on the religious ground which I have mentioned above. They thought that I would be a lost soul to them if I crossed the ocean. Ultimately, however, they reluctantly acquiesced in my decision, and I started.

At Oxford, I was naturally confronted with the difference in the University routine, for as an under-

graduate at Balliol, I found I was expected to keep six roll-calls a week. With the other undergraduates I used to go to the gate where the Junior Dean, then affectionately known as Jimmy Palmer, and later Bishop of Bombay, marked us present at eight o'clock in the morning. Among my contemporaries at Balliol was Sir Arthur Steel Maitland, M.P., who was my senior by two or three years, and a friend of mine is now Professor Barriedale Keith, Regius Professor of Sanskrit at Edinburgh.

In the Michaelmas term of 1897, I commenced the study of law. For two terms I was the pupil of Lord Birkenhead, who was then Mr. F. E. Smith. He was a don at Merton at the time. He was a brilliant teacher, and generally made his pupils read law for themselves. By reason of his masterly instruction and his guidance of my studies I finished the amount of Roman Law he thought necessary for me in two terms, and he dismissed me with the cheering statement: "It is not necessary for you to come back to me."

We met again in 1924 when I was in England and the Canadian lawyers who had come there gave a dinner to the English Judges. I was then Chief Justice of the High Court at Lahore, and they invited me to the banquet. After dinner, Lord Birkenhead turned to the Chief Justice of Canada and said humorously: "It is all on account of the teaching he obtained from me that Shadi Lal has risen to the position he now occupies as the Chief Justice of Lahore."

At Oxford I played tennis, rowed, and did a great deal of walking. I belonged to the Union, but I was a silent member. I entered Gray's Inn, where I ate my dinners, and was called to the Bar. I was considerably amused at the popularity which my mess enjoyed. When my fellow students learned that I did not take wine, many of them tried to join my mess so as to take advantage of my share of the bottle.

In September, 1899, I returned to India and went to Lahore where within six months, I was asked by the authorities of the Punjab University to deliver lectures to the law students of the University on the subject of "Private International Law." During those lectures the students used to bring to me various questions, and I always explained to them both sides of the arguments, and told them the possible views which could be taken on the subject. The law students at Lahore were expected to attend at least seventy-five per cent of the lectures delivered by the various law lectures. While they absented themselves sometimes from the lectures of the other lecturers they paid me the compliment of attending all those delivered by me. In addition to lecturing, I practised in the Courts, and within four years I was making £2,000 a year.

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Professor I. M. Heilbron writes in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* :

We are so accustomed to assess the scientific developments of the war solely in terms of machines and lethal weapons that we are apt to lose sight of many significant discoveries, particularly those of a chemical nature which, although less spectacular initially, are nevertheless destined to play an important part in the future of mankind. These developments loom large in the field of medical science where we have witnessed during the past five years advances of the highest importance and which fortunately will have far-reaching effects in the alleviation of human suffering long after the miseries of the present conflict have become mere pages of history. As particular instances, I would recall to your minds the complete transformation which has been brought about in the treatment of wounds by the use of blood plasma, sulphonamide drugs and penicillin. It is probable that in every war in the past more deaths have been due to disease than to the human enemy, and this applies especially in tropical areas where malaria and dysentery abound. Malaria, transmitted from man to man by a wide variety of anopheline mosquitoes, is one of the greatest scourges inflicted on humanity. No disease exceeds it in its toll of death and suffering; it affects up to 300 million of the world's population each year, with an annual death roll certainly not less than 3 million, and probably much higher. Dysentery is transmitted by the common house-fly which is also responsible for many other gastro-intestinal diseases common in the tropics. Even the minute sand-fly plays a major role in transmitting sand-fly fever and also Kala-azar so prevalent in India and the Sudan. The louse is another death-carrying insect which transmits the scourge of typhus, and flourishes naturally under the conditions of dirt engendered by war. It has already been met with in Italy and is certain to be encountered again in many parts of disorganised Europe. In the last war, typhus killed 150,000 people in six months in Serbia during the winter of 1914-15; after the Russian Revolution, some 3 million people fell victims to its powers of devastation, and history records the decimation of whole communities. So important is the subject of typhus rated in the U.S.A. that a special Army Typhus-Commission has been set up in that country with wide terms of reference, and with branches both in Europe and Asia. Close liaison is maintained with the British forces, so as to ensure unified action wherever an epidemic threatens.

DDT is the contraction coined by the Ministry of Supply to designate the substance p,p-dichloro-diphenyl-tri-chlorethane, first synthesised in 1874 by a young German chemist working on his Doctorate thesis. Although its discovery evoked no particular interest, either at the time or for more than sixty years after, it was re-synthesised, as part of a well-planned and methodical search, a few years ago by Paul Muller, one of the chemists of J. R. Geigy of Basle, Switzerland, who found that it possessed marked insecticidal properties. As we now know, it was first used on a comparatively large scale in 1939 in Switzerland, with success, against the Colorado Potato Beetle, which threatened to destroy the potato crop in that country. The use of the chemical as an insecticide was patented in Switzerland in 1940, and samples were made available

to a few of our Government Research Departments in the autumn of 1942 by the Geigy Colour Company of Manchester.

Its great potential importance as an army insecticide, was first revealed in this country by work carried out in the Department of Entomology, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, which showed that it possessed a powerful lethal action on lice. In addition to the valuable and extensive entomological work which this Department carries out on behalf of the Panel, the Pest Infestation Laboratory of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, the Department of Entomology at the Imperial College, the Army School of Hygiene, and the relevant research establishments of the Ministry of Supply, have all co-operated with enthusiasm and realism in a wide range of investigations. It soon became evident, that DDT was a unique substance, with properties immeasurably superior to those of any natural or synthetic insecticide yet discovered, against a wide variety of insects.

In the foregoing, I have attempted to give a general idea of the background leading to the production of DDT on a vast scale. I propose now briefly to review its uses against specific insects, and in the first place to discuss its importance in the control of epidemic typhus. Prior to the discovery of DDT the British Army used a powder containing rotenone while the U.S. Forces employed pyrethrum. The first full-scale use of DDT in a war sector came in December, 1943, when a typhus epidemic broke out among the people of Naples. In view of the conditions appertaining at the time, the position was fraught with danger, both to the civil population of Italy and to the military forces. Vigorous control measures for detecting the disease were immediately taken and mass delousing was adopted. During January, 1944, 1,300,000 civilians were disinfected by dusting with 5 per cent powder. This large-scale attack on lice with DDT was one of the most important factors in bringing the disease under control. Indeed for the first time in the history of medical science, a typhus epidemic was stopped in mid-winter, and with almost miraculous speed.

In both the Pacific and Mediterranean areas, the malaria-carrying mosquito is the greatest insect foe against which our troops have to contend. The larval stage of the mosquito is passed only in water; pools, slow-flowing streams and stagnant water, often puddles made by man's footprints or by lorry ruts, are ideal breeding places. Prior to the advent of DDT, the

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mosquito population was kept down in limited areas by lavish oiling of all water surfaces where breeding occurred; the oils were applied at the rate of 12-15 gallons per acre, and formed a film on the surface which prevented the larvae from breathing. The surface application of poisonous dusts, such as Paris Green and cuprous cyanide was also effective. Where domestic varieties of mosquito were concerned adults were killed in the interior of buildings by the use of sprays containing pyrethrum dissolved in paraffin oil. DDT has now proved itself to be a superior weapon, both against larvae and adult mosquitoes. Applied to the surface of breeding areas as a 5 per cent solution in oil, at the rate of one to two quarts per acre, it kills all the larvae and breeding ceases for several days. As the quantity of DDT solution required is small, relatively large areas can be treated from the ground by means of hand or power sprayers.

DDT is also efficient against many other insect pests. Thus, the bed-bug, which to our shame still infests so many buildings in this country, can be successfully eradicated by the use of DDT as a residual spray. This is especially important in barracks and troopships where mattresses treated with DDT remain free from bugs for many months. Indeed, attempts at deliberate re-infestation have proved unsuccessful. In the same way, cockroaches and fleas, the latter dangerous carriers of plague, fall easy victims to DDT. Discomfort caused by cockroaches on board ship need be tolerated no longer.

The discovery of DDT indubitably heralds a new era in man's ceaseless fight for mastery against disease.

The Negro in Brazil

Margaret Ann Sweeney writes in *The Catholic World*:

The position of the Negro in the Republic of Brazil today is unlike that of the colored man anywhere else in the world. To be born a Negro in Brazil does not mean to be hopelessly destined for a degraded future or the ceaseless struggle that the Negro knows in the United States. On the contrary, to be born a Negro in Brazil means to be born a person with an accepted right to life, liberty, and all cultural pursuits. But you may ask: How has the Negro attained this position in Brazil? Perhaps the answer will best be found by looking into the historical circumstances which have determined through the years the present status of the Negro in the largest of the Latin American republics and the greatest of her melting pots.

The background of the Brazilian Negro is interesting and colorful. The beginning of the saga can be traced to early colonial days. The discovery of Brazil is recorded in history as occurring in 1500 when Vincente Yanez Pinzon coasted the shores of that vast land and went on to discover the immensity of the Amazon region. A few months later, a Portuguese fleet commanded by Pedro Alvarez Cabral sighted the southern part of the present State of Bahia. Cabral named the whole country "Island of the Holy Cross," and claimed it for Portugal. When, after a full generation had passed, the Portuguese began the actual occupation of the land, they were faced with two serious problems: They had too few men to people and maintain the colony and too few to work its vast and rich resources. Forced Indian labour proved unsuccessful from the outset. Portugal herself had less than three million subjects, and, as Asia was draining off many of these,

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no help could be expected from this source. In the already organized African slave trade Portuguese capitalists found the solution to their economic problem and eventually to the problem of peopling the colony itself. To the womanless Portuguese (the women of Portugal having been for the most part dissuaded from making the journey to the New World because of the excessive perils and hardships involved) the Negro women came not only to be their servants and slaves, but the mothers of their families. This intermarriage caused little if any comment in the homeland or in Brazil, for race prejudice had never been characteristic of the Portuguese. In fact, even before the discovery of Brazil the inhabitants of southern Portugal had begun to combine with the Bantu and the coastal Negroes of West Africa.

Perhaps the most terrible feature of the early slave trading was the passage across the Atlantic which the slaves were forced to endure. In the darkened holds of the miserable slave ships the Negroes were jammed in so tightly that they had scarcely sufficient air to breathe to say nothing of adequate sanitation. The food was scanty and unpalatable, the water polluted and crawling. These conditions were the primary cause of the death of from thirty to forty per cent of each human cargo. If even twenty per cent of the original shipment survived the passage, the traders considered business as good. Little wonder, then, that these slave vessels became known as "tumberios," or "floating coffins." Once in America, however, the plight of the blacks was little worse than in their own land, and admittedly better than that on other plantations of this the New World. As time passed, the crown took cognizance of their condition. Legislation was enacted regarding them and came in the form of the royal decrees of 1688, 1689, 1693 and 1704. In accordance with the King's orders, owners were to set aside Saturday as a day of leisure for their slaves. The comforts of religion were willingly extended to them when they fell ill or were in danger of death. No mention was made, however, of education. On his part, the Negro showed himself to be remarkably adaptable to the industrial and cultural circumstances in which he unwillingly found himself. Within a relatively short time he had become acclimatized and had adopted the customs and language of his new country.

Although the royal decrees regarding the welfare of the Negroes were carried out by the majority, some among the Brazilians still treated their slaves as less than human beings. These conditions inspired the Holy Father, Pope Leo XIII, in 1888 to write to the bishops of Brazil setting forth the position of the Catholic Church in regard to slavery, condemning its cruelties and commending its abolition. In May, 1888, the Brazilian Parliament passed a bill abolishing slavery without indemnity to the owners, but the struggle for its complete enforcement was a long and bitter one.

In giving her colored people their freedom, Brazil also gave the Negroes their chance in life. In the very first years of independence the Brazilian Negro began to take his rightful place in society. It can be stated without doubt that the acceptance of the colored man by his fellow countrymen in Brazil was due above all to their feeling of gratitude to the Negro. They recognized the part the Negro had played in the upbuilding of the country. And as in its early history, Brazil still feels indebted to her colored populace. Those who may think this an overstatement need only study the typical modern Brazilian city, Bahia, for proof. Bahia is modern because it has had wide contacts with the trade and commerce of the world and

has progressed accordingly; Bahia is typical because in it one may see the same attitudes and opinions of many of the other large metropolises crystallized. Here racial adjustments have perhaps gone on more consistently than in the other cities and the results, therefore, are more clearly discernible. In Bahia the Negro has taken his place in the various walks of life. He may run a cafe and it will be patronized by all classes; he can be seen teaching in the elementary grade school and both black and white children will be his pupils. Literally, there is no discrimination in Bahia because of color.

Bahia is one of the oldest capitals in the Western Hemisphere, having been settled shortly after the coming of the first Portuguese explorers. Among the number were adventurers, shipwrecked sailors, criminals, political and religious refugees. As a group these people were serious and hard-working, with little time to spare for the cultivation of the arts. The Negroes, on the contrary, possessed, it seemed, a perpetual fund of good humor; with a natural gaiety and exuberance, they delighted in singing and dancing and the small joys of daily life. Complete confidence could be placed in them, in return for which undying loyalty was given. It was the Negro then who helped to temper the primitive harshness of the early Portuguese settlers. In spite of many abuses, the relationship between slave and master was one of co-operation and understanding. The story of the Negro in Brazil has not been all one-sided. The country has given the blacks their freedom, it is true, but in return the Negro has made outstanding contributions to the civilization of Brazil.

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